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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

MDCCCXL.

JANUARY——JUNE.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. VII.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστη τῶν αἱρεσέων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.

CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. 1.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JANUARY, 1840.

Art. I. 1. *Report of the Committee of Homerton College.* 1839.

2. *Report of the Bristol Education Society for* 1839.

3. *Report of the Committee of Highbury College.* 1839.

4. *Report of the Committee of the Baptist College at Stepney for* 1839.

5. *Report of the General Committee of Spring Hill College, Birmingham, for the Session,* 1838—1839.

6. *Report of the Committee of the Baptist College at Bradford for* 1839.

THE following article on the Theological Colleges of the two large denominations by which our review is principally read, is written, we beg leave to state at the outset, without the slightest disposition to *croak*. Quite the contrary. While these institutions present some defects which in our opinion may be supplied—and these we shall honestly endeavour to point out—and while they admit of some improvements—which we shall take the liberty to suggest—we conscientiously think, that they present far more reason for exultation than depression; and that upon the whole they were never in so healthy and efficient a state as they are at this moment. Not only has the system of instruction in many of our older colleges been gradually enlarged to meet the exigencies of the times, but other colleges, entirely new, have recently sprung up, and promise both by the experiments they have an opportunity of making, and the healthy reaction which they cannot but produce, to exert a most salutary influence. It is but fair, also, to admit that many of the defects of which we shall have to complain, and which still circumscribe the usefulness of some of our colleges, arose out of the necessities of a past age; the demands of a perishing population were then out of all proportion to the

means of meeting them. Finally, it is no more than justice to add, that many of these evils have already been partially corrected. We write then only because we think that the defects in question may be still further remedied, and some additional improvements suggested in our general system of academical education.

Our readers will readily excuse us from entering into any controversy with those, whether Plymouth Brethren, or called by whatsoever other name, who imagine that the church of Christ is to be supplied with an adequate and efficient ministry without any system of ministerial education at all. To any persons but themselves such opinions appear to be too absurd to need refutation, while those who are weak enough to hold them are not likely to perceive the force of it. Two observations only we shall offer on this subject, for the benefit of those who may be in danger of adopting any such extravagancies. The first is, that the people of this age are certainly as little likely as those of any, to listen with much attention to men whom they do not think fully equal to themselves; as well informed on general subjects, and somewhat better informed on those in which they have undertaken to set up as public instructors. This feeling exists at least as strongly in the ignorant and uneducated as in the classes above them; perhaps we might say more so. It is scarcely once in a century that we hear of any considerable audiences being attracted by a man who has not had the advantages of education, either imparted by others, or supplied by his own industry; and never, we believe in all ecclesiastical history is there an instance of any considerable number of persons being collected and held together by a man absolutely illiterate; by any man, who was not, both in capacity and knowledge, many degrees above the mass of those who listened to his instructions. Something like an equality in general knowledge, and decided superiority in those branches which he aspires to teach, are proved by all experience to be necessary to the maintenance of the teacher's general influence (especially over the minds of the young and the ignorant), to insure respectful attention to the instructions communicated, and to impart to them their proper efficacy. Let a persuasion once take possession of the minds of an audience that the preacher is below the *mass* of his hearers, and all improvement is at an end. People may listen to criticise, perhaps to laugh, but they cease to be disciples.

Nor is it merely in relation to the duties of the pulpit that this general superiority is so desirable. In these times of extensive combination, and varied methods of doing good, a minister may be quite as useful out of the pulpit as ever he can be in it. Now such superiority alone will enable him to avail himself to the full of these opportunities of usefulness; this alone will confer upon him a prominent station in his immediate locality,

will qualify him for taking a leading part in the organization and working of important societies, and give that weight to his judgment which is inseparable from a reputation for well-disciplined intellect and extensive knowledge. But to secure such a position, and to acquire credit for such qualities as can alone secure it, efficient training and thorough education are absolutely necessary. To the truth of these observations all history and present experience bear loud testimony. Those who have been most useful, whether in the pulpit or out of it; who have most deeply impressed their own character on that of the age; who have not merely attracted and retained the largest audiences, but have exerted the strongest influence in their immediate neighbourhoods and throughout the church at large; who have taken the most prominent part in the formation and the advocacy of all comprehensive schemes of benevolence and piety, have certainly been by no means *destitute* of education. Not only so; but *cæteris paribus*, that is, the measure of intellect and other natural endowments being the same, their general influence in nine cases out of ten, is exactly proportioned to the degree in which that intellect has been disciplined and those endowments cultivated. Some of them, it is true, may not have received any prolonged academical advantages, a few of them, none at all; but they confirm the general rule, inasmuch as they have either received an excellent *early* education, or, being men of great natural energy of mind, they have supplied all deficiencies by their own indomitable industry, and have thus attained their position by the same vehicle, only by another route. We appeal to the whole history of the church in corroboration of these remarks. It was thus with the Reformers; it was thus with our Puritan and Nonconformist forefathers, who came forth from the seclusion of long study with minds well disciplined and richly stored with various knowledge; it was thus these men were rendered capable of easily performing tasks at which we stand aghast with wonder, of enduring labors with which few of modern times would like to compare their own, and of achieving good beyond all comparison greater than now attends the labors of the generality of our ministers. It was thus, too, with Whitfield and Wesley, who though not men of profound attainments, had both enjoyed those advantages of education of which they were not sufficiently solicitous that their successors should participate. It has been thus with all the most eminent men who have appeared in the societies they established: if they have not studied at colleges, they have been compelled to make up their deficiencies by their own industry. In other words, they have not attained their position *without* considerable acquisitions, though it matters not to the present argument in what way those acquisitions were made. It has been thus, also, with all the most eminent missionaries; with Martyn, Schwartz,

Corrie, Morrison, and Carey.* Were it not invidious, and indeed needless (for the memory of the reader will immediately supply examples) we could mention scores of living instances to the truth of these observations. On the other hand, we have tasked our memory, and tasked it in vain, to supply a single instance of an illiterate man attaining and keeping a position in which he could by possibility be extensively useful, or exert a wide and permanent influence on the general mind.

The second observation is, that if these things be so, it were nothing less than 'midsummer madness' to expect that the exigencies of the church could be supplied by accident. To hope that men, already well educated, fitted for other professions, perhaps already engaged in them, and thus not only destitute of early training for the specific work of the ministry, but debarred both by their age and the habits derived from other occupations from availing themselves of it, should offer themselves in sufficient numbers to meet the extensive demands of the church and the world, is of all things the most chimerical. A large portion, moreover, of those who upon the present system, are ultimately found amongst the most useful ministers, would be at once rejected, since they can neither afford the time nor the money to qualify themselves for their important functions by those advantages of education which we have already proved to be so essential.

On this point then we shall say no more; we are confident that few of our readers will be inclined to impugn the statement that an efficient ministry must be an educated one.

With respect to the extent to which that education should be carried there may be, and there is diversity of opinion. On this subject, which has frequently engaged our most serious attention, we shall proceed to develop our views with all that freedom with which it is necessary to discuss opinions in order to elicit truth; but at the same time with much timidity, being fully conscious of the difficulties which beset it. Our thoughts may to some appear crude; they very probably are so; but if they lead to the full discussion of the subject on the part of those to whom the chief management of our academical institutions is entrusted, our end will be answered.

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* Here again we are far from meaning that all these individuals enjoyed much early education, though many of them did, or that their extensive knowledge was of the kind taught at colleges; but we mean that they all added to whatever capacity they possessed, the advantage of well-disciplined faculties and extensive information—the latter by the labour implied in its acquisition insuring the former. Those, indeed, who had not received early advantages, obtained the same results by a longer process and through greater difficulties—an argument surely for a thorough early training; but none of them ever reached eminence without such qualifications.

We beg to state then, *in limine*, that we much doubt the propriety of attempting to carry all the young men who may enter any particular college, whatever their age, whatever their previous advantages or disadvantages, whatever the diversity of their talents, through precisely the same course of training; to set young men, for instance, who are nearly thirty years of age, and who have had little previous instruction, to learn things which they never can learn thoroughly; in which they cannot even make such progress as to secure that mental discipline which is still more valuable than knowledge itself. We cannot help thinking that it would be better, either, if possible, to make such arrangements in each particular college as to secure a longer course of instruction and more extensive knowledge to those who are likely to derive the fullest benefit from them; or, if that be thought impracticable, to induce some of our colleges to restrict themselves to the education of one class of students, and others to the education of another. This, we are aware, could only be done effectually by mutual consent on the part of the colleges themselves; but any particular college has it virtually in its power to act upon this plan by refusing to admit students of all classes, whatever their diversities in point of age or talent; in other words, by restricting itself to the reception of such as are best fitted to derive benefit from the advantages it holds out.

Before we proceed further we beg to premise two observations, lest our meaning should be misunderstood. The first is, that while urging the propriety of adapting the quality and degree of education to the circumstances of the student, we would by no means have it supposed that we do not think a very thorough and prolonged training is in every case the best where it can be had; where, for example, the student is quite young, and has, therefore, ample time before him, or where his talents are unusually promising, and insure the probability of his deriving the full advantages of prolonged instruction, without wasting his own time or the public money. We never can think that a deficient education is abstractedly better than a complete one, or a little knowledge better than much. We advocate the plan above mentioned only because we think it is the best under all the circumstances; that it will secure the greatest possible efficiency on the part of those who can be profitably subjected to a protracted education, and a more *useful* preparation for the ministry, even on the part of those who cannot; since, upon the present system, by attempting to teach this latter class too much, they often learn nothing thoroughly; they gain neither accurate knowledge, nor, what is still better, the mental invigoration which the acquisition of accurate knowledge never fails to impart. Moreover the attempt to drag them on, though *haud passibus æquis*, with those who have enjoyed superior advantages or

possess greater talents, is injurious to both parties; to the one, by necessitating them to acquire much that they professedly study, in a slovenly or unprofitable manner; and to the other, by impeding their progress and checking their ardour,—the necessary effect of linking them with less strenuous and active associates. In fact, the tendency of such a system is inevitably to prevent the fullest development of the higher forms of talent, not only without advantage, but with detriment to the lower; in a word, to reduce all to the level of a dead mediocrity.

The second observation with which we wish to preface any further remarks on this subject is, that so far from desiring to lower the standard of ministerial education, it is our earnest wish, in this very way, to raise it. In our opinion we want a larger number of men 'thoroughly furnished;' of men who are fitted to occupy commanding stations and extensive spheres of usefulness; to take not only the oversight of large congregations, but to exercise a powerful influence in relation to society and the church at large, and by combining great intellectual vigour and extensive attainments with an elevated piety, to give weight, dignity, and importance to the ministerial character. Of the necessity of a larger number of such men, there cannot be a stronger proof than is supplied in the fact, that while there is always a sufficient, often more than a sufficient number of men, fully competent to take the inferior stations in our churches, it is often matter of extreme difficulty competently to supply important vacancies; and this fact alone, we apprehend, proves that there is somewhere or other a defect in our system of ministerial education.

It is not, then, because we think that a more restricted ministerial education is abstractedly better, or because we dream of lowering its general standard, that we plead for a change of system. Quite the contrary; it is because we believe that the one class of students might by this arrangement be subjected to a more efficient and protracted training,—thus always insuring an adequate supply of first-rate men,—and that even the other class, by being set to learn less, would learn that little well; thus at once securing the mental discipline which a smattering of many things will never give, and the power of applying the knowledge they possess with greater effect, simply because that knowledge, however limited, would at all events be accurate.

And let any one soberly consider, whether, with regard to a considerable class of students, this representation be not obviously correct. A young man of five-and-twenty or six-and-twenty years of age, of ardent piety, great sobriety of character, fair talents, but who has had few previous advantages—say, nothing but a plain English education, or little more—who has been engaged, we will suppose, in active business, and who has lost at the desk or behind the counter, a good deal of the small portion

of elementary knowledge he once possessed, earnestly covets the work of the ministry. Is the church in every such case to refuse the proffered service? We loudly say, no; and that it would be at her peril and to her own injury if she ever acted upon such a principle. There is no lack of stations in which such a man may be extensively useful. Nay, within a limited sphere he may, after passing through a certain course of preparation, be even more useful than a better trained man. Such are the diversities of congregations in point of magnitude, numbers, education, and intelligence, that there is no man possessed of that measure of talent and that amount of knowledge, without which the assumption of the ministry is in our opinion both folly and guilt, who may not be rendered useful. Moreover, the Christian church is in no condition to refuse such laborers, or to be unduly squeamish as to the agents she employs. Who, indeed, can look at the magnificence of the enterprise she contemplates, the overwhelming wants of a world of sin and misery, the teeming millions of our own population, far outstripping every effort that is made to meet its demands, without feeling that of the two evils it is better to fix the standard of qualification for the ministry too low than too high; to admit some few laborers into the vineyard not perfectly qualified for the task, than (for this is the real alternative) to be without them altogether? It is with food for the soul as with food for the body, it is better, in the language of the old proverb, 'to have half a loaf than no bread.'

But the question returns—what is the most efficient training to which such a man can be subjected? for we are supposing that, in the given case, it is decided that the youth is to dedicate himself *wholly* to the work of the ministry, and not merely attempt to be useful in any of the many valuable forms of lay-agency. He has never, it may be, seen the Latin grammar; as to Greek, he is not perfectly sure that there is such a tongue; of Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldee, he knows just as little; mathematics are a profound mystery; the symbols of Algebra about as unintelligible as Egyptian hieroglyphics, and metaphysics as dark as Egyptian darkness itself. Is it desirable at this youth's age, to set him upon the hopeless attempt of learning all these things? Or is there the smallest rational prospect of his obtaining such an accurate knowledge of any portion of them as shall render them practically available, or (which we will always contend is the greater benefit) confer that discipline of mind, that invigoration of intellect, which is the direct effect of their profound study? No such thing. Even with that year, or two years of preliminary private study which our colleges (so long as they adhere to the present system) wisely enjoin upon such young men, previous to their entering upon their college course, such a result cannot be hoped for. What ensues upon his entering college? Necessarily

formed into classes with other young men, of younger years indeed but of far more pliable faculties, and in possession of considerable early advantages, it is found that he cannot go on as fast as they can, and that they must check their pace to enable him to keep up with them. The difference is split—a mean is struck, by which, as has already been said, both parties are losers. He is never able thoroughly to digest any thing, they never have enough to digest; he is gorged to repletion—they are half starved; he acquires a little knowledge of many things in a loose and unsatisfactory manner, while they, finding that they can do what is required of them with comparative ease, are likely to lose their time, and to fall into habits of indolence and mental dissipation. So long as it is necessary to form students into classes at all (and we have no hope that this necessity will ever cease to exist), we are aware that it will not be possible always to prevent those disadvantages which great diversities in point of talent, and some diversities in point of previous attainment, must now and then occasion. But they never ought to exist to the extent in which they now do. Indeed, if they were never greater than inevitable necessity occasioned, they would cease to be of any consequence, for they would be more than counterbalanced by the advantages which companionship in the same pursuits, and the honest emulation it cherishes, must always have over solitary study.

But not only is the young man, in the circumstances we have supposed, totally incapable of successfully prosecuting his multifarious and novel studies, not only does he stand a chance of impeding the progress of those who might do so, but such a plan is calculated to produce, or at least to cherish some of the worst faults which can belong to a public speaker, and which otherwise might never have appeared. We all know well enough what a dangerous thing a mere smattering of any science is, and the evil is only multiplied when instead of a smattering of *one* we have a smattering of *many*. Extensive attainment in at least one branch of knowledge is necessary to guard us from that affectation of learning, that ostentatious pedantry, and those vices of diction and of style which are ridiculous every where, but in the pulpit worse than ridiculous. Extensive attainments, except in a very few peculiarly and hopelessly constructed minds, will always tend to form a beautiful simplicity, and the greater part of the offences against it are the result, not of having acquired too much knowledge, but of not having acquired enough.

The course, then, to which we would restrict students of this lower class, should extend through three or at most not more than four years, and should comprise a thorough knowledge of the principles of English grammar and of English composition, an attentive study of the best portions of our literature, history, the elements of mental and moral science, and sound English theology,

doctrinal, controversial, and practical: such works being selected in each department, as *cæteris paribus*, shall be best calculated to exercise and stimulate the student's faculties, to extend his knowledge of his native language and his command over it—points to *him* of such vital importance—to improve his taste and to form his style. To this we would add a knowledge of the first four books of Euclid. This, though a very moderate portion of mathematics, would be enough to form an invaluable discipline, since even a very little attention to this science so eminently tends to sharpen the reasoning powers, to form the faculty of close attention and continuous thought, and (which is so essential to the public speaker) to facilitate the habit of retaining and giving expression to a connected train of argument.

We have already suggested two methods by which this project might be carried into effect; the first is that of inducing those who have the management of some of our smaller colleges (which have not yet set up an expensive apparatus of tutors, buildings, library, &c., with a view to a more enlarged education) to come to a magnanimous resolution to devote themselves to its accomplishment. As for the Congregationalists, it might surely be auspiciously attempted in connexion with the recent resolutions of the Congregational Union to attempt a comprehensive scheme of Home Missions, for the realization of which a large number of agents of the class now referred to, will be imperatively demanded, and would be pre-eminently useful. It can, perhaps, be hardly expected that any of our larger colleges, which have established a costly machinery with a view to a more thorough training, should dedicate themselves exclusively to this object.—The second method, if the former should be thought impracticable, is that of endeavoring to combine the two objects in the same institutions, by admitting the class of students to which we now refer only to certain classes and for a more limited term of years. Our colleges would thus be enabled to extend the education of those who are likely to derive full benefit from such an arrangement, as well as to increase the appliances of study. This in our opinion would be very preferable to the plan of attempting to carry all the students through the same course, and retaining them for the same term of years; a plan attended with all the manifest disadvantages to both parties to which we have already adverted.

If it should be objected that the lack of previous advantages is a good reason for extending the term of study, but not for curtailing it, and for teaching more, but not for teaching less, we reply that we are speaking of those who have arrived at an age which renders time of considerable importance, and who from their early disadvantages, and the want of flexibility of mind, can only derive a certain measure of benefit from *any* course of train-

ing to which they may be subjected, and with reference to whom, therefore, all training beyond a certain point is a waste of time and money; a waste of time to the parties themselves, who might be employing it to better purpose in active usefulness, and a waste of money to the public, whose benevolent contributions might be more profitably expended on other objects. In such cases as these the result does not pay for the cost. We often think it well worth while to spend twenty pounds on an object which we by no means think would pay for an outlay of a hundred. On the other hand, if a youth who has been, after a deliberate examination of all the circumstances, put into this class, exhibit such promising talents, and make such a rapid progress as to justify the belief that he would repay the cost of a more protracted education, it were easy to draft him into an institution of higher character, upon the supposition that different colleges devoted themselves to the two different objects, or into the higher classes of the same institution, upon the supposition that the two objects were carried on in combination under the same roof.

In order to give the greatest possible efficiency to this plan, and to make both classes of students as useful as possible, we would have a severe judgment exercised in the first instance on the probable success of every candidate who aspires to the exercise of the ministry amongst us; and that not merely in reference to his religious character (which we rejoice to say has always been the case), but to his mental qualifications. In addition to those indications of piety which have always been so justly demanded by our colleges, as an indispensable pre-requisite to entertaining the remotest application of this nature (and this in our opinion constitutes the peculiar glory of the Dissenting ministry), we would have at least one of two other qualifications absolutely insisted upon in every case; either *striking talents* to make amends for the lack of early advantages, or *great previous advantages* to make amends for feeble talents. Without one or the other of these, no one whatever should be encouraged to aspire to an office so arduous and so responsible. This is alike demanded by duty to the public, to the church, and to the individual himself: to the public, whose money ought to be expended only where it is likely to realize the objects for which it is contributed; to the church, because its interests are not likely to be promoted by a feeble and inefficient ministry; and to the individual himself, because, if he is thrust into the ministry destitute alike of talents and of knowledge, he is taken out of a sphere of life in which he might have been humbly useful, and is thrown into one in which he cannot be of much use to others, and inevitably insures his own misery.

Respectability in a private station, oftentimes considerable property, and therefore valuable influence, may be acquired with very little knowledge and very slender talents; respectability

in the ministry never can. In many such cases, therefore, the sole talent has been taken away, and the church as well as the individual has been a loser. A minister of very feeble capacity, and oppressed by poverty, is but a poor exchange for a private Christian of the same slender capacity, possessed of the influence which business, and perhaps considerable wealth may command. A guinea acquired by honest trade, and freely spent in the cause of Christ, is in our opinion of at least as much worth to the church as a very bad sermon. It is our painful conviction that in times past our colleges have not been sufficiently cautious on this point, and hence that most distressing spectacle, not infrequently seen, of men of unimpeachable excellence of character struggling through life with overwhelming poverty, because they really have not the power to attract or retain a congregation that can adequately support them.

On those students who shall be deemed, from their comparative youth (and who have therefore plenty of time before them), from early advantages, and from other circumstances, likely to derive the fullest benefit from it, we would then bestow a thorough education, giving them never less than six years, two of them to be devoted exclusively to science and literature, one partly to these, and partly to the elementary studies of theology, and three years exclusively to theology. If they have already pursued science and literature up to the requisite point at colleges dedicated to secular learning, they might be admitted at once to the Theological course, which even in that case should, in our opinion, be never less than four years. We shall speak of the intellectual advantages likely to be secured by such a protracted course of study by and bye. We shall here only advert to one point which we are persuaded has been far too much overlooked. We consider that one great advantage of this prolonged course of study would be, that the student who enters upon it, even though he commenced it young, would never be permitted to assume the responsibilities of the pastoral office before he had arrived at something like manhood of intellect and maturity of judgment; before he had attained some experience of human nature, and some insight into his own character; before the impetuosity of youth was softened down, and the powers of reflection developed. It seems to be imagined by many, that the sole task of tutors is to infuse into the mind of the ministerial candidate sufficient knowledge and sufficient facility in communicating it, and the work is done; pre-supposing of course the possession of undoubted piety. Never was there a greater mistake. The office of pastor and of bishop implies some talent for government; consequently a sound judgment, a knowledge of human nature, some practical acquaintance with the diversities of temper and disposition; and above all, that self-control which nothing but

ripeness of character, and a little experience of life can impart. In these respects, tutors and books may indeed do something, but time is a still better teacher than either. There is a great difference in point of development between the judgment of a man of twenty, and that of a man of five-and-twenty, putting out of sight altogether the advantages which spring from spending that interval in the active pursuit of knowledge and the strenuous cultivation of the intellect. The rashness and vehemence of early youth are in some measure repressed, a portion of the vanity which is inherent in us all rooted out, and the self-willedness and obstinacy which are almost equally common at a certain age, corrected as we advance to manhood. To us, we confess, there seems something absolutely preposterous in calling upon a youth of one or two-and-twenty to govern four or five hundred of his fellow-creatures, of every conceivable variety of age, temper, and circumstance; to govern them too in the most difficult of all possible ways—not by despotic authority, by the mere brute energy of an irresistible will, but by moral influence, by gentle suasion, by skilful management, by the combination of wisdom and kindness, of prudence and love;—to govern them also in the most difficult of all matters, those which relate to their moral and spiritual well-being. And yet it is at this early age that some of our ministers undertake the heavy duties of the pastorate! Though in some few instances the experiment has turned out well, the result is to be attributed only to unusual solidity of character manifested at a very early age, and is altogether beyond the calculations of human prudence and sagacity. On the other hand, we are inclined to believe that in a large proportion of the instances in which an early separation takes place between a youthful pastor and the flock who have chosen him as their spiritual guide, the consequences are mainly attributable to premature settlement. The young minister then removes to another place, and possessed of more self-knowledge, and taught much by experience, he probably succeeds; but that knowledge and that experience he ought never to have been left to buy so dear. Now if a youth of eighteen be subjected even to the lengthened course of training for which we plead, he is still only four-and-twenty years of age when he undertakes the duties of governing a church; if he be twenty when he begins, he is still only six-and-twenty, and will any one in his senses contend that he ought to have entered upon so difficult a task a single hour earlier? We have insisted the more strongly upon this point because we believe it to be one of vital importance. If a man had the genius of an angel, and the knowledge of an angel to back it, unless he could also lay claim to angelic purity and love, he should not with our good-will be permitted to enter upon the duties of a ruler of the church, or undertake the man-

agement of the spiritual interests of a multitude of human beings, a single hour under five or six-and-twenty years. Of all incongruities in the world, the most incongruous, in our opinion, is that presented in a boy-pastor.

If only on these grounds then we would advocate a prolonged education for the class of students now under consideration. But there are other advantages, connected with their intellectual fitness for the ministry, which scarcely less loudly proclaim the propriety of this course.

It is often triumphantly asked by those who have only superficially considered the matter, and who entirely overlook some of the chief purposes of education, 'of what use is it 'to stuff the head of a youth who is designed for the ministry, 'with Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Logic, Mental Philosophy, 'and so forth? What are all these things in relation to the gos-'pel of Christ? The man is not to teach the classics, or science, 'but to explain and enforce religious truth.' All this is nothing to the purpose; these things are not taught him because he is to teach them to others; but first, for the sake of that discipline of mind which they impart; to develop his faculties, and to enable him to exert those faculties with facility on whatsoever subjects demand their exercise; to strengthen the memory, to exercise the judgment, to refine the taste, to form habits of close attention, patient investigation, and continuous thought, in relation to any subject which may come before him. The proper object of a thorough *general* education, as Dr. Johnson well observes, is not so much to fit the mind for any particular department of exertion (for this is the object of a strictly professional education), but to prepare it to engage with the greatest probability of success in that department of exertion, whatever it be, to which circumstances may determine it. Now the above classes of study, pursued under different modifications and to a different extent in various schools, have been thought in all ages better adapted to this great end of general discipline than any others, and all experience confirms the judgment. If there were any others that would answer the purpose equally well, they would have equal claims to be chosen, but then the objection if it were valid at all, would equally apply to these also, for they must be equally alien from pursuits strictly professional, and would be selected not with a view to *them*, but to the great object of mental training. It little matters whether this mental discipline be imparted, as is generally the case with students for the ministry, in the very same institution, in which the strictly professional education is also given, or whether in a separate school or college. It must be *imparted* some where and in some way. Thus it is we act with boys and with young men who are designed for any department of professional life, and

even with those who are designed for any common business. A boy is sent to school to learn grammar, arithmetic, perhaps to acquire some knowledge of Latin and Greek, and the elements of the mathematics, the greatest part of all which in nine cases out of ten, has little or no relation to the business to which he is to be apprenticed, and in which he is to spend the strength of his days. Nay, almost all that he learnt at school he may perchance forget, and in the greater number of instances it is actually forgotten within a couple of years of his leaving it. Why then do we act thus? Why is a boy sent to school to learn much that shall have little or no relation to the occupation for which he is designed, and nine-tenths of which he will shortly cease to remember? To exercise and develop the powers of his mind, to be sure; to impart that facility of using his faculties, and that general knowledge, which could not so well be acquired any where else or by any other means. This is the reason; and we should assuredly laugh at any man who acted in defiance of it. We should condemn even a butcher, who instead of sending his son to school at seven years of age, set him to learn his business, in preference to the spelling-book and the multiplication-table. Still more should we condemn a medical man, who because he designed his boy some day to be a practitioner, should put him at ten years of age behind a counter, to weigh out powders, and mix up draughts.

In the case of those who are destined for the higher professions with which handicraft skill has nothing at all to do; in which the mind is the sole instrument with which the mind itself operates; in which to investigate, to reason, to persuade, and such like things form in fact the great business of life, a more prolonged and thorough discipline is usually thought, and justly thought, to be necessary. In no profession is this severe training generally supposed to be more requisite than in those which involve public speaking. Is the ministry to be the only exception?

This then is the sufficient justification of putting youths to study things which are not immediately connected with the duties of their after-life, and which, as we have already said, would not be a whit less worth their study, even if every syllable connected with them passed away from the memory in a few short years after they were acquired. There are comparatively few members of any of the learned professions, however sound their early education, who retain in advanced life many vestiges of their early scholarship. Crabbed constructions in Latin and Greek, difficult equations in algebra, abstruse theorems in geometry, once perhaps easy enough, would puzzle them *now* effectually. But the benefit derived from these studies at the time they were pursued, is permanent, and continues

to operate through life. They tended to secure habits of patient thought and of minute accuracy, to strengthen the memory and to sharpen the reason. It is with such knowledge, as with the food taken into our bodies; as food it is changed and lost, but a great part has passed into bone, cartilage, and sinew, and this is sufficient. For this reason alone, if there were no other, there would be good ground for including in the thorough training which we contend for, a knowledge of Latin and Greek; and on similar grounds, if there were no such languages in existence as Latin and Greek, we should still plead for the acquisition of some languages beside our own. The study of a foreign language forms a distinct species of mental exertion, and involves many processes of intellect peculiar to itself, and characteristic of no other species of discipline. Some such knowledge, moreover, is essentially necessary to let us into the nature and powers of language in general; and how important it is that a public speaker, whose very instruments are *words*, should be fully possessed of this knowledge, it is almost superfluous to say. Accustomed from infancy to our native language, familiar with all its idioms and constructions, it is not until we see how the general purposes of speech are answered in other languages, nor until attention is arrested by peculiarities in construction and idiom with which we may compare those of our mother-tongue, that we become fully acquainted with the nature and powers of this wonderful instrument, with the relation of *words* to *mind*. If then there were not a syllable of the classics extant, we should still plead for the desirableness of learning some language, beside our own. The reasons, indeed, which upon this supposition, determine a preference of Greek and Latin are so obvious as to require no mention. Not only do they contain such vast treasures of literature, not only are they necessary to the prosecution of all those portions of history which are essential to the theologian, but the first is that in which the New Testament is written, and in which the best of the Fathers wrote, while the second was for centuries the current language, the mother tongue, of theology. Wherever it is possible, therefore, it is obviously desirable that theologians should have something like access to them.

But though mental discipline is the chief benefit to be derived from the protracted education for which we plead, it is far from being the only one. Another and scarcely less important end, is that of furnishing the mind with those kinds of knowledge which must be attained if a man would be extensively useful. Now it is only in perfect seclusion for a considerable period, that a young man has leisure to acquire the knowledge of those arts and sciences which, as the Directory of the Westminster Assembly well expressed it, are 'handmaids to Divinity,' as well as those stores of general information which will furnish the

materials of ready and ever-varied illustration. Without some such mental furniture, it is as vain to hope to meet the ever-recurring demands of the pulpit with tolerable facility, or to secure to public ministrations the requisite degree of variety, as it would be to make bricks without straw, or to transact an extensive business without a competent capital. Every hearer can at once detect, in any man's preaching, the difference between a full mind and an empty one.

Now unless this intellectual capital be acquired during a period of comparative seclusion and leisure, one of two things invariably happens, both of which show how desirable it is that a certain portion of time should be sacredly appropriated to this object; either we subject a man to the cruel necessityof acquiring this requisite knowledge for himself in the midst of the absorbing cares and onerous duties of the ministry, to the infinite hazard of his health, and perhaps the detriment of his flock, or he never acquires it at all. If a man possess great physical vigor and great mental energy, he will probably take the former course, and we know of several men who, to their unspeakable honor, have done so. They have themselves told us that becoming aware of the slenderness of their acquirements, when they had already entered upon their public duties, they have been compelled to endeavor to combine severe private study with the discharge of their public functions, to the prejudice however of their health, and in some measure to the temporary injury of their congregations. Now though they ultimately assumed the standing to which such industry entitled them, and became more useful than they could otherwise have been, yet the full measure of their popularity and of their success was necessarily postponed for some years beyond what it might have been if they had acquired the requisite knowledge before they found themselves actually immersed in the anxieties and labors of their high office. It is a piece of cruelty to necessitate such men to make so hazardous an experiment at all.—But the worst still remains to be told. The greater number will not even make the experiment. Those who possess no more than average abilities and no great physical strength, finding it impossible to combine much study with the numerous and heavy duties of their public ministry, content themselves with working up again and again their little stock of materials. As a consequence, they inevitably fall into a trite and barren style of preaching in which there is nothing to arrest attention, and become at the best far less useful than they might have been. Nay, owing to these causes, it is not an unprecedented thing—and we know of no fact more lamentable in the whole history of our ministry—to see ministers far more acceptable and popular at the commencement of their career than at the termination of it. This should be a warning, preg-

nant with instruction to all students. Totally incapable, from want of experience, of estimating that degree of mental furniture which will enable them readily to meet the requirements of their office, and finding that they can get on pretty well in their occasional efforts on a small stock of sermons, (upon which it may be a great deal of labour and the whole of their little knowledge has been expended), they are often ready, and even anxious, to plunge prematurely into public life, to take upon them the discharge of their professional duties, without any thought of the Horatian maxim—

> . . . .' Versate diu, quid ferre recusant,
> ' Quid valeant humeri.'

But this very incapability of right judgment on the part of the student (necessarily resulting from want of experience), ought to be an additional reason for securing to him those advantages of quiet study from which urgent and multifarious duties will ever afterwards debar him. In confirmation of these remarks, we may observe, that we have heard many ministers say, as soon as a little experience had entitled them to form an opinion, that they heartily wished the term of preliminary training had been longer or more wisely spent, but we never heard one say that it would have been better if he had earlier committed himself to the duties of his station.

On the other hand, if a solid and extensive foundation of knowledge has been laid during a period of studious leisure, and those invaluable habits of mind formed which are involved in the very acquisition of such knowledge, it becomes comparatively easy for the minister in after life, to keep up all that he has acquired, and even to make fresh accumulations. With well-trained faculties, facility of application, and tolerably extensive attainments, he can make more out of his scraps of leisure than other men, less favorably circumstanced, could make out of their whole time. Precisely similar observations apply, and if possible with increased force, to the necessity of a thorough *theological* training. Those species of critical and historical knowledge, which lie at the basis of sound theology, are never likely to be acquired except by continuous study, pursued at leisure, under the eye of an instructor; never by desultory effort at broken intervals, and amidst the ten thousand cares of the public ministry.

Another purpose, not quite so obvious, but scarcely less important, to be subserved by this thorough education, is this; that it gives a man that position and influence in general society, which, if it were possible, no minister should ever be without. It is true that in this point of view, his knowledge is not immediately

applied to the discharge of his official duties, but it indirectly aids them ; it gives him admission to those who otherwise would be inaccessible ; conciliates the respect of those who would otherwise despise him ; and above all, renders him an object of vastly increased reverence to the mass of his common hearers. It imparts weight and importance also to his judgment on matters which, though not immediately connected with the pulpit, are by no means unconnected with human happiness, or with the progress of religion ; and in these days, when, as already said, so much of the good that is to be done must be done *out* of the pulpit, no one of common sense will think this a slight advantage. It is of no use for us to chafe at what are the fundamental laws of all human society; God has so constituted it, that the influence of men over the higher ranks, and still more over the lower, will ever be in proportion, not to their moral excellence alone, but to the degree in which that excellence is associated with a reputation for solid judgment and a mature knowledge.

In order to secure to the full the benefits of such a system of training, it is absolutely necessary that the student should not be permitted to *preach* too soon or too often during his academical career. This we consider a vital point, and shall therefore dwell upon it at some length. Far be it from us to deny that it is absolutely necessary that in some shape or other he should be familiarized with what are afterwards to be his great duties, long before he leaves college. It is most desirable that he should be accustomed to exercise his talents for public speaking, both that he may gradually attain self-possession, command of language, and facility of utterance ; and, what is still more important, that he may be continually impressed with a salutary remembrance of what is after all the great, the avowed end of all his studies and all his pursuits. But then, as this is the *object* of these engagements, so they should not be more numerous than is necessary to secure it. If there be institutions which have erred in not letting students preach enough, there have been others which have erred to an equal extent in suffering them to preach too much.

In the first place, if the term of study be six years, and the student enter young, as in that case he would, it appears absolutely necessary that he should confine himself exclusively to study during at least the first two years. It is only in this way that he can be subjected to that continuous application, the object of which is to form those habits of mind which we have already described as so valuable, and in fact as the great end of academical discipline. If his pursuits be at this period often intruded upon, if he be called off from them to prepare prematurely for public engagements, his attention is dissipated by variety of objects ; he gets

into a slovenly way of doing things, of doing them not as well as he could, but as well as time permits, while from being obliged frequently to intermit his proper studies, there are breaks and chasms in them, which he has no time to supply. In such a case, both sound discipline and accurate knowledge are out of the question, since both depend upon concentration and continuity of effort exerted upon some few pursuits for a certain period of time. 'We speak that we 'do know, and we testify that we have seen.' A student, at an early period of his career, is informed that he is to preach three times on the following sabbath, some thirty miles from the scene of his studies. He has but two sermons in the world—perhaps but one; and, now trembling with fear, now elated with hope, he hastens to make some preparation for the work, certainly to the partial, perhaps total neglect of his present studies for a day or two. Or, it may be, he has preached at the same place before, and having become, therefore, a bankrupt in sermons, is necessitated to give a still larger portion of time to some sort of preparation. He spends a part of the Saturday in preparing for his journey, and in travelling to his destination. As yet unaccustomed to the labors of the pulpit, a sabbath is to him a day of intense excitement, and severe effort of mind, terminating in deep exhaustion. He spends a portion of the Monday in travelling back to his college, and arrives there so jaded and wearied in body and in mind, as to be little fit for any thing that day, and not fit for very much the next; perhaps also with some little disrelish for those silent and recluse studies which have only prospective utility to recommend them, utility which from his very inexperience he is unable fully to appreciate, and is therefore too apt to underrate; studies, too, which are attended with no present excitement, and with no flattering though dangerous gratulations. If the courses of study which he has been thus compelled to intermit or partially to neglect be closely connected in their several parts—as for instance, the Mathematics, Logic, or Mental Philosophy, or certain departments of Theology, he has not vigor, or even time enough satisfactorily to make good by his own unaided efforts the gap which his engagements have occasioned, and at the same time to keep pace with the progress of the class. The consequence is that those portions of the courses in question are never satisfactorily mastered; while, from the manner in which they are interwoven with all the rest, the remainder is also necessarily acquired in a perfunctory and slovenly manner; and thus the student arrives at its termination not only with that mere smattering of the subject, which is worse than no knowledge at all, but without that benefit of mental discipline which would have resulted from thoroughly mastering it, and which is in some cases the only sufficient reason for paying any attention to it at all. We

repeat that we speak from experience, that we paint from life.

Again, it seems desirable, for another obvious reason, that during a considerable portion of the whole term of study, students should not be permitted to preach at all. In sending them to a college to prepare them for the ministry, it is surely supposed that they have something to learn before they preach, or why send them there?—it is surely supposed that they are not yet in any way fit to undertake the important office to which they have dedicated themselves? Now, by suffering them to preach too soon, we not only set at naught this maxim, and lose or at least diminish the opportunities professedly given for supplying these deficiencies, but in some cases render it impossible that they should ever be supplied: for in these very early efforts are too often acquired or confirmed that false taste and that vicious style, which it is a thousand times more difficult to unlearn than simply to avoid; and which, in fact, would in most cases have been avoided, if a little wholesome instruction had been timely administered. As it is, a great part of the instructions of subsequent years is consumed in counteracting and correcting the faults of premature practice; what might have been effectual as a preventive, is too often only partially efficacious as a remedy.

For these reasons we must insist on the necessity of sacredly reserving a considerable portion of the whole term of study to the purposes of study; nor do we think it difficult to show, that even during the remainder of it, preaching engagements should not be very frequent. We have already spoken of the absolute necessity that students should not come unpractised to the regular discharge of their ministerial functions, and so far therefore as it is necessary to secure this object, some public exercises become both requisite and beneficial; but as this is *the* object, so would we strictly confine ourselves to it: not a step further would we go.

None, we apprehend, will deny the desirableness of uniformly endeavouring to bring about these results as gradually and silently as possible; that there may be no sensible violence done to a youth's habits, no sudden stepping from secluded study into the front of a large congregation. For a considerable time he should be habituated only to address very humble audiences, in rooms or very small chapels, and that of the poorer and more ignorant classes; and this, not only that the great ends of study (still diligently prosecuted) may be answered (and such duties would require no very formidable preparation), but for other and still weightier reasons connected with his moral and spiritual improvement. In the first place, such duties can hardly inflate his vanity; they present little scope for ambition; the youthful laborer must be urged on, and sus-

tained in their performance solely by his desire of doing good. His best feelings are therefore at once called forth, and his soul is in harmony with his work. Not only so. Actuated by such feelings, —without any reflex reference to himself or his own doings,—he is likely both to acquire a simple and natural style of address, and to attain that self-possession which will be necessary in more important and arduous engagements. To these he will thus at length be brought, through many different stages, by a long process, and without any violence to his habits. Secondly, such engagements can hardly depress him by fear of failure; which, perhaps next to self-complacency is least in harmony with the state of mind in which we should enter upon such engagements—engagements which should always be contemplated with serene delight and holy satisfaction.

It is not uncommon (we again speak of what we know), to see these evils combined where a youth has been too rapidly brought forward, and without due attention to that very gradual process which shall make the transformation of the student into the preacher almost as imperceptible as that by which the boy ripens into the man. A distressing timidity, which has been attended before a formidable service with a total oblivion of all but the duties in prospect, has been followed, after a tolerably successful performance of them, by feelings of complacency still more injurious to character; while the absorbing fear of failure and the self-complacent gratulations upon success, are equally ruinous, for a time, to mental equanimity, and the quiet pursuit of study.

Say what we will, it is, and cannot but be a fearful trial, in the first place, of a youth's courage and fortitude; and, in the second, of his humility, modesty, and spirituality, to place him without long training, and except by a very slow process, before the eyes of a considerable audience, who are to sit in silence and listen to what he says.

Happily for our times, there are ample opportunities of thus gradually familiarizing a student with the more important duties which await him; and it gives us sincere pleasure to add, that those who are entrusted with the care of our colleges are by no means slack to avail themselves of them. The stations of the Christian Instruction Society and other similar societies, now established in many of our cities and large towns, (would to God they were established in all of them!) and the little chapels which are raised in secluded hamlets and villages, afford abundant facilities for this important initiation. Our only complaint is, that even these duties are in many cases entered upon by the student too soon, and that in others, still more numerous, they *are not persisted in long enough.* A student is introduced too early to more important and arduous fields of labor. It will be seen from these remarks, that it is only by a very gradual process

that we would permit students to appear before regular congregations at all, and would reserve their opportunities of doing this until quite a late period in their academical career. This we would do both for the reasons just assigned, and because we would secure as large a portion of their time as possible for the continued pursuit of those studies which after all are the main reason for their coming to college, and which, while they remain there, ought to be regarded as of paramount importance. Now, to preach frequently before congregations which demand considerable preparation, must be attended with an almost entire neglect of study.

When we consider what is the great object of sending a youth to a theological college,—that it is to fit him for a whole life of labor —to fit him for engaging with efficiency for a period somewhere between twenty and thirty years (for such is the *average* of the life of our ministers after they have assumed the pastoral office) in a work the most arduous and responsible that can demand the energies of man, it seems to us little less than infatuation to endanger the probability of success, by either stinting the period of study, or rendering it less effective than it might be. Yet this latter is done if we impose upon the student public engagements which demand much of his time, and tend to distract his attention. In relation to the whole period of labor in which, after his college life, he is to be engaged, what are a few months, or even a year or two? What good can be effected by his casual labors on a few sabbaths, that can counterbalance the probability of his entering with diminished powers of usefulness on a career of five and twenty years' labor? Surely if ever there was an illustration of the old proverb about being 'penny wise and pound foolish,' this is it.

It is often said, that if young men are zealous in the great cause to which they have devoted themselves, it is a pity that that zeal should be repressed, and that they should not at once commence their public duties. We answer, that it is admitted on all hands that zeal alone is not sufficient—it must be tempered with wisdom, and conjoined with knowledge. The great object is, so to form the character,—the character both of mind and heart,—that zeal in the great work may burn with a steady as well as with a brilliant light for the course of a whole life; and we again say, that it is the grossest folly, to endanger so great an object by anticipating the period at which the student can with efficiency enter upon his public labors, or by rendering his preparation less thorough and complete than it might be, for the sake of a few sabbaths' occasional labors. We are convinced such saving will in general be dearly paid for, and such economy, prove the most lavish expense.

Upon the whole, then, if we suppose six years devoted to the

higher kind of education,—and we would by no means have it less,—we would not suffer any young man (unless he has enjoyed elsewhere such peculiar advantages and such efficient training, as to justify his instant admission to the theological classes) to preach in any way for the space of at least two years. If there were no reason for this connected with his studies, his mere youth, his insufficient knowledge, and his utter want of preparation, ought to be sufficient ones. For the next two years he should be permitted occasionally to exercise his talents in the humble and unobtrusive ways already pointed out, among the poorer and more ignorant classes, in rooms, and at village stations; the frequency of these efforts, and the magnitude of his audience gradually increasing in proportion as he became accustomed to the work. But at no period of these two years should he be permitted to engage in such duties oftener, upon an average, than every third sabbath. During the last two years he might be permitted to supply regular congregations: the frequency of his labors here also, and the importance of the stations to which he is sent, gradually increasing as the term of his study drew near to its conclusion. Thus slowly and by a long process familiarized with his work, he is preserved from all those dangers, whether intellectual or moral, which attend too sudden a change; no such formidable demands are made upon his time as to require him to infringe upon his studies; those studies may be pursued with nearly as much efficiency as ever up to the very close of his academical career—perhaps we might say with even more efficiency, for if he have not quite as much time for them, the previous discipline which uninterrupted study has conferred has given him such control of his faculties, and such habits of attention, as to enable him to do more in one day than he had formerly been able to do in two; no demands are made upon his knowledge until he has obtained some knowledge to meet them, and as those demands gradually increase, his knowledge increases too. Above all, we should have the best security that could be offered against those moral dangers, those temptations to vanity, affectation, and ambition, to which the sudden transmutation of the raw student into the preacher is so apt to give rise. Each step is so slow, that he himself is hardly sensible of the change through which he has passed, except by looking back upon long intervals of time—not upon days or months, but years.

On no account, however, would we permit students, even of the last two years, to engage in public more frequently than upon every alternate sabbath. To this general rule, as to every other, we are well aware that there must be some exceptions, but they should be the exceptions. And we would adhere to this general rule, not only for the sake of securing, in a considerable degree,

those advantages of study which, as we have so often said, are the chief reasons for the students remaining at college at all, but *for his own spiritual improvement also.* This is a point which we are persuaded is too frequently overlooked, and yet it is one of very great importance. When we consider that after the term of study is over, the student must look for no more quiet Sabbaths, no more such seasons of tranquil retirement, no more such opportunities of prolonged meditation and devotion as he has heretofore enjoyed, who, that properly considers how valuable such privileges are, and that they can never return, would wish a young man to be prematurely deprived of them? To him they are absolutely essential if he would maintain the life of religion in his own spirit, and counteract by reading, reflection, and devotion, the influence of absorbing studies and of public engagements. We must recollect, moreover, that to the student some such seasons are the more necessary, inasmuch as his public duties, from their being at first of a more formidable character, and from their engrossing influence on his time and attention, leave him less able to make use of those scraps of time which men who have been long engaged in the work know how to turn to a good account. The self-possession and the facility in public speaking, which long practice secures, will enable an aged and experienced minister to regard his great task without that overwhelming anxiety which the young man must necessarily feel. It no longer disturbs his slumbers, haunts his privacy, or intrudes upon the hour which in the very prospect of it he can calmly dedicate to God and his own soul.

As we would permit students originally destined for the more limited course to enter on the more extended one, upon giving indications of unusual talents, so upon the like appearances we would give to some of the students now under consideration, an additional year or two (before entering on their theological curriculum) at some university, for the purpose of taking their degree as Master of Arts. We ought to have among us a larger number of men who have successfully contended for academical honors with the mass of other students. A certain proportion of such men would tend to give respectability to the body to which they belong, and serve as tangible evidence that the colleges at which they must have received the greater part of their education, were conducted on sound principles. The additional expense of enabling a few thus to carry their education to the highest point, would be amply covered by relinquishing the attempt to drag all students, whatever their age or advantages, through the self-same course.

Before we conclude this part of the subject, it may not be irrelevant to advert to some of those objections which are urged against the system of prolonged education, on the score that it is apt to exert a prejudicial influence on the character of the preaching of

every one who has been subjected to it. It is apt, so some say, to produce a style of preaching destitute of earnestness and feeling, inanimate, or coldly correct, or critical, or metaphysical, but at all events without passion or pathos. Now, we admit that it is eminently desirable to guard against such results, and that this can be done only by gradually and insensibly bringing a youth into contact with what is to be the business of his life, during a considerable portion of his academical career; sacredly observing, however, the restrictions and limitations already laid down. Unless a student be thus practically initiated into his duties before he leaves college, we can easily conceive that an unbroken pursuit of science and literature, even though they may be *theological*, will, to a certain extent, produce the effects complained of, and unfavorably affect his style of public address, at least for some years, after he has entered the ministry.

It is also freely admitted, that, to a certain extent, a young man's first sermons will be undesirably tinctured with the studies in which he has been recently much engaged; this is naturally and necessarily the case, whether his training has been long or short. Hence there will sometimes be a little bit of metaphysics, or a little scrap of criticism, which is totally unfit for a public audience, which had a thousand times better be dispensed with, and which, after a little experience, he would never think of introducing. This flows from two causes, the second of which is by far the more powerful of the two. First, his own mind has been recently much occupied with these things, and he mistakenly thinks that matters which are so interesting to him, must needs be interesting to every body else. Secondly, he stands a little *in need of time and experience,* the want of which is not the fault of college-training, any more than it is possible that a college-training should ever supply it. To this sort of learning, as to the mathematics, there is no 'royal road,' and patience is the only remedy. God himself has ordained that it should be so, and it never can be otherwise while the human mind takes its present course of development, or until youth and gray locks go together. The student has not yet learned that certain acquisitions are valuable only as they are instrumental in forming his own mind, and teaching him to use its faculties with facility and address on those subjects which are likely to interest and benefit a common audience; that, if for instance, he has studied metaphysics, or mathematics, he is never, as a public speaker, to let it appear that he has done either, except *indirectly,* in the greater soundness of his reasoning and perspicuity of his statements. Now, though this lesson ought to be incessantly inculcated upon him while he is a student, though he may admit its truth and importance, and even strive conscientiously to reduce it to practice, yet a little experience is absolutely necessary to enable him fully to appreciate its value. He is igno-

rant as yet in a great measure, of the topics and of the style which tell most upon human nature, and which most readily reach the understanding and the heart. In his first attempts at preaching he is unconsciously endeavouring to reduce to practice what he has as yet only learnt in theory, and we know that all such attempts whatsoever, even in things very much less difficult than preaching, are extremely awkward. It is evident, therefore, that a prolonged education is not to blame for all this—it is youth and inexperience which are the sole causes of it. The deficiencies arising from these are to be corrected only by time—by the methods which divine wisdom has appointed; and they who think it can be otherwise, are absurdly expecting to see old men's heads on young men's shoulders. We are far from denying that in many cases, notwithstanding the most judicious training, a lurking feeling of almost unconscious vanity, even in a youth who conscientiously strives to do his best, will lead to an occasional display of knowledge or of learning. But a little knowledge of human nature—a little practical acquaintance with what most interests it, with the sort of subjects and the sort of style to which the heart of man most readily responds, soon corrects all this; and thus while the benefits of protracted discipline and comprehensive knowledge are permanent, the ill effects are transitory, and soon disappear.

The same causes will account, not only for the ill-judged topics on which a youth will often descant, but for the insufficient manner in which he treats those subjects which can alone stir any deep emotion in the minds of his audience. Such defects are most preposterously charged upon his education; they are defects inseparable from youth, and necessarily spring from a partial sympathy with all the deeper feelings of humanity, with its sorrows, trials, and temptations; they are defects which no learning ever occasioned, and which no teaching can ever supply. A little time and a little experience are the only effectual tutors. And the proof is found in this: that if we take a youth, whose slender attainments and deficient training proclaim that he has been effectually exempted from the dangers which too prolonged an education is supposed to involve, we shall still see in his first addresses (though they may, perhaps, be more florid and declaratory), the same want of practical acquaintance with human nature, depth of feeling, earnest simplicity, and directness and pungency of style; in a word, of the qualities which will ever characterize the discourses of a man, whether in public or private, who vividly sympathizes in all the emotions of those whom he addresses, and is wholly absorbed in the importance of what he is delivering. It is simply another variety of the very same thing.

Nothing can in our judgment be more preposterous, or even more uncharitable or inhuman, than the criticisms which Chris-

tians, whose age, whose knowledge of human nature in general, and whose recollections of their own youthful history in particular, ought to have taught them better, often take upon them to pass upon the first efforts of a youthful preacher. The young man of four and twenty, who has never known what sorrow meant, who has never lost a friend, who has never been in adversity, who has seldom had his sympathies exercised by frequently coming into contact with those who have, who has never been subjected to severe temptations and to the discipline of sickness, and who is an absolute stranger to many of those emotions which can only be awakened in after years, gets up to preach; and an aged hearer perchance gravely tells us afterwards, 'that there was 'no deep experience in it; that there were too many hard words; 'references to and speculations about subjects in which the heart 'of man and the heart of a Christian can take little or no interest; 'and that this comes of studying at college.' We ask, How can the same or similar faults be avoided, whether the youth ever went to college or not? How much better would it become such a critic, instead of sourly dwelling on whatever has displeased him, and aggravating and multiplying the inevitable deficiencies of youth, to throw over them the mantle of charity, to rejoice in every indication which promised future excellence and usefulness, to be contented to bear with those faults which he himself would have exemplified at the same age, and to wait with patience for that ripe autumnal fruit which it is absurd to expect with the first blossoms of the spring.

Similar observations apply to those vices of style and diction which a protracted training, so far from occasioning, has a direct tendency to correct, but which yet, in spite of it, very generally characterizes the compositions of the young speaker and the young writer. Sometimes he is affectedly elegant, or ornately polished; sometimes he is all glitter and ornament, which he mistakes for the beautiful; sometimes sinks into downright fustian and bombast, which he mistakes for the sublime; one youth is proud of hard words, and another is taken with fine ones. But in all, there is more or less the want of that simple, direct, *hard-hitting* style, which will ever distinguish the productions of a mature intellect, animated by deep emotion. Such defects, in one form or other, and, to a greater or less extent, unavoidably attend a certain period of life — a period of unripe judgment, of immature taste, of undeveloped feeling. That period may be longer or shorter in different minds; abridged or protracted according to its constitutional peculiarities, or the kind and degree of culture which has been bestowed upon it; but it will exist in all; nor is there one of us, who has arrived at riper years, who cannot very well recollect that he was once well-pleased, perhaps in raptures, with what now inspires only disgust; that he once thought things very *fine*

which he would now throw aside as tawdry frippery. Now we contend, and indeed it is pretty generally admitted, that these defects, the result primarily of the constitution of human nature, so far from being cherished by a protracted education, are in every point of view likely to be diminished by it. It cannot be that the continued inculcation of simplicity, severe criticisms on the faults now animadverted upon, and familiarity with the best models, can increase the very faults which it is the perpetual effort of the teacher to detect and expose. Moreover, the mere time thus allowed for growth of intellect and expansion of feeling, has an obvious tendency to correct such faults. In fact, so far from its being true that these faults are to be attributed to an enlarged education, it is obvious that they exist in spite of it, and would exist to a greater extent, and for a longer period without it. But because, for the reasons already specified, it cannot wholly correct these faults, it is falsely charged with producing them. It is not very easy to show the absurdity of this reasoning by adducing instances of youths attempting to declaim in public without any discipline at all, because few ever attempt it; but we can truly say, that the faults now in question have always been greater in proportion to the want of it; and that the most perfect specimens of fustian and bombast to which we ever listened, were from men who had never passed through any such discipline.

We must not dismiss this important subject of our colleges, without offering two or three observations on the claims they have upon the support of our denominations, and the methods by which their revenues may be increased. Though we believe much more may be done than has yet been done, we rejoice to say that the state of our colleges is in this respect matter of congratulation. It were invidious to mention names, or dwell upon individual acts of munificence; suffice it to say, that both in the metropolis and in the country, there has been felt within the last twenty years a decidedly greater interest in these institutions, and a more generous liberality exercised in their support. We shall content ourselves with stating two or three simple facts. Upon examining the last reports of two of our largest and most respectable metropolitan colleges, we observe that the donations and bequests, within the last fifteen years, have been to those within the previous fifteen years, nearly as three to one; within the last twenty years, new and extensive buildings have been erected,* in not less than four instances, for the purpose of securing increased accommodation for students, or greater appliances of learning; while it is well known, that by an act of almost princely munificence, an entirely new college has been established in the midland counties, and that at

* Highbury, Homerton, Coward College, Airedale.

Manchester the foundations of another have just been laid, which is to cost not less than £20,000. Still we cannot help thinking, that by properly urging the claims of such institutions upon our denominations, far more may yet be effected. Indeed, when we reflect that upon these institutions the character of the rising ministry depends, that from these a supply at once permanent and effective must be secured—that it is the object of every church not only to support its own minister, but to perpetuate the ministry, we scarcely think that our congregations have as yet been roused to a due sense of what is required of them. We think that in every congregation of any considerable magnitude or wealth, there should be an annual collection for this object. Surely these institutions have as strong a claim upon our contributions, as very many others which are far more frequently put forward. Now there are many congregations that *never* have any collection for this object, and very few indeed that make it annual.—But besides these occasional collections for the purpose of gathering up the smaller fragments of public beneficence, we think that every man of competence should subscribe his guinea a year to one or other of these institutions, as regularly as he subscribes to the Bible or Missionary Societies. Men of large wealth should either subscribe a much larger sum to *one*, or what would perhaps be still better, divide their benevolence amongst them all. For about four or five guineas a year, an opulent Congregationalist or Baptist might have the satisfaction of feeling that he was doing something to support all the principal theological colleges of his own denomination.

We would also call attention to another mode by which the efficiency of these Institutions might be greatly promoted, and which we feel convinced it is only necessary to urge upon our wealthy members and wealthy churches, to induce some of them to act upon it. It is that of founding scholarships in connexion with these Institutions, for the support of a student for the ministry during the term of his academical studies. In the case of wealthy individuals this might be effected by either giving or bequeathing a sum, the annual interest of which should pay for the board and lodging of one student; and in the case of churches, by either collecting such a sum at once, and investing it in some suitable manner, or, which in the majority of cases would be easier, by raising five-and-twenty pounds a year for this specific object. These scholarships might of course be called by the name of the individuals or the churches founding them. In a new College in the midland counties, two or three such scholarships have already been founded, and it is in contemplation to found more. For ourselves, we cannot conceive a more delightful subject of reflection than that of having provided for the preparation of a perpetual succession of useful and efficient ministers; nor would it be the least advantage of such a plan

that it would bring more strongly before the churches who might adopt it, the claims of such institutions; it would surely stimulate their zeal, and animate their prayers.

It may not be uninteresting to give a statistical account of the number of the students which the Colleges of the Evangelical Dissenters are capable of accomodating, as at present constituted. It is about 350. Homerton can accommodate 20; Highbury 40; Stepney 26; Coward College 20; Spring Hill College 34; Bristol 30; Hackney 12; Airedale 20; Rotherham 20; Bradford 25; Western Academy 10; Lancashire Independent College 15; Newport Pagnell 8; Brecon 10; Pontypool 10; Glasgow Theological Academy 28; Dublin Theological Institution 6; Cheshunt (the Countess of Huntingdon's), 20.

Before we close this article we must make a few observations on a method by which it has been sometimes supposed (we are convinced erroneously) that the funds of these Institutions might be made to go much further than they do. It is sometimes said that wherever there is an extensive apparatus of education set up, and tutors, libraries, &c., provided, we might just as well educate one hundred students as thirty or forty. Tutors, it is said, might just as well lecture to many as to few. Certainly, just as well, and it would be much more pleasant. But, in the first place, these many must be fed and lodged, and this in a large establishment, is the principal source of expense. One hundred cannot live upon the food of twenty, unless the fasts be very frequent, and they take it into their heads to dine by turns. Nor can one hundred dwell in the same space with twenty, unless they agree to sleep five in a bed. In the next place, the task of mere lecturing is the least difficult and the least responsible part of the duties which the tutor has to perform. It is not in these Institutions as in some Universities, where the lecturer merely goes into his lecture-room and reads a course of lectures, leaving his instructions to be enforced and rendered available by private tuition; or, if there be no private tutors, leaving the student to derive benefit from the lectures or not, just as it may happen. Where the sole duty of the lecturer is to impart an hour's instruction in the lecture-room, to a class perhaps of some hundreds, he soon finds out the few who are likely to prove diligent and conscientious students, and these he takes by the hand and pushes forward. If students prove indolent, and upon being called upon once or twice, show by their ignorance and slovenliness that they are not disposed to learn, neither the limited nature of his duties, nor justice to those students who would make a better use of his instructions, will permit him to trouble himself any more about them, and they are left to be idle or not, to read or not, to listen or not, just as suits them. He is simply paid for *lecturing*, and if they refuse to be there, or while there, trifle away their time, it is no concern of his. But it is very different in our theological colleges. There the

young men are supported at the public expense, with money collected for the most sacred of all purposes; and duty to the public, duty to the church of Christ, requires that the utmost should be made of every farthing of it. Moreover, the tutors are expected not only to *lecture,* but *to teach;* not only to deliver instructions, but to see that those instructions have been apprehended and retained by the student. The consequence is, that a great part of his time must be spent in catechetical examinations, in repeating his statements where he finds they have been forgotten, or in explaining them where they have been misunderstood; in framing exercises, and in correcting and revising the students' answers. He must stimulate the tardy, help on the feeble, reprove the indolent; the distinction so universal elsewhere, of the *reading* and *non-reading men*—of the idle and diligent, must be unknown here. It is our firm conviction that no tutor can efficiently discharge such duties as these in more than his own department, to more than forty or at most fifty students. In University College, London, where, much to the credit of the professors, the duties of professor and teacher are to a great extent combined (a circumstance which perhaps more than any other has contributed to the success of their students), the labors of a professor in proportion to the numbers of the students are far more onerous than those of one at any other college; and in the event, by no means, we trust, improbable, of a very large accession to the students there, it will not be possible for the professor to give so much time to each individual of his class.

As to whether a larger number of students might be brought together to the same spot by consolidating some of our Institutions and multiplying our tutors, giving to each a more restricted sphere of duties,—a question which has sometimes been discussed,—we shall refrain from saying a syllable, if only for the reason that for the present there is no possibility of practically entertaining it; in all probability there never will be. Our Institutions are already established—occupy widely different localities, and have special interests in those localities. We cannot refrain also from saying that we have many doubts as to the wisdom of such a project even were it thought practicable. By being scattered over the country, they exercise a far more extensive influence, than they could possibly exert if confined to one spot: and while we should like to see each of our principal colleges favoured with the instructions of three or four efficient tutors, we do think that these would be able to teach, and to teach well, those portions of science and literature essential to the most thorough training of the Christian minister.

Here we close our remarks, and if they should lead to reflection and discussion on the part of those who are most interested in them, our efforts will be amply rewarded, let our suggestions appear ever so crude, our projects ever so visionary.

Art. II. *Physic and Physicians: a Medical Sketch-Book exhibiting the Public and Private Life of the most celebrated Medical Men of former days; with Memoirs of Eminent living London Physicians and Surgeons.* 2 Vols. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, and Co. 1839.

THE only commendation we can bestow upon these volumes is that of being a curious mélange of anecdotes respecting the art of medicine and its professors. In this point of view they may afford some entertainment, but whoever looks into them for more will be grievously disappointed. They are, indeed, a very creditable specimen of the modern art of book-making, in which authors seem determined to prove the fallacy of the old axiom, 'Ex nihilo nihil fit.' There is little judgment in the selection or distribution of the matter, no nice discrimination of character, no enlightened estimate of the professional reputation of the various eminent physicians who come under review, no historical account of medical discoveries. In fact the greater part of the details with which the volumes abound, rather respect the individuals to whom they relate *as men*, than *as physicians*. Their profession is a mere accident, and if the wit, and humour, and eccentricities of certain eminent lawyers or divines were put together and the books called 'Law and Lawyers,' or 'Divinity 'and Divines,' there would be just as much propriety in the title as in that of the work now before us. We must also enter our protest against the methods by which these volumes are stuffed out to their present bulk. The reflections and disquisitions, if such they may be called, are of a very meagre and superficial character, and yet, meagre and superficial as they are, are expressed with much formality and occasional magniloquence. *Videlicit*, speaking of the manners of eccentric medical men, our author thus pompously enlarges on a very common-place thought; 'It is said, that there are excesses of the *suaviter in modo*, even 'more designing and censurable than the overacting of the *fortiter* '*in re*. Dr. Gregory marks, and forcibly condemns the double-'faced and fee-seeking satyr, who blows south in the mansions of 'wealth, and north in the hovels of poverty; the cur who having 'grown rich by compliance with good manners, conceives himself 'indispensable to his employers, and becomes rapacious and 'brutal upon the strength of his reputation; and the servile and 'fawning sycophant, who in exceeding the established rules of 'good breeding towards characters, despicable in other respects, 'than external splendour and magnificence, forgets that his philo-'sophy is but a name."

Those portions of the work which relate to the history of medicine, more especially its ancient history, are very superficial,

and those which respect eminent living men are equally so. There is only one point of view in which these latter portions deserve any praise, and that is that they deal in no slander or calumny. On the contrary, our author manifests a laudable desire to conciliate the regard of this influential class of readers by bestowing upon them all the praise he can, and by withholding every particle of censure. But as to discrimination of character, or estimate of professional ability, these portraits (if we may apply to these sketchy things such a term) are utterly worthless. They are for the most part made up of a few unmeaning sentences of vague and undistinguishing eulogy, with here and there some incidents of personal history; while, as if our author were conscious of the meagreness of such '*memoirs* of eminent living 'physicians and surgeons,' the most trifling and unimportant peculiarities connected with the individual are frequently pressed into the service. Thus of Dr. Granville we are told 'that in personal appearance he resembles a foreigner, that he is 'passionately fond of music, and hardly ever omits to be present 'at her Majesty's Theatre during the season.' Of the few paragraphs which are devoted to Dr. Conquest, two of them are occupied with the important and novel information that he offered £100 for the best essay on the sin of covetousness; that the adjudicators were the Rev. Dr. Pye Smith and the Rev. Baptist Noel; that a vast number of competitors came forward; that the prize was awarded to the Rev. John Harris, who published his essay under the title of 'Mammon;' that this work has had a most extensive sale, and reached six editions. The '*memoir*' of Dr. Billing is contained in the words that 'he is of the London 'Hospital, and is well known by his valuable book on the Princi-'ples of Medicine.' Not less than seven physicians are all disposed of in rather less than one page, and about as many surgeons in another. It can hardly be said that our author had not room when we find him occupying valuable space with such grandiloquent reflections and irrelevant poetical scraps as the following on Dr. Thomas Davies.

'Dr. Davies's mind is not formed in a strongly imaginative mould. He has ambition, but not to an unreasonable degree. How true it is that one great source of the misery we often see in the medical profession, arises from our indulging too sanguine hopes of enjoyment from the blessings we expect, and too much indifference for those within our grasp. Young says,

> 'The present moment, like a wife, we shun;
> And ne'er enjoy, because it is our own.'

This cannot be laid to the charge of the physician who forms the subject of this sketch. His ambition is gratified if he has it in his power to relieve the sufferings of his fellow men; to him, the recollection of

having been of service to others conveys a feeling which only Shakespeare can express: 'It comes over the heart as soft music does over the ear,

'Like the sweet south
That breathes upon a bank of violets.'

Even considered in that point of view in which alone these volumes inspire interest, that is, as a collection of curious and entertaining anecdotes, we cannot bestow upon them unqualified praise. That the author has read many books, consulted a great number of authorities, and brought together a great quantity of information, we readily admit, but it is equally evident that he has not taken time to select, digest, and compress what is said. Even in the anecdotes there is little attempt to separate what is apocryphal or traditional, from what is matter of authentic history; in one case we observe that the very same anecdote is told of two individuals, namely of Abernethy and Sir Richard Jebb; while the most thread-bare and oft-repeated stories, instead of being merely adverted to as well known to every body, are related with as much circumstantiality and diffuseness as if they were now given to the public for the first time. We will not be, however, so ungrateful as to deny that, considered as a collection of anecdotes and personal incidents, the volumes have afforded us some entertainment, and if these portions of them had been compressed and published in one volume of moderate size, we think we might have predicted for it a considerable sale.

Having spoken so fully and so freely of our author's faults—though neither more freely nor more fully than our convictions of what is due to critical honesty force us to do—we think it but just to furnish our readers with a few specimens of the more amusing matters which he has collected togother.

In our selection of anecdotes we shall choose not always those which are the most amusing, as these have been often related before, but those which are the least hackneyed. Take the following of the celebrated Dr. Mead.

'Mead dabbled considerably in the stocks. One day prior to his visiting his patients, he received intelligence that the stocks had suddenly fallen. At this moment he was sent for, in a great hurry, to visit a lady who was represented to be very ill. Having considerable property in the funds, the news made so strong an impression upon his mind, that, whilst he was feeling the patient's pulse, he exclaimed, 'Mercy upon me, how they fall! lower! lower! lower!' The lady, in alarm flew to the bell, crying out, 'I am dying! Dr. Mead says, my pulse gets lower and lower; so that it is impossible I should live!' 'You are dreaming, Madam,' replied the physician, rousing himself from his reverie, 'Your pulse is very good, and nothing ails you: it was the stocks I was talking of.''—Vol. ii. pp. 15, 16.

'Mead calling one day on a gentleman who had been severely afflicted with the gout, found, to his surprise, the disease gone, and the patient rejoicing on his recovery over a bottle of wine. 'Come along, doctor,' exclaimed the patient, 'you are just in time to taste this bottle of Madeira; it is the first of a pipe which has just been broached.' 'Ah!' replied Mead, 'these pipes of Madeira will never do; they are the cause of all your suffering.' 'Well, then,' rejoined the gay incurable, 'fill your glass, for now we have found out *the cause*, the sooner we get rid of it the better.'"—Ib. p. 18.

The next shall be of the late Dr. Baillie, one of the royal physicians. The last anecdote is beautiful.

'During Baillie's latter years, when he had retired from all but consultation practice, and had ample time to attend to each individual case, he was very deliberate, tolerant, and willing to listen to whatever was said to him by the patient; but, at an earlier period, in the hurry of great business, when his day's work, as he used to say, amounted to sixteen hours, he was sometimes rather irritable, and betrayed a want of temper in hearing the tiresome details of an unimportant story. After listening, with torture, to a pressing account from a lady, who ailed so little that she was going to the opera that evening, he had happily escaped from the room, when he was urgently requested to step up stairs again; it was to ask whether, on her return from the opera, she might eat some oysters. 'Yes, Madam,' said Baillie, 'shells and all.'"—Ib. pp. 41, 42.

'Notwithstanding Dr. Baillie's general amiability of character, the multiplicity of his professional concerns would often betray him into an irritability of temper. He frequently came home, after a day of great fatigue, and held up his hands to his family circle, eager to welcome him home, saying, 'Don't speak to me;' and then, presently, after a glass of wine, and when the transitory cloud had cleared away from his brow, with a smile of affection, he would look round him, and exclaim, 'You may speak to me now.'"—Ib. p. 43.

The following retort of the eccentric Dr. Mounsey is pretty good.

'We are afraid of you, doctor, you come from a sick-room,' exclaimed the *petit maitre*. 'You often make me sick,' replied Mounsey, 'but never afraid.'"—Vol. i. p. 57.

The anecdotes told of the eccentric Dr. Radcliffe and the equally eccentric John Abernethy, have been for the most part retailed a thousand times. The following story of the latter is, however, not quite so hackneyed as some others.

'Of Mr. Abernethy's independence, and strict regard to what is right, we have many examples. Among others, the following is characteristic. A certain noble personage, who at that time enjoyed a situation of great responsibility in the sister kingdom, had been waiting

for some time in the surgeon's anteroom, when seeing those who had arrived before him, successively called in, he became somewhat impatient, and sent his card in. No notice was taken of the hint ; he sent another card—another—another—and another ; still no answer. At length he gained admission in his turn ! and full of nobility and choler, he asked rather aristocratically, why he had been kept waiting so long ? 'Wh—ew ?' replied the professor, 'because you did not come sooner, to be sure.' '—Ib. p. 105.

The following of Garth are not bad.

'Garth, one Sunday, stumbled into a Presbyterian church, to beguile a few idle moments, and seeing the parson apparently overwhelmed by the importance of the subject, he observed to a person who stood near him, 'what makes the man greet ?' 'By my faith,' answered the other, 'you would, perhaps, greet too, if you were in his place, and had as little to say.' 'Come along and dine with me, my good fellow,' said Garth, 'I perceive you are too good a fellow to be here.' '—Ib. p. 217.

'Many amusing anecdotes are recorded of this eminent poet and physician. On one occasion when he met the members of the celebrated Kit-Kat Club, he declared that he must soon be gone, having many patients to attend ; but on some excellent wine being placed on the table, and the conversation becoming interesting and animated, the doctor soon forgot his professional engagements. His friend, Sir Richard Steel, however, thought it his duty to remind the doctor of his poor patients. Garth immediately pulled out his list, upon which were fifteen names. 'It is no great matter whether I see them to night or not,' said he, 'for nine of them have such bad constitutions, that all the physicians in the world cannot save them ; and the other six have such good constitutions, that all the physicians in the world can't kill them.' '—Ib. p. 218.

Of Dr. Walcot, the celebrated Peter Pindar, we find the following too characteristic anecdotes : all but the last, however, are tolerably well known.

'His writings were very productive. Those who condemned his satire purchased his works to laugh at his wit. An old acquaintance once remarked, when the doctor offered him his hand, that he hardly knew how to take it, he felt so angry with him for abusing the king. 'Pooh ! pooh !' said Peter, 'I bear no ill-will to his majesty—God bless him ! I believe him to be a very good man, but I must write upon characters that the world are interested in reading about, I would abuse you, but I should get nothing by it !'

'Walcot always declared that the booksellers had been cheating him publicly for years, and that at last he got the best side of them by stratagem. He had offered to sell the copyright of all his works for a life-annuity. The negociation took place in the month of November,

and the doctor always appointed the evening for the time of meeting the booksellers. He had an habitual cough, and walking out in the evening fog increased it. When he arrived at the place of his destination he could never speak until he had taken a full glass of brandy, and then remarked, 'that it made little difference what the annuity was, as it would soon be all over with him.' They were of the same opinion. The bargain was made, 'and,' continued Peter, 'after I mixed water with my brandy, the spring came on, and I lost my cough.' This always pleased him to the end of his very lengthened life; and after he had signed the very last receipt, he observed, 'he was sure they had wished him at the devil long ago, and he should have done the same had he been in their place.'"—Ib. p. 289, 290.

'Having called upon a bookseller in Paternoster Row to inquire after his own works, he was asked to take a glass of wine. Dr. Walcot consented to accept of a little negus, as an innocent morning beverage, when instantly was presented to him a cocoa-nut goblet, with the face of a man carved on it. 'Eh! eh!' says the doctor, 'what have we here?' 'A man's skull,' replied the bookseller; 'a poet's for what I know.' 'Nothing more likely,' rejoined the facetious doctor, 'for it is universally known that *all* booksellers drink wine from *our* skulls!'"—Ib. p. 292.

We must close these anecdotes of the medical profession by the following of the eminent and amiable Quaker physician Dr. Fothergill.

'A Quaker apothecary meeting Dr. Fothergill, thus accosted him, 'Friend Fothergill, I intend dining with thee to-day.' 'I shall be glad to see thee,' answered the doctor, 'but pray, friend, hast thou not some joke?' 'No joke, indeed,' rejoined the apothecary, 'but a very serious matter. Thou hast attended friend Ephraim these three days, and ordered him no medicine. I cannot at this rate live in my own house, and must live in thine.' The doctor took the hint, and prescribed handsomely for the benefit of his friend Ephraim, and his friend Leech the apothecary!'"—Ib. pp. 349, 350.

'We have already stated that charity was a predominant feature in Dr. Fothergill's character. It is stated that during the summer he retired to Lea Hall, in Cheshire. He devoted one day in every week to attendance at Middlewick, the nearest market town, and gave his gratuitous advice to the poor. He assisted the clergy not merely with his advice, but on numerous occasions, with his purse. On one occasion he was reproved by a friend for his refusal of a fee from a person who had attained a high rank in the Church. 'I had rather,' replied the doctor, 'return the fee of a gentleman whose rank I am not perfectly acquainted with, than run the risk of taking it from a man who ought, perhaps, to be the object of my bounty.'"—Vol. ii. pp. 29, 30.

The following story told in the chapter on 'Quackery,' appears almost incredible, and yet after the extraordinary proofs we have

had and still have of human credulity on this point, we *can* believe that there have been fools weak enough to be imposed upon even by such absurdities. At all events, it is excellent satire on the knavery and impudence of 'Quacks,' and the ignorance and gullibility of their victims.

'Some time since a *soi-disant* quack doctor sold water of the pool of Bethesda, which was to cure all complaints, if taken at the time when the angel visited the parent spring, on which occasion the doctor's bottled water manifested, he said, its sympathy with the fount, by being thrown into a state of perturbation. Hundreds of fools were induced to purchase the Bethesda water, and watched for the commotion and the consequence, with the result to be expected. At last one, less patient than the rest, went to the quack, and complained that though he had kept his eye constantly on the water for a whole year, he had never yet discovered any thing like the signs of an angel in his bottle.

''That's extremely strange,' exclaimed the doctor, 'what sized bottle did you buy, Sir?'

'*Patient.* 'A half-guinea one, doctor.'

'*Doctor.* 'Oh, that accounts for it. The half-guinea bottles contain so small a quantity of the invaluable Bethesda water, that the agitation is scarcely perceptible; but if you buy a five guinea bottle, and watch it well, you will in due time, see the commotion quite plainly, sympathizing with that of the pool when visited by the angel.' The patient bought the five guinea bottle as advised, and kept a sharp look out for the angel until the day of his death.''

—Vol. i. pp. 327, 328.

Upon the whole, it will be seen that we are very far from being able to approve of these volumes, and that we cannot altogether condemn them. There is much in them to amuse, but little to instruct. They may be taken up to while away an idle hour, but this is the best that can be said of them.

Art. III. 1. *The Voluntary System, a Prize Essay, in reply to the Lectures of Dr. Chalmers on Church Establishments,* By Joseph Angus, M.A. London: Jackson and Walford.

2. *National Establishments of Religion, considered in connexion with Justice, Christianity, and Human Nature.* By John Taylor. London: Smallfield and Son.

WE confess that we have no sympathy with those weak-hearted well-meaning christians who deprecate controversy. We are indebted to it for our first and greatest reformation; and we

doubt not, ere many years pass away that it will produce another and a greater still: the Reformation from Popery was a noble achievement; the Reformation from Protestant Popery, and the entire severance of all our churches from the mother of harlots, will be the consummation of our religious freedom, and will accelerate, if not introduce, the millennium of knowledge, holiness, and love. Controversy, even when it has been most abused, has ended in the clearer manifestation and ultimate triumph of right principles. In the beautiful language of Bishop Horne, 'all objections when considered and answered, turn out to the 'advantage of the gospel, which resembles a fine country in the 'spring season, when the very hedges are in bloom, and every 'thorn produces a flower.'

In reviewing the controversy on Church Establishments so far as it has yet proceeded, with Dr. Chalmers leading the van on the one side, and Dr. Wardlaw on the other, we cannot help exclaiming 'surely there is no enchantment' against the Voluntaries, 'there is no divination' against the churches that receive Christ as their sole sovereign and head. The Christian Influence Society may well reproach the mighty wizard they brought not 'from the mountains of the east,' but from the far north, with having altogether defeated their intention in sending for him, and may address him in the language of Balak to Balaam, 'what 'hast thou done unto me, I took thee to curse mine enemies, and 'behold thou hast blessed them altogether.' It is even so: the redoubtable champion of worldly incorporations of religion called Established and National churches, has failed in his defence of them while he has strengthened and confirmed the principles of their opponents. To his high church patrons and supporters these Lectures of Dr. Chalmers must be as wormwood and gall. However the rhetorician's sophistry and the orator's finesse might have imposed on them as his *audience*, now that they can sit down in their individual capacity as his *readers*, they must feel that their cause has been damaged, if not betrayed, and that in provoking discussion they have only prepared the way for defeat.

In taking a retrospect of the manner in which this controversy was introduced by his patrons, and conducted on the part of Dr. Chalmers, at the Hanover Rooms, and the contrast in all respects exhibited on the part of Dr. Wardlaw and his friends at the Freemason's Hall; we are struck with certain peculiarities which mark conscious weakness on the one side, and a calm persuasion of victory on the other. It was a spectacle for the Voluntaries to gaze upon with equal surprise and satisfaction, when a Christian Influence Society, composed of Episcopalians of the Anglican, and in their own view, the only truly Apostolic Church upon earth, sat listening to the minister of another

church merely as an unaccredited Layman, and that minister even more than virtually pledged to support Presbyterianism in opposition to 'black prelacy' joining in their Liturgy, and making common cause with them against the principles and the progress of Religious Liberty. The Voluntaries of the north and south, in this anomalous coalition, this mutual degradation, saw only a concession made to necessity, and while they lamented the voluntary humiliation of the new Salmasius, they could not but exult in it as surely indicating the triumph of their cause,—that both parties must have been in dismal straits before the one could have condescended to ask, and the other to have rendered assistance, on terms which the fathers of the Scottish Presbytery would have disdained to accept; applauded by Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, but excluded from their pulpits as officially unqualified to minister at their altars. The *situation* of Dr. Chalmers, in the feelings of his friends at least, was any thing but enviable. But even this, degrading as it may appear, was as nothing when compared with the prostitution of his fine talents to the low arts and shifts of the mere professional advocate, and his total forgetfulness of the courtesies and decencies which ought never to be conspicuously violated, especially in controversies which christians of different communions may be called upon to maintain with each other. On this occasion, as it appeared to us, Dr. Chalmers exhibited more of the sophist than the saint, a character totally at variance with the simplicity which ought to adorn every follower of Him who knew no sin, and in whose mouth there was no guile.

Dr. Chalmers's method of conducting his cause was another indication of its final discomfiture. When he described the Voluntaries as men of drivelling and unintelligent piety, fanatical and presumptuous, disdaining all human means in accomplishing their objects, and yet employing 'sledge hammers' to break down the existing machinery of establishments; charging them with being 'frame 'breakers,' one moment laughing them to scorn as little better than idiots, and the next, denouncing them as Revolutionists, aiming at nothing less than the destruction of Church and State: he must not wonder that the persons he treats so uncourteously should regard his writings as further symptoms of their approaching triumph. We well remember while bearing the whole onslaught of the orator's abuse, picturing to ourselves the huge pillars that supported the temple of Dagon, and the stricken prophet in his blindness between them putting forth his last energy, and perishing in the mighty ruin. But if the lectures of Dr. Chalmers animated us with the assurance of victory, Dr. Wardlaw's more than realized our highest expectation. His eight lectures thoroughly sift the question of National Church Establishments; and when Dr. Chalmers's flimsy sophistry, bold

invective, or utopian speculations come in his way, he blows them into thin air, and this without the least apparent effort. Indeed throughout the discussion of the general question, and in establishing great principles, Dr. Wardlaw discovers a perfect knowledge and mastery of his subject; he perceives too in a moment the strong and weak points in the reasonings of his opponent, he detects and crushes a fallacy with the same ease that he would brush a fly from his ample forehead; so patient is he in investigation that he is absolutely above prejudice, and so calm in his progress, and farsighted in his views, that nothing can betray him into precipitancy. Every step he takes is in advance. He is rather a convincing than an eloquent writer. Yet he carries you along with him by his evident and earnest sincerity. You never once think of him as an advocate or declaimer. He is the propounder and exemplar of a divine philosophy, and grant to him his demand to derive all that is authoritative in the science from the Bible as the word of God, and you feel as he addresses you, that you are listening rather to an oracle than an orator. Chalmers appears the opposite of Dr. Wardlaw in all things. Talent he has of a high order; he may sometimes ascend to the elevation, but he cannot be said to dwell in the region of pure intellect. There is no man as a writer and speaker who is a greater stranger to simplicity than Dr. Chalmers. His style is a fair sample of his mind and tastes. He is for the gorgeous in every thing. He would have been a Laud in pomp, if he had not been born and bred a Presbyterian. When he ought to construct an argument, he paints a picture. He lays his premises in a fancy, and his most elaborate reasoning is but a castle in the air. Instead of a syllogism he gives you a metaphor; and for a definition you must be satisfied with an illustration. He understands the *Petitio principii*, and is always assuming what he ought to prove, and which is often contradicted by all the facts of the case. In his most felicitous moods he is a fine aurora borealis—we gaze, and are dazzled—we look again, and the splendid pageant has vanished. If imagination could have done it, instead of failing he would have triumphed over the enemies of establishments.

Having already and at some length noticed the works which have called forth these further passing observations, we must introduce to our readers two other performances which have not only assisted to keep the subject alive before the public, but which are of a superior order, and in point of talent may be placed beside the volumes of Gladstone and Maurice, while in fair, manly, and conclusive argument, they are immeasurably above them. They are both Prize Essays; Mr. Angus gaining the first prize offered by the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty, for the best refutation of the pernicious

doctrines and principles disseminated by Dr. Chalmers's Lectures on Establishments; and Mr. Taylor the second. The former of these gentlemen is known to us as a young minister of the Baptist denomination of singular promise—of the latter, we know absolutely nothing, except as the author of the work before us.

The essays however speak for themselves. It was judicious, we think, to offer more than a single prize; and if this plan, now becoming so common, should be persevered in, we recommend the calling forth and rewarding as much talent as will promote the objects for the attainment of which it is directed; had Mr. Taylor's essay not been published, the cause which he defends would have sustained a great loss. The same subject may be exhibited by various writers in very different lights and under peculiar aspects, and be all the better understood for this diversity of treatment. This is well illustrated in the successful writers before us. Mr. Angus triumphantly leads the way, with the Voluntary System which he supports—Mr. Taylor follows, with the argumentative demolition all National Establishments. When their principles and public opinion become identical,—and we trust the signs of the times indicate that the period is not far distant,—then will the world become their acknowledged debtors, and a nation's gratitude will await and reward their peaceful victories. Every man that values the social happiness, and the religious well-being of his species, and who can wield a pen with effect, ought to join this holy alliance in their noble efforts to drive all usurpers from the throne of the Prince of Peace. In this warfare our enemies must be Voluntaries as well as ourselves. Their citadel of compulsion will avail them nothing now; ere long, like another Bastile, it will be battered to the ground. We must both stand or fall by the force of argument, the power of Truth.

In reviewing the leading writers on the part of ecclesiastical establishments, and those who are marshalled against them, it is impossible not to be struck with the opposite positions which the former assume, and which are fatal to each other; and the perfect oneness and harmony of principles, whatever be their diversities of church or sect, which the latter uniformly exhibit, and by which they all and equally uphold their own system, while they battle down in detail the whole force of their adversaries;—a force which, being composed of hostile elements, might be safely left to destroy itself, were it not for its aggressive character towards dissentients;—the only point of combination which holds its heterogeneous and antagonist influences together. For a brief view of these, and their fatal operation upon each other, we refer our readers to our notice of Mr. Dick's Dissertation on Church Polity in a recent number. Mr. Angus, and Mr. Taylor, as well as Mr. Dick, have met the two great divisions in the church militant, which are now setting themselves in array against the

voluntary system; and whether they are sticklers for divine right or expediency, whether they serve under Hooker or Warburton, Gladstone or Chalmers, these striplings of our Israel have met them single-handed, and crushed them with weapons of stouter metal than their own; weapons of ethereal temper, taken from the armoury of Scripture, which those 'upon the adverse faction' know not how to use or to repel, and which are truly described as not 'carnal, but spiritual and mighty through God 'to the pulling down of *the strongholds of Satan,* and the casting 'down of imaginations, and of *every high thing which exalteth* 'itself against the knowledge of God.'

As truth has been often obscured, and controversies perplexed and rendered interminable, by the loose manner in which words and phrases are employed, whereby the disputants have unconsciously or with design confused their own meaning and that of their opponents, furnishing in every page materials for new arguments and objections; nothing can be of greater importance at the commencement of a controversy, than a clear and precise terminology—from which neither side should be permitted to deviate, even a hairs-breadth. After exposing, in his first chapter, certain sophistical statements of the voluntary question, and in a manner so winning and attractive, that whoever takes up the volume and begins with the beginning, will feel himself drawn on imperceptibly to its close, Mr. Angus unfolds, in the second chapter, 'the real question at issue between the 'advocates of voluntaryism and a state church;' which he introduces by remarking—

'In all disputed questions, it is of the last moment that the advocates of opposite systems set down, at the very beginning, the meaning of their words and terms, or at least that they define clearly what notions each doubtful one is supposed to involve. We proceed, therefore, to describe what seem the distinctive features of the *voluntary* and state-establishment system.'—p. 21.

After clearing his ground by laying down eight distinctions, by disregarding which so much inconvenience has been hitherto experienced by writers on either side, the author proceeds to state the case—

'The question we have to investigate is this—whether the peaceful subject of a government, who conscientiously believes the religious sentiments and the religious worship of the established sect more or less unscriptural, ought to be *compelled* to support and diffuse them, and then punished, either by direct penalty or by *exclusion* from equal privileges, for his conscientious belief?

'If any insist that compulsory taxes for the support of another's faith, or injustice, and inequality of privilege for conscience-sake, or

persecution, and government aid, are not included in their notion of a national church, we can only reply, that when national churches are found without them our objections cease.'—pp. 26, 27.

The third chapter treats of the injustice of a state church, and is introduced by an admirable motto from Burke's Tracts on the Popery Laws, a mine of principles from which treasures may be dug up, which voluntaries and compulsionists, and especially the latter, little dream of. It is too good not to be transferred to our pages.

'Reason is never inconvenient but when it comes to be applied. Mere general truths interfere very little with the passions. They can, until they are roused by a troublesome application, rest in great tranquillity, side by side, with tempers and proceedings the most directly opposite to them. Men want to be reminded, who do not want to be taught; because those original ideas of rectitude to which the mind is compelled to assent when they are proposed, are not always as present to it as they ought to be. When people are gone, if not into a denial, at least into a sort of oblivion of those ideas, when they know them only as barren speculations, and not as practical motives of conduct, it will be proper to press, as well as to offer them to the understanding; and when one is attacked by prejudices, which aim to intrude themselves into the place of law, what is left for us but to vouch and call to warranty those principles of original justice from whence alone our title to every thing valuable in society is derived?'—p. 28.

This chapter begins with an objection against state churches, which involves the applicability of the doctrines of free trade to the Christianization of a country, which figure so prominently in the Lectures of Dr. Chalmers. Mr. Angus has set this question at rest. He has pointed out Dr. Chalmers's mistakes, and their origin; and has met the philosophic objection to the transference of the principles of free-trade in business to free-trade in Christianization. He admits the distinction on which the objection is founded—'That between the spiritual appetite of men 'for religious truth, and their physical appetite for the necessaries 'or the luxuries of life, there is no resemblance. The want of 'food creates the appetite of hunger, and hunger seeks to be 'appeased; but ignorance creates no appetite for knowledge, no 'hungering and thirsting after truth, no spontaneous movement 'towards instruction; and therefore it is held, though the one 'appetite may be left alone to seek its own gratification, the 'other must be stimulated before it will seek to be supplied.' To this Mr. Angus thus replies :—

'The reality and the justness of this distinction no one can for a moment hesitate to allow. Christians of every name have long been familiar with the melancholy facts on which it is founded, and as

Christians have acted upon them. Unhappily, however, it proves nothing relatively to the duty of the government. It is true that because for articles of trade demand and supply may be left alone to adjust themselves, therefore government need not interfere with them; but it is by no means a necessary consequence of this principle, that because for the truths of religion demand and supply cannot safely be left alone, therefore they must be supported and diffused by the government.

'The first argument is conclusive:—

'Wherever demand and supply can safely be left to their own adjustment, *no one* need interfere with them.

'But in trade they may be left to their own adjustment.

'Therefore, *no one* need interfere with them.

'The second argument is deceptive:—

'Wherever demand and supply cannot safely be left to their own adjustment, *some one* must interfere with them.

'But in religion they cannot safely be left to their adjustment.

'Therefore, *government* must needs interfere with them.

'The first conclusion is logically true; the second, it will be seen, is logically false: 'no one' certainly excludes the members of the government; while 'some one' of the second syllogism does not necessarily include them. To make this celebrated distinction at all available, we must adopt for the first premiss a proposition notoriously false —viz. 'With whatever cannot well be left alone government must interfere;' or, for the second, some proposition that takes as granted the whole question at issue between the advocates of state establishments and ourselves.'—pp. 39, 40.

By following the writer closely through his logically constructed process of reasoning, the reader will have no difficulty in arriving at his conclusions.

1. That the principles of free-trade are principles of justice.

2. That they are violated, not by the voluntary beneficence of dissenters, but certainly by the prerogatives of chartered sects. And,

3. That these prerogatives are essentially unjust.

Till, therefore, injustice become expedient (Mic. vi. 8), ecclesiastical state-establishments must be condemned.

That the advocates of compulsory payments to ecclesiastical establishments, or for ecclesiastical purposes, may be left without the fragment of an argument with which to defend their injustice, Mr. Angus drives them from their pretended scriptural authorities drawn from the history of Jewish and patriarchal times; and especially exposes the fallacy of their claim founded in Levit. xxvii. 30, 'All the tithe of the land, whether of the 'seed of the land or of the fruit of the tree, is the Lord's, holy 'unto the Lord.' The value of the following extract must atone for its length.

'But mark the following facts:—

'1. All tithes paid under the law were polluted, till a tenth of them had been presented as a heave-offering (Numb. xviii. 28, 32); and hence the Jews regard this law as obsolete, since there is no priest, no temple, no altar, to hallow them.

Is this custom continued, or is it practicable? If not, tithes are unsanctified, 'there is sin upon them.'

'2. All tithes were paid under the law, as part of the inheritance of the Levites. They that had tithes had no land, and were forbidden to hold it.

Can such a restriction be pleaded in defence of the tithes of the English church?

'3. The annual tithes were shared by the offerers of them (Deut. xiv. 23). The triennial tithes by the Levite, the offerer, the fatherless, the stranger, and the widow (verses 28, 29).

Are the tithe-gatherers of this country prepared to allow this appropriation of the 'gifts' of the people?

'If, therefore, the tithes of Canaan were polluted till *ceremonially* sanctified,—if the right of them belonged to the tribe of Levi in particular, and in compensation of the twelfth of the land of promise,—and not to them only, but also to the owner and his household at the time of their offering, and every third year to the stranger and fatherless,—it follows, that ministers of this day, who acknowledge none of these conditions, can have no just title to tithes founded on the Mosaic law.

'The examples of Abraham and of Jacob, and all arguments drawn from them, are equally impertinent; they are, in truth, so preposterous, that nothing less than a bad cause could have induced good men to support them. Jacob vowed and *voluntarily* offered, not to a priest, but directly to God. Till, therefore, a voluntary gift to the Almighty and a compulsory payment to man are shown to be perfectly analogous, this case must be confessed to be altogether beside the point in dispute.

'But the example of Abraham,' it will be replied, 'you must allow to be conclusive.' By no means; for observe—1. Not examples, but express precepts, are to regulate the actions of the Christian. 2. The Holy Spirit does not even commend his conduct: it is merely stated, that the representative of the Levites honored the representative of Christ (Heb. vii.), thereby proving that *his* priesthood is greater than *theirs*. 3. This tithe was a voluntary offering of respect, not of reward, from one who was a priest and the representative of priests, to one who was both priest and king, and therefore the representative of the Saviour. 4. Melchizedec had previously bestowed presents upon Abraham; he had given him provision enough to refresh his whole army, and, as an expression of reverence, Abraham honored him with a tenth of the *spoils*. First, let all these facts be proved to correspond to facts connected with the present system; let it be shown that voluntary homage and compulsory maintenance are one,—that what Abraham did is to be done now,—that because a *priest* paid tithes to one who was both priest and king, therefore the *people* must pay them to

one who is a priest only; and then, unless it be possible to enumerate points of difference as important as those we have now given, we shall be ready to allow some authority to the example.

'But the scribes and pharisees paid them,' it will be added; and in so doing they had the approbation of our Master. 'These ought ye to have done' (Matt. xxiii. 23). Doubtless, for the law was not yet abrogated; its precepts therefore were still binding. Besides, even though it were right that the chief teachers of the people should *pay* tithes previous to the destruction of the temple, it will be difficult to prove, from their example, that therefore now they ought to *receive* them. To *take* tenths and to *pay* tenths are phrases scarcely synonymous.

'16. To our own mind there is something eminently impious in these attempts to lay to the 'fatherhood of God' the iniquities and injustice of this system. To seize the last means of subsistence from the poor, whose claims to a part of the tithes of the country, founded either on the Mosaic or on old English law, are to the full as just as those of the church; to sue and imprison; to take priestly dues, like the sons of Eli, 'by force,' and all for the support of a religious faith which the sufferer believes the Bible has condemned, are practices in themselves sufficiently awful: but that they all should be perpetrated under the color of divine authority, and sanctioned by certain pretences to divine right, is to copy too closely the example of the servant of the prophet (2 Kings v. 22), to take God's name, not in vain only, but in violence; to commit sacrilege of the foulest kind; to prostitute the religion of peace to the purposes of cruelty and blood. Can it be a matter of surprise, that the 'offering of the Lord is abhorred' (1 Sam. ii. 12, &c.), or that the Protestant church is but hardly able to keep her ground against the encroachments of Rome? The truth is, that she is 'smitten;' her form, though not wholly destitute of life, is deathlike and powerless; and our fear is, that, unless her exactions speedily cease, she may be driven out from the 'presence of our Master,' and 'the leprosy' be commanded to 'cleave unto her and her seed even for ever.'

'17. And while it is thus impossible to defend this iniquitous system from the books of the Old Testament, it is equally impossible to find even the semblance of an argument on its behalf in the commands or the spirit of the New; it is, on the contrary, expressly condemned as eminently inconsistent with equity and divine precept.' pp. 43—48.

For the argument we must refer to the book. 'The persecu-'tion involved in the existence of a state church,' which is the subject of the fourth chapter, is well discussed.

How just are the following remarks.

'The liberty of toleration! Was ever heard so gross a contradiction of terms? Toleration is a mitigation of punishment, not a definition of liberty; and when that punishment is inflicted for conscientious views, the mitigation of it deserves no other thanks than are due to *moderate* persecution; and even these must be given, not to the

church, but to the people and the state. The working of the system may be lenient, but the system itself is unchanged. It is now what it has ever been; it retains the same offices, principles, and canons, and refuses to alter or repeal them. The toleration of Dissenters is the proof of its weakness, not of its love.'—p. 53.

The subtle and malignant working of persecution the author has traced with great acuteness, and shows that its spirit inheres in every secular establishment. This he practically illustrates in our own. We have already quoted so much, and there are so many admirable passages in this chapter, that we must refer our readers to it, merely presenting them with the syllabus. In the list of contents it stands thus.

'Persecution, or the infliction of penalties for the conscientious profession of faith, and toleration, or *mitigated persecution*, defined.—Sinfulness of both.—*First* class of penalties involved in establishments:—Exclusion from the wealth and privileges of the endowed sect.—*Second* class of penalties:—Loss of influence, of character, and of consequent usefulness, on the part of the unendowed.—Pleas in defence of such penalties examined.—Influence of this system on the GOVERNMENT.—On the liberties of the people.—On the stability of the ruling power.—Influence of the system on the CHURCH.—On its unity.—On its spirituality.—On its success.—Pleas in defence of the continuance of the system examined.—The system shown to be inconsistent with—1. The example of Christ; 2. The peculiar sanctions and penalties of religion; 3. The nature of religion as a service of voluntary devotedness; 4. The fundamental principle of Christ's reign, which forbids the aid of the civil power.'—pp. viii., ix.

The fifth chapter treats of the office and duties of the civil ruler, which Mr. Angus thus concludes, and the quotation unfolds the course of the whole argument.

'In reply, then, to the argument of the advocate of state churches,—that it is the duty of a Christian government to compel its subjects, or any portion of them, to support and diffuse what they do not believe,—it is merely asked, on what law is this duty founded? On the law of the just, or of the expedient, or of the scriptural,—laws essentially consistent, and fancied at variance only through the imperfection of our moral or intellectual faculties? Nature is against it; reason and prudence are against it; the precepts and example of the New Testament are against it. The clear and unanimous decision of them all is, that with religion the magistrate, as such, and in the exercise of the power with which as a magistrate he is invested, has no right to interfere. The regulation of the conduct of the subject is within his province; the regulation of the faith of his subject, founded, as it ever must be, on injustice and persecution, is beyond it.'—p. 177.

The last chapter contains a valuable summary of all the theo-

ries of ecclesiastical establishments which have obtained and which have passed under the author's review. In it he likewise shows that voluntaryism does not imply that religion is not of national importance, but only that there must be no compulsion in diffusing it. Its principles are illustrated, its sufficiency maintained, objections to it are answered, and its prospects unfolded. There is one palpable hit which we are tempted to give and we have never been more tempted to transgress our limits than on the present occasion, but this *shall* suffice.

'Voluntaryism has not yet evangelized the people, and therefore it cannot evangelize them, is no conclusive reasoning; much less conclusive than the following,—the established church has not yet evangelized the people, and therefore *it* cannot evangelize them; much less conclusive, because she has had longer time to do it, and because whatever has been done by dissent has been done, for the most part, in spite of the church, while all that has been done by the church has been done with the help and co-operation of Dissenters. And besides (2), even if voluntaryism cannot diffuse religion, it can never thence be proved that therefore the government ought to diffuse it, unless it be first shown, that to diffuse it is essential to the existence of civil society, or that the postponement of the primary ends of government to the secondary, and the introduction of distinctions that involve injustice and persecution, are consistent with the precepts of Scripture and the conclusions of a comprehensive and enlightened experience. From what has been said in preceding chapters it will be seen that this cannot be shown. The endowment of religion is not essential to the being of a government, and therefore no reasons of necessity can be urged in its behalf; nor is it essential to its well-being; but, on the contrary, injures alike the commonwealth and the church, making the one suspected, secular, feeble, and, by its injustice, alienating the minds of the subject from the laws and constitution of the other. So that, were it true that voluntaryism is incompetent to secure the ends for which God designed it,—were the history of the primitive church, and of the universal diffusion of the gospel in early ages without an establishment, a pure fiction,—and the success of the same principle in America even more questioned than it is,—still the present system, which makes men hostile to the government without making them friendly to religion, must be earnestly and justly condemned.'

—pp. 187, 188.

The notes and illustrations are very happily selected, and confirm the argument, which had they been inserted in the body of the work might have encumbered it.

Mr. Taylor's essay takes a different route to that of his predecessor, but arrives at the same conclusions. There is sufficient difference between the two to prove the writer of each to be an independent thinker. We have read them with equal satisfaction, and yet we should undoubtedly have concurred with the

adjudicators in their award to each. Mr. Angus undertook a higher task than Mr. Taylor, and has handled topics of great importance with the power of a master, which did not come within the scope of Mr. Taylor's design. The plan embraces seven chapters, and a copious appendix of illustrative notes. The following are the subjects, which are discussed with great ability.

'Whether the idea of civil government involves a right to 'legislate upon matters of religion?

'Whether civil interference with religion is sanctioned or 'permitted by Christianity?

'The idea of an established church.

'The tendency of ecclesiastical establishments.

'The actual operation of religious establishments.

'The supposed efficiency of the territorial distribution of an 'establishment.

'The voluntary principle and its results.'

We think Mr. Taylor peculiarly happy in his reply to Dr. Chalmers on the subject of free trade as applied in its principles to the propagation of the gospel, and should have been glad to quote this portion of his concluding chapter, but our space forbids.

There are two persons of eminence—Dr. Chalmers and Mr. Gladstone—to whom we earnestly recommend the perusal of these volumes, and whom we challenge to the task of answering them. The occupation is every way worthy of their acknowledged talents, and we respectfully and in all seriousness invite them to undertake it. Let the 'great argument' be discussed in a Christian temper and with a supreme regard to the authority of God's holy word, and we care not what strength of intellect or depth of erudition be arrayed on behalf of our opponents. Time may be required for the working out of our principles into the practical faith of our countrymen, but we have no fear of the issue, and can calmly await its arrival.

Art. IV. *Antipopopriestian: or, an Attempt to liberate and purify Christianity from Popery, Politikirkality, and Priestrule.* By John Rogers. Vol. I. Popery. London. 8vo,, pp. 362.

IN most cases it is a matter of less difficulty to bring men to the approval of a good purpose, than to bring them into a cordial agreement with regard to the best means of prosecuting it. The end is generally much more simple than the means; and to diminish complexity, is to lessen the occasion for those differences which are ever arising from diversities of taste,

capacity, and culture. Little mischief, however, would arise from this source, compared with what is now found to result from it, if men could learn to divest themselves of a certain notion of infallibility which is always more or less connecting itself with their own conceptions on the points in dispute. All admit, in general terms, the wisdom of endeavouring to adapt instruction to the peculiar mental habits of the instructed; but each, at the same time, is prone to regard that mode of teaching as intrinsically the best, which is found to be best adapted to his own particular aptitudes and tastes. The ministry of reconciliation has been committed to 'sons of thunder,' and to 'sons of consolation;' but it rarely happens that those who hang with devout interest on the lips of the one of these classes of teachers, are sufficiently aware that the utterances of the other are the work of the same inspiration, and adapted to the same end. No man needs be told that the varieties in human character are almost endless, but from this fact it must follow that the gospel would not be well administered if it were not expounded and applied in a manner embracing a corresponding diversity of adaptation. The preaching of Paul, of Apollos, and of Cephas, had their respective characteristics, but all were good, each having its fitness to move both the intellect and the heart in the instance of the classes to whose condition of mind their own consecrated powers had been wisely adjusted. The earth sends forth its abundance, not as the effect of any one influence, but as the result of sunshine and showers, of cold and heat; and the processes of the moral and spiritual world are carried on by a similar variety of means.

These thoughts have been suggested by the book before us. It is not in many respects a book to our taste; it embraces, nevertheless, much that is valuable, and the very parts which we might be disposed to note as faults, may occur to others as excellencies, and be the means of attracting attention to the subject, and of awakening interest about it. The preface or introduction alone is a curiosity. It extends to nearly sixty pages, and touches upon something like that number of different subjects. Popery, the churches of England and Ireland, Wesleyanism, Owenism, Simonianism, Infidelity, Atheism, all come in for their share of our author's criticism and rebuke. With these discoursings we have also much about the author himself—his judgment of his own religious character, his ideas concerning the utility of his work, his determination not to 'mince the matter,' his solicitude, at the same time, to avoid giving unnecessary pain, his description of a good wife, concluding with an account of his 'friend * * * *' the author of a new chemical theory, but one which from the want of its being adequately tested, cannot be said to be either right or wrong. How this budget of matters

got into the sequence which has befallen them, may be obvious enough to the author, but will not, we suspect, be quite clear to his readers. Then, in addition to all this, is the title of the work. Look at it, good reader, and tell us, if you can, to what country, or what age, the author can belong?

But strange to say, with all these oddities, meeting you at the gate and in the vestibule, there is enough in the material and structure of the work to constitute it really a good one. The aim of the author is not to go into the historical, or even into the scriptural department of the popish controversy, so much as to examine the various assumptions of the papal system, considered as matters exposed to the scrutiny of reason. We cannot pretend to be satisfied with all that he has said within these limits, nor with his manner of saying it; but there is an iteration and earnestness in the man, and withal a measure of clearness and force of conception, which we believe will fit him for usefulness in the kind of labour on which he has entered. If this should be the case, we shall not be disposed to quarrel with his quaint style, or even with his new words, for we are not disposed to attribute these to affectation so much as to a simple honest wish to do his work well—to strike the nail home. We have no reason to think that Mr. Rogers is particularly versed in the controversial pieces which belong to the history of our theology during the commonwealth, but his work has all the characteristics of that period, good and bad, with one exception only—its enlightened spirit of toleration. His sentences seem to come down like the blows at Marston Moor and Naseby. There is that sort of heartiness in them which never fails to interest; and like the true Cromwellian soldier, he not only does not understand what it is to be beaten, but seems to be incapable of thinking that he has done quite enough even when his victory is complete.

We trust that we have already said enough to induce many of our readers to possess themselves of this singular volume; but we must now add a few extracts in illustration of our remarks. The work consists of two chapters, the one on 'popery in general,' and the other on 'popery in special.' Each of these chapters is divided into a number of sections and sub-sections; and it is due to the author to add, that in the body of the work there is nothing of the rambling style which pervades the Introduction. There is a distinctness in all the parts, and a consecutiveness in the whole. The following passage exhibits something of the manner in which the writer exposes the difficulties attendant on the popish doctrine, which makes the seat of infallibility to be in a general council.

'What is a general council? 1. How many men must come together to form one? 2. What clerical rank must they severally have? 3. From how many nations must they come? 4. By whose authority must they meet? 5. When and where must they meet? 6. How

must they proceed when met? 7. Must they determine by unanimity, or may they determine by a given large majority, or by a mere majority of one? 8. What degree of probability must they require a proposition to have? Probability can be great, can be middle, can be small, can ascend to certainty, can descend to doubt. How probable must a proposition be? Now afore we can decide if a given council be what many papal folk are pleased to call a general one, we must answer the foregoing eight questions, and others that might be mentioned. This would be found no trifling task, the answering of all the questions being a very puzzling and perplexing affair. A general council is a very vague and indefinite thing, for what is the criterion or standard of this generality? Of four people two might consider a given council general, and two might deem it special, the generality and speciality being perhaps equally probable. This kind of generality is a thing whereabout A may believe, B may disbelieve, and C may doubt. Can papal writers lay down rules that will enable reasonable people clearly to know the exact essence or real nature of generality and speciality in relation to councils; to know alway when a council is general and when it is special? I trow not, I opine that they cannot. The generality of a council depends on no immutable criterion—is determined by no indisputable or indubitable rule, but varies with the various opinions of various people, altering the shape like a Proteus, and changing the color as a chameleon. Moreover, mankind are far from being agreed in relation to the number of general councils that have been held. Some will have six councils to be general, others will have seven, others eight, others eighteen, and others more. The main body of papal folk affirm eighteen to be general; eight eastern called by the emperors, and ten western called by the popes. But if all these are to be deemed general why are those of Constance and the like to be deemed special?'—pp. 113, 114.

From this maze of difficulties there an important practical inference clearly deducible, the justice of which is worked out in the following passage with good effect.

'Now is it probable that infallibility is joined to so indefinite and indeterminate a thing as a general council, a thing with difficulty recognized. A thing that can hardly be known; is joined to some kind of council, we hardly know what? Would God put infallibility in a place where we should have great toil and trouble in finding it, and where many would not find it at all, would never believe it to be? Would he annex it to mere indefinitude? If infallibility be given to the world, it is given for the world's good. What the better are we, however, by knowing that infallibility is somewhere, but where we do not know; that it belongs to something, to a general council; but to what thing, to what council, we cannot tell? We may as well doubt or disbelieve that infallibility pertains to a general council, as, believing it, doubt or disbelieve, that a council is general. We are as far from infallibility in the latter way, as in the former. And God will not send infallibility in a form visible to very many people; He

will not make her dwell with a personage whose dwelling can hardly be discovered, can scarcely be known by a large portion of mankind. God will not give infallibility to some councils, and omit to tell man what councils they are, telling him that they are general ones, and leaving him in doubt and darkness as to what councils ought to be deemed general. It follows that papites greatly err, and leave the probable far behind them, in making infallibility depend on general councils.'—pp. 114, 115.

The third section of the second chapter relates to the Vulgate, Apocrypha, and Tradition. On the anti-scriptural tendency of the Romish doctrine concerning Tradition, Mr. Rogers makes the following just and forcible observations :—

'Setting up oral tradition as a rule of faith, is lowering and degrading the Bible, and leads to practical disregard to the written word. I may however be told that if there be apostolical tradition or unwritten revelation, the Bible ought not to have the whole of our reverential homage or religious regard, but that the written and unwritten revelation ought to share the homage or regard between them. And I may be told that if there were apostolical tradition, the Bible would receive its proportional and due share of our attention. I however affirm that if there were the unwritten word, the written one would not be proportionally and duly attended to, but would be comparatively neglected and thrown aside. Tradition would then be regarded too much, and scripture too little. The foregoing would be the effect on two accounts. 1. The bare doubt or mere uncertainty about what traditions ought to be deemed apostolical, would keep the mind in a state of painful solicitude and feverish anxiety, and therefore would hold it disproportionally and unduly to tradition and from scripture. If apostolical or oral traditions did exist, they would cause so great an amount of doubting, disbelieving, and debating, of questioning and answering, denying and affirming, as to occupy the far greater part of time on oral tradition, and to leave but a very little time for the written word ; the dubious and difficult matter of tradition absorbing our time and thought to the comparative exclusion of the sure and plain realities of the Bible. If people had ground for deeming portions of divine revelation to be dwelling in the memory of man, or floating down the tide of time in the form of oral traditions, they would be led by piety and curiosity, to try and find them out ; and in hunting after unwritten and changing tradition would neglect the written and unchanging volume. Account 2. The clergy assuming to be the guardians of oral tradition, and the medium of transmitting it from age to age, would naturally, in order to augment their dignity and importance, and to maintain and extend their power over the laity or people, lay too great stress on tradition, and too little on Scripture ; would naturally, in order to exalt themselves, magnify that whereby they would be magnified, namely, tradition, and undervalue that whereby they would be rendered less important, namely, the divine scripture. The priesthood, as the channel or conveyer of oral tradition, would be tempted and drawn to honor and uphold the unwritten at the expense

of the written word, and therefore to become more wanted and influential, unduly crying up the value of the former, in order unduly to cry up their own value. Now as, on the two accounts foregoing, tradition would deprive scripture of its due part of attention, we may infer that probably no apostolical traditions were given to the kirk.'
—pp. 158, 159.

There is another extract on this subject which we had marked for insertion, and which is so racy with our author's manner that we cannot forbear introducing it.

'How utterly improbable the pure descent of tradition! How nearly impossible that the unwritten word or oral traditions would be transmitted or handed down from Christ and the apostles to us, quite uncorruptedly, or quite free from alteration, addition, or subtraction. Regard two points. 1st. How could we depend on the memory of thousands or millions of men in a great multitude of particulars? We could not depend thereon. 2nd. How could we depend on the honesty of so many men in so many matters. We could not depend thereon. Now from the foregoing two points, we learn that the very great number of individuals forming the long line of the priesthood, might easily corrupt oral tradition, corrupting in a twofold way, through want of memory and want of honesty, being defective in power and inclination, being both unable and unwilling. Hardly two men relate one and same particular alike, or tell one and same tale or anecdote without considerable variation. We may perhaps be told that no tradition ought to be received, but what would agree with the rule of Vincent of Lerins, but what would have been held semper, ubique, et ab omnibus, always, every where, and by all. Many a papite often desire to appear fond of the rule, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.* Alas for them! May we not infer a priori or with a kind of anterior probability, that by the real application of the rule, the whole or very nearly the whole of papal traditions would be quite swept away? How many, or rather how few, papal traditions would fully come up to the foregoing rule! Now God foreknowing the result, that oral tradition would become corrupt, corrupted by men through weak memory, or weak morality, or both, did not commit a part of his revealed truth to the unsafe conveyance of oral tradition.'—pp. 161, 162.

An instructive confirmation of the remarks in these extracts is furnished in the bull of his holiness Pope Leo XII. against the Bible Society. 'You are aware, venerable brethren,' says this successor of St. Peter, 'that a certain society, called the Bible Society, strolls 'with effrontery throughout the world; which society contemning 'the traditions of the holy fathers, and contrary to the well known 'decree of the Council of Trent,* labors with all its might, and by

* Some of our readers may not be uninterested with a translation of this well-known decree. 'Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience that if the

'every means, to translate, or rather to pervert, the Holy Bible 'into the vulgar languages of every nation; from which proceeding 'it is greatly to be feared, that what is ascertained to have hap- 'pened as to some passages, may also occur with regard to others; 'to wit, 'that by a perverse interpretation, the gospel of Christ '' be turned into a human gospel, or, what is still worse, into the '' gospel of the devil.' To avert this plague, our predecessor 'published many ordinances, and in his latter days Pius VII. of 'blessed memory, sent two briefs . . . to show how noxious this 'most wicked novelty is to both faith and morals. We also, 'venerable brethren, in conformity with our apostolic duty, exhort 'you to turn away your flock by all means from these poisonous 'pastures.' When this famous bull reached Ireland, the papal prelates did not scruple to describe it as 'replete with truth and 'wisdom;' in short 'Peter had spoken by Leo,' and the Bible Society scriptures were 'entirely, and without any exception pro- 'hibited' to their flocks.

The extracts we have given must suffice to enable our readers to judge for themselves with regard to the character of this work. The discussions of the author concerning papal infallibility, tradition, and the forbidding of the Bible, are followed by others relating to the use of an unknown tongue, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, the worship of the host, the withholding of the cup from the laity, idolatry, merit, purgatory, absolution and excommunication, auricular confession, the celibacy of the clergy, the seven sacraments, and some other matters, and on all these topics Mr. Rogers has fixed the impression of his own singular taste and cast of thinking. The controversy altogether is one on which libraries have been written. No one, accordingly, will expect to find it fully exhibited within the limits of a small octavo. Nor is there competency in Mr. Rogers to deal with the subject in any thing like the full length and breadth of it. There is both originality and force in him, within certain limits. But in regard to the historical, and the more critical departments of the subject, he would be found a sorry match, whatever the suggestion of some of his friends may have been on that point, for such men as Dr. Wiseman and the writers in the Dublin Review. Many of their

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Holy Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it; it is on this point referred to the judgment of the bishops or inquisitors, who may by the advice of the priest or the confessor, permit the reading of the Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, to those persons whose faith and piety, they apprehend, will be augmented and not injured by it; and this permission they must have in writing. But if any one shall have the presumption to read or possess them without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution, until he have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary!'

weak points he could detect and expose with much effect, and we shall be happy to find that the public has given him encouragement so to employ himself; but we trust that his natural shrewdness will suffice to admonish him that it will not be wise to commit himself beyond a certain line in this warfare.

Nor can we express any sort of approval of the liberties which he has taken with his mother tongue. These liberties meet you, not merely in the title-page, but throughout the book. New words, it seems, are needed at almost every step. In most quarters, the issuing of such coin will be accounted not only a species of presumption—but as a sort of literary treason. The only men entitled to the exercise of such a prerogative, are those whose genius has vested them with a kind of sovereignty; and what should be well observed by all persons who have some passion for setting up a mint of their own in this way is, that the men who have most right to a display of this high species of authority are generally the least disposed to put it into requisition. We can easily suppose that Mr. Rogers has been far from suspecting the danger to which his head has been made liable by his conduct in this particular, but a man is not the less exposed to the penalties of treason because he has meddled with so grave a matter somewhat unwittingly.

We look also with a little more scrutiny and suspicion on the volume before us, when we call to mind that it is only the first of three, the whole being so devised as to take in the entire compass of the ecclesiastical delinquency of the times. Our Mc Niel's and Mc Ghee's may enjoy the thumps which our author has given to the 'man of sin;' but let them bear in mind that their own turn will come next; and the sound nonconformist, prepared to enjoy the heavy strokes dealt out upon the 'Politikirkalians,' will do well not to forget that according to our author even nonconformity is sometimes found nourishing a sort of monster called 'priestrule,' and that the commission of John Rogers extends to the destruction of this last antagonist, no less than to the final overthrow of his holiness the pope. Our friends the Wesleyans will especially do well to prepare themselves for the worst, for loud as may be their cry just now against popery, this new man in the writing world would seem to be incapable of perceiving any great difference between a Methodist conference and a popish conclave, and is about to level his artillery against the former with as little mercy as he has shown toward the latter. With regard to Congregationalism it will of course be found immaculate. Should our pugnacious friend be so ill-starred as not to see it in that light, we shall of course be at our post to administer all due correction as the case may require.

Art. V. *The Life of Sir Richard Hill, Bart., M.P. for the County of Shropshire.* By the Rev. Edwin Sidney, A.M., Author of the Life of his Brother, the Rev. Rowland Hill, A.M., &c. London: Seeley and Burnside. 1839. pp. 533.

ON few subjects have there been greater fluctuations of opinion than on the characters of distinguished men. The traduced of their own age are frequently the idols of the age which follows; while, in the period which still succeeds, the multitude arrive at the correct estimate of distinguished persons,—of their merits and their infirmities, their claim, at once, on our admiration and forbearance. Few men have been more undervalued, in their own day, than the leaders of the religious movement of the last century. As a body, more distinguished by zeal than prudence, more marked by piety than knowledge, every one was capable, or, at least, thought himself capable, of rebuking their mistakes; but few were either able or willing to appreciate the zeal, the self-denial, and the benevolence by which those mistakes were redeemed. The world hated them for their religion; and the Church, not only in the better part of the Established communion, but also among the Nonconformists, shunned them for their extravagance. In some recent instances, perhaps, the estimable persons in view may have been extolled too highly; there may have been a nearer approach to their apotheosis than their own piety or humility would have approved. But whatever opinion of this kind may be entertained, it is certain that the leaders of the movement will never cease to be regarded as distinguished benefactors of their country and their species.

In common with, perhaps, the generality of successful reformers, they accomplished a vast deal more than they designed or anticipated. We have no reason to believe that they sat down and sketched their plans of operation with a view to the results which have actually flowed from them. In the simplicity of their hearts, they obeyed the calls of present duty; an obedience that conducted to results which, in the early part of their career, were most distant from their thoughts. Their first object was their own *literary* and religious improvement: while pursuing this object circumstances awakened their solicitude for the good of others;*

* In a letter to the father of Mr. Morgan, of Christ Church, whose death was slanderously said to have been hastened by the rigorous fasting imposed on him by the Wesleys, Mr. John Wesley writes, 'In November, 1729, at which time I came to reside at Oxford, your son, my brother, myself, and one more, agreed to spend three or four evenings in a week together. Our design was to read over the classics, which we had before read in private, on com-

but nothing could have been further from their minds than that, in the course of far less than a century, they should be represented by the immense body of Wesleyan and other Methodists, as well as by a large section of the ministers and supporters of the Established Church.

For awhile, the Methodists were of one mind. The most attached Episcopalians of their number did not scruple the performance of irregular acts. Gradually, however, they separated into two parties, the one anxious to promote religion through means auxiliary to the Church, and the other, anxious by an exact obedience to the terms of conformity, to advance religion *in* the Church. Each party pursued its object; and each has secured its end.

The subject of this memoir was a highly ornamental adherent to Evangelical Episcopacy, at the period when it was beginning to loosen its connexion with Methodism; a connexion which he lived to see dissolved. Sir Richard Hill 'was born on the sixth 'day of June, 1732, at Hawkstone,' in Shropshire, the admired residence of the family for many generations. As the birth-place of the Rev. Rowland Hill, the brother of Sir Richard, must be an object of curiosity, we transcribe the following passage.

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mon nights, and on Sunday some book in divinity. In the summer following Mr. M. told me he had called at the gaol, to see a man who was condemned for killing his wife; and that from the talk he had with one of the debtors, he verily believed it would do much good if any one would be at the pains of now and then speaking with them. This he so frequently repeated, that on the 24th of August, 1730,* my brother and I walked with him to the Castle. We were so well satisfied with our conversation there, that we agreed to go thither once or twice a week; which we had not done long before he desired me to go with him to see a poor woman in the town, who was sick. In this employment too, when we came to reflect upon it, we believed it would be worth while to spend an hour or two in a week, provided the minister of the parish in which any such person was, were not wholly against it.' Such is Mr. Wesley's account of the origin of Methodism; an account which confers the honors of paternity on Mr. Morgan rather than on Mr. Wesley himself. This view of the case is confirmed by a preceding passage in the same letter. 'In one practice for which you blamed your son I am only concerned as a friend, *not as a partner*. That therefore I shall consider first: your own account of it was in effect this, 'He frequently went into poor people's houses, in the villages about Holt, called their children together, and instructed them in their duty to God, their neighbour, and themselves. He likewise explained to them the necessity of private as well as public prayer, and provided them with such forms as were best suited to their several capacities.'—Letter to the Father of Mr. Morgan, of Christ Church, prefixed to 'An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal from his embarking for Georgia (1735) to his return to London.'

* It is remarkable that active Methodism should have originated on a day so distinguished in the annals of old Nonconformity.

'Though I felt yesterday,' says a popular tourist,* writing from Hawkstone, 'perfectly blasé of parks, and thought I could never take any interest in them again, I am quite of another mind to-day, and must in some respects give Hawkstone the preference over all I have seen. It is not art, nor magnificence, nor aristocratical splendour, but nature alone, to which it is indebted for this pre-eminence; and in such a degree, that were I gifted with the power of adding to its beauties, I should ask, *what can I add?* So commanding is the situation of this enchanting ground, that from the lofty column erected to the memory of a distinguished ancestor of the Hills, the first Protestant Lord Mayor of London, the eye can wander over fifteen counties, or rest upon the curious rocks and woods mingled with the richest pasturage immediately beneath it. Three sides of this wide panorama rise and fall in a constant change of hill and dale, like the waves of an agitated sea, and are bounded at the horizon by the strangely formed jagged outline of the Welsh mountains, which at either end descend to a fertile plain, shaded by thousands of lofty trees, till, in the obscure distance, it blends with a white misty line—the ocean.'—pp. 3, 4.

At an early period of life, and by means, of which an interesting record will be found in this volume, Sir Richard Hill was brought to the possession of true religion. From this period his entire soul was, as far as human frailty would allow, devoted to God and goodness. It does not appear that he was ever formally connected with the Methodists, yet although attached to the Church of England, he became a preacher; but apprehending, probably, that he could, in other forms, promote religion more effectually, he soon relinquished the function.

His first appearance as an author was in the year 1768, when in a pamphlet entitled Pietas Oxoniensis, he came forth as the champion of the six students who had been expelled from St. Edmund's Hall. Of this transaction Mr. Sidney has presented a correct and an interesting account. The University documents with regard to this affair do no honor, in any form, to the rulers of Oxford. With regard to the Pietas Oxoniensis Mr. Sidney justly says,

'I confess that though he proves that the reformation truths opposed, are contained in the pandect of our Church's doctrine, he would have written much more effectively, had he taken them simply on their own broad scriptural basis, instead of calling them by any other name, in order that he might attack the notions of the Arminians. He weakened his cause and prejudiced many of his readers by this course, as well as by the levity he mingled with his gravest arguments—a fault (which) both he and his brother, Mr. Rowland Hill, were too apt to commit.'
—p. 112.

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* Tour of a German Prince.

The Dissenters of that day, for the most part, stood aloof from the Church and Methodist controversy; but the most popular production called forth by the discussion, was written by a Dissenting minister, the Rev. John Macgowan. His pamphlet is entitled 'Priestcraft Defended. A Sermon occasioned by the 'expulsion of Six Young Gentlemen from the University of Ox-'ford for Praying, Reading, and Expounding the Scriptures. 'Humbly dedicated to Mr. V—— C——r and the H—ds of 'H——s. By their humble servant, The Shaver.' The Shaver's sermon is not altogether conformed to the requirements of an exact criticism, but it contains a vast deal of genuine wit, and must have told powerfully against the learned but (as their own papers show) obtuse men, whom it was designed to reprove. Mr. Sidney censures the Shaver for taking his text from a newspaper; but Mr. Macgowan's error did not consist in the quarter from which he derived his text; (his error would have been greater had he obtained it from the Bible), but in putting his satire into the form of a sermon. It seems, however, to be the fate of Oxford to array herself, once or twice in a century, with a pompous stolidity which, in spite of himself, is sure to turn her gravest opponent into a satirist: a consideration which, had 'Pietas Ox-'oniensis' contained the only instance of mingled seriousness and levity in the writings of its excellent author, might have disarmed the rebuke which has just been quoted.

In the following year, Mr. Hill (for he had not yet succeeded to the baronetcy) appeared as the champion of his friend, the Rev. William Romaine. The latter gentleman having preached at St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, his sermon gave great offence to the vicar, Dr. Adams. The doctor preached a sermon in reply, which, four months afterwards, was printed. 'This roused the 'indignation of Mr. Richard Hill, and caused him to print a letter 'to Dr. Adams on his sermon.' Dr. Adams was not a Calvinist, but he was an excellent man, the friend of Sir James Stonehouse, Mr. Orton, and Mr. Stedman, and imbued with the spirit of these distinguished ministers. Mr. Orton engaged in this controversy, in which he published two pamphlets; he embarked in it, however, rather as a moderator than as an antagonist. We apprehend, that the subject of this memoir depreciated Dr. Adams, a course in which his biographer seems to unite. On the other hand, Mr. Orton had far too low an opinion of Sir Richard Hill. Referring to his Answer to 'Flechere's Checks,' Mr. Orton says, 'Mr. 'Hill's Answer is weak, childish, and fawning. He now speaks 'out, and shows himself to be, what I always thought him, a rank 'Antinomian, and thorough in the worst sentiments of Dr. Crisp.'*

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* Orton's Letters to Dissenting Ministers, vol. ii. p. 132.

It is delightful to think that these good men, Adams and Romaine, Orton and Hill, have passed into a world where suspicion and contest are no more.

Although Mr. Hill was not formally connected with any class of Methodists, he felt a deep interest, and sometimes took a share, in their proceedings. We have, hence, an interesting account of the memorable Wesleyan Conference of 1770. We regret the terms which Mr. Sidney employs with regard to Thomas Olivers. The man who bequeathed to the Christian church that fine hymn, 'The God of Abrah'm praise,' is entitled to some other designation than either 'Thomas Olivers, 'the Welshman,' or 'Thomas Olivers, the cobler.' Mr. Olivers, whatever extravagancies he might utter in the warmth of controversy, was an estimable man. 'These were the days of our folly,' was his language many years afterwards, when referring to the stormy period of which we are speaking.

'In the autumn of 1780, Mr. Richard Hill was returned, with-'out opposition, to parliament for his native county.' In August, 1783, he 'succeeded to the title and estates of his father, Sir 'Rowland.' Almost from the beginning of his parliamentary career, Sir Richard Hill adhered steadily though not servilely to the politics of Mr. Pitt, who entered the House a few months after him. Like Mr. Pitt, the subject of this memoir entered parliament a reformer; and like him, he seemed to discover that any time was fitter for reform than the time present. Sir Richard opposed the continuance of the anti-revolutionary war. It would, however, have been more to his honor, had he opposed its commencement, as well as the tyranny by which the government did its best to promote a revolution at home. He was a frequent speaker in the House. Few were the important debates which he did not enliven by his wit. The fertility of his imagination was sometimes displayed by the suggestion of new taxes; an exercise of ingenuity which a modern member would find rather hazardous. Some of his parliamentary suggestions, as the tax on hair-powder, and the impolitic and long since repealed tax on watches, were adopted; while others of them, as a tax to be paid on admission to the theatres, a tax of rather questionable morality, and a tax on 'all livings and benefices above a certain value, all 'deans, chapters, bishoprics, and all idle non-resident clergy,' were rejected. A proposal from an evangelical Episcopalian, to tax the rich and idle clergy, would be a phenomenon in our days; nor would it be endured that an honorable member should garnish his parliamentary speech, as Sir Richard Hill did, by reading a copy of his own doggerel verses.

The political portion of the work is well written, and contains a vast deal of interesting information. We transcribe the following passage with regard to Burke.

'Eloquence, which to this day draws forth the warmest emotions of every reader of his wondrous pages, was seldom received by the House, without silent frowns and inattention, or clamorous opposition. Never did there rise in parliament a more unwelcome speaker; and it is impossible to conceive what the gestures and voice could have been that utterly disfigured the creations of his lofty and brilliant imagination. His magnificent language on the affairs of India was met by uproar, and efforts were perpetually made to silence him. Mr. Granville went so far as to tell him, that he was astonished he should press himself so frequently on the House; and after one of his most surprising efforts, Mr. Pitt took not the slightest notice of a word he had said, evidently because it fell powerless on impatient and dissatisfied hearers. Such was the mortification of this wonderful man, and such the reception of speeches, that will be considered of the highest order of composition as long as our language lasts.'— pp. 357, 358.

Sir Richard Hill resigned his seat in parliament in the year 1806, and died on the 28th of November, 1808.

In forming our estimate of his Christian character,—of the strength of the religious principle by which he was governed, the state of that class of society in which he mixed must be considered. We are by no means satisfied that the higher ranks are even now so greatly improved as Mr. Sidney intimates: but in the days of Sir Richard Hill, a member of the patrician classes could not be religious without a complete sacrifice of character among his fellows. That sacrifice Sir Richard cheerfully made; and though we cannot say with Mr. Sidney 'a willing public,' we can say the Christian church, 'will now afford to his memory that deserved 'reputation, which he was ever ready to sacrifice to the honor of 'God and the interests of religion.' In point of religious sentiment, he was a strict though not perhaps a high Calvinist. Some of his expressions, however, are such as none but a high Calvinist can approve. Attaching an undue importance to the peculiarities of his creed, he could not be satisfied unless he could bring others to go its whole length; an infirmity which in the case of one of his correspondents, a sceptical man of fashion, appears to have been followed by unhappy consequences. He loved all good men; but his charity was solely the product of pious feeling, and was unaccompanied by the just and enlarged views of Christian liberty, which, while they cherish affection toward the good, dictate tolerance to all. Had a Protestant resident in France converted a Roman Catholic, he would have thought the act meritorious; and yet, when two French emigrant priests had converted an ignorant woman to Catholicism, he wrote to Bishop Porteus to induce him 'to put a stop at least to any further external attempts 'of these two popish priests.'

The mind of Sir Richard Hill was rather sprightly than pro-

found. His wit often amused the House, but was not always either chaste or dignified;—nor was the form in which his religious convictions were exhibited invariably the best that might have been chosen. And yet such was the effect of his cheerful, consistent goodness, that he was the object of universal regard; and whether in the senate, or on the bench, he was listened to, not merely with respect, but with an attachment approaching to personal affection. On the whole, *his* was the elevation of goodness more than of greatness; or rather without any faculty highly developed, he became great, through a large degree of the goodness, which is the chief component of true greatness.

The temper of the work before us is bland and Christian. To some few points, however, we object. Mr. Sidney is greatly mistaken in saying that subscription 'does not curtail the 'limits of our Sion.' Subscription has deprived the Church of England of a larger number of well qualified ministers than any other cause. Mr. Sidney appears to think that the blame of the bad spirit which prevails between the Church and the Dissenters, lies exclusively on one side. Far be it from us to say, that while Dissenters have been bringing into light certain great but neglected principles of the New Testament, they have acted in every instance, in the spirit of meekness; but we may ask Mr. Sidney whether his own work, mild as we confess it to be generally, is always quite in the tone of the New Testament? It was not necessary to call the religious edifices of his brethren conventicles; nor was it necessary to introduce Sir Richard Hill's opinion, that Dissenting worship frequently 'disgusts or hurts the feelings of a congregation.' Mr. Sidney knows, though possibly Sir Richard Hill did not, that the devotional services of the great body of educated Dissenting ministers, contain at least as few verbal inaccuracies as the liturgy requires its readers to repeat. In common with many of his brethren, our author exclaims against the Oxford sect in the matter of tradition and baptismal regeneration; but he protests not against their primary error of apostolical succession: a procedure the more remarkable as the Church to which Mr. Sidney has pledged his unfeigned assent and consent, countenances the two former errors, and, by implication, decidedly opposes the latter.

With regard to its literary execution, the work is, on the whole, respectable. There is, however, rather too much of gentlemanly nonchalance in the construction of some of the sentences; a nonchalance which, in competent writers, always reminds us of the youthful courtiers who first used powder in their hair, because the aged monarch had grown grey. The higher classes would not write carelessly if their education and attainments enabled them to write correctly. The county of Shropshire, as written in the

title-page, is an awkward redundancy. The interesting journal of Miss Hill, and, perhaps, some other parts of the work, would have appeared better in an appendix. In conclusion, we cordially thank Mr. Sidney for an able, acceptable, and useful addition to the rich treasures of religious biography.

Art. VI. *The Inquirer. October,* 1839. *Art. The Plymouth Brethren and the Eclectic Review.* London: J. Dinnis.

THE 'Inquirer' of October, 1839, contains an elaborate answer by one of the Plymouth Brethren, to the article in our May number concerning them. As this writer has taxed us with disingenuousness and open misstatements, we are forced to reply; otherwise we should have avoided putting ourselves into controversy with an individual.

He opens with many pious but misplaced thoughts on the painfulness of being attacked and having to defend oneself; and throughout, indeed, by entitling us *accusers, assailants,* &c., he might seem to be laboring under the delusion, that it is we who began the assault. He reminds us of the duty of dealing as tenderly with the Lord's brethren as with the Lord himself; and afterwards intimates that we might have cried out, *crucify him,* against Jesus himself. In concluding, he warns us to let them alone, lest haply we be found fighting against God. Any one would suppose that the Brethren had never assailed us, nor our views: or that they had employed only words and arguments, while we answered with deeds of violence. Yet from the very beginning of their course they have not ceased to attack our principles and the persons of our leading men, sometimes by name; in print and by word of mouth. One strong instance from the 1st vol. of the Christian Witness will show what they *can* say, p. 392 (on the Present Apostacy). 'The gospel sets forth the alienation, '1st, of the [Jewish] nation as a whole; 2ndly, of ALL the reli-'gionists of the day; 3rdly, of the Instructors and Officers, 'Scribes and Lawyers, Elders, Priests, and High Priest; and, 'lastly, of the people as persuaded by them. And this we say, '*with all confidence,* that they who have not proved in their own 'persons the *very* same among the professors of our day' [here *very* is printed in italics], 'either have *not* the Spirit of life in 'Christ Jesus, or have the guilt of burying its light in their own 'bosoms.' What an unamiable bigot! our readers may exclaim. No such thing: it is an enthusiast, perhaps really amiable, but cramped in heart and stunted in mind by false notions; not least,

by the habit of imagining * *all* mental error to be a result of sin. In the *mode* of address different men will of course differ exceedingly, but there is this in substance common to his party, that they try to act on your *conscience* (assuming that it is guilty), not on your intellect, if you do not assent to them. This Brother accordingly imputes evil motives to us, and goes steadily to work to depreciate our moral principle. Such a mass of misconceptions we never remember to have met with in the like space, as in his reply; but we have been obliged to strike out from our MS. the explanations of many of them; for even now this article exceeds all reasonable limits. This inaptitude on his part is not from natural dulness; nor do we believe that it is from dishonesty; but it is because he sees through a Plymouth medium. Of this we think our readers will find proof enough as we proceed, though we can only exhibit a part of what his reply furnishes.

Yet as we would on no account defend our faults by those of another, we have been reviewing carefully all that we said, and do not find that we have laid any such immoral imputations on the Brethren, individually or collectively. Certainly we did not impugn their good faith or sincerity: nay, we spoke very freely concerning their many praiseworthy points of conduct and character. We did not grudge them their liberty to establish in their own church whatever they believe right: we did not attack their Open Ministry as wicked or absurd: but we attacked their *intolerance*. Our Brother appears little to understand the difference of assailing persons † and assailing principles; otherwise he would not charge us with 'inconsistency'‡ (the great staple of his reply), because we can see good in his party, and are not afraid to publish it. Forsooth, if George Fox or Ignatius Loyola were again to run their course among us, we should be 'inconsistent' in strongly opposing and exposing their errors while we cheerfully acknowledged their benevolent intentions, their deep piety, and thorough self-devo-

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* We do not mean to imply that the Brethren have more than very partially developed the results of this evil dogma.

† They attack the *personal character* of Dissenters, more than of others. For an illustration of their mode, we quote from Christian Witness, Vol. i. p. 354, 'Their systems are on the whole more scriptural than the Church of England, *but their practice worse*. It is clear also that (speaking of them as a body) the same fact which gives the character of apostacy to the Establishment,—union with the world, stamps the same features upon modern dissent: and *in a form more fearful*, because *with infinitely less of spirituality among individuals*, it is more connected with the irreligion and ungodliness of popular feeling.'

‡ He cannot understand how any one should covet power over men's minds more than rank or money!

tion to the cause they had espoused! The Brother gratuitously ascribes to us the temper of a 'slanderous' partisan, and then looks on it as self-confuting that we do not act up to it. He also taunts us with inconsistency, because we do not contend that *our* systems are perfect, though he most gladly jumps at every concession which we make, or seem to make, on this side.

Some of the nonsense which he endeavors to extract from the opening of our article, is as follows: that we do as one who praises a servant for respectful submission to his master's authority, while he was breaking his commands: that we speak of primitive Episcopacy as the first departure from the divine order, and allege the necessity of the case; hereby casting a bold imputation of want of wisdom and forethought on God: that we confess, but coolly abide in, degeneracy of condition and apostacy from God's order: that we declare, it is not right to desire, that which we avow it is our sin not to have; and that we ought to aim at things too hurtful to be desired.—Reasoning which we had addressed specially against the views of persons who 'from the days of Dr. 'Owen to the present,' aimed at imitating the ancient church in the *number* of presbyters, he represents as intended for a confutation of the Brethren's views. Having poured ridicule upon it with much appearance of justice, he then complains of OUR misrepresenting the question; as though what *they* cared for was merely the 'number' and not the principle! Afterwards (in a note to p. 513), he not obscurely imputes this to craft on our part, and remarks that we 'do not even attempt a vindication of 'close ministry.' Why is he determined that we shall quarrel with him here? Because he does not know what toleration means. That which in us is forbearance and a desire to grant our brethren their just freedom, he mistakes for hypocrisy. Our plain statements of that which is good in them (as, that they hold it right to do good in detail* by preaching the gospel, feeding the hungry, tending the sick), he regards as a heartless sarcasm: and in every doubtful case interprets our words for the worse. He seems even annoyed that we are not dogmatic (note to p. 498): 'I cannot accuse this writer of dogmatism; *his principles* '*appear too lax and unsettled for that: and besides, as regards* '*himself and his associates, he only stands on the defensive.*' Are we not then very cruel assailants?

His misrepresentation of our views concerning church order is (unintentionally) so erroneous, and so ingenious, that we must

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* We disapprove, indeed, of their total, schismatic *isolation* of themselves; and of their supposing that acts of parliament are indifferent to the morals and religion of a country; which is a most erroneous and hurtful opinion. The words, *in detail*, were intended to imply the contrast of private to combined or legislative acts.

explain ourselves more at large; after which we shall leave our readers to say whether we are so self-contradictory.

We hold that a church consists of true Christians, acting together for mutual spiritual profit, under different forms and modes, better and worse: that the inevitable intermixture of unsound with sound disciples will probably embarrass, but need not absolutely hinder, the general edification. We apprehend that a practical separation of all members into two classes, the teachers and the taught (often called laity and ministers), will ever take place: for the ministry of the word is so absorbing and great a matter, that few can do it by halves; but he who begins to teach, (if qualified), soon gives himself wholly to it. No wall of partition between the two classes, we believe, exists: want of competence or of leisure, not want of any formality, excludes brethren from ministering. Thus far, we believe, the Brethren hold with the writer; and he is not aware that there is any difference of principle between them and common Dissenters. Yet for this Brother to paraphrase our words 'all professors of religion,' by 'Pharisees, covetous,' &c., appears to us unbecoming and absurd; when he knows that the apostles had no direct method of excluding such persons. Does he mean to make it an axiom, that there are no 'Pharisees, covetous,' &c., among his own party?

If the Brethren have found a new and better method of assisting the passage from the one class to the other (that is, of *training teachers*), viz., by the system of open ministry, let them come and teach us; or let them set the example in a friendly way, and, if it is really better, others will gradually follow it. But let them not meanwhile heap invective on the method, which we, in our ignorance, but with good intentions, follow. This Brother imputes to us the opinion that scholastic learning suffices to make a minister, and (although writing evidently under a great desire to moderate his *expressions*) appears to justify our strong statement, that they cannot allude to Dissenting academies 'without 'an ecstacy of scorn.' P. 495, 'The colleges would, I suppose, 'furnish *any* number of *them*' [teachers]; and, as to 'want of 'gifts, scholastic divinity and rhetoric would be a sufficient sub-'stitute for *these*.' We know no Congregationalists who doubt whether the *first* qualification for ministry comes from the Spirit of God.

We hold, farther, that the apostles adapted all their regulations to the immediate wants of their day. The widows were relieved by deacons in one place, in another they were under the management of Timothy, with special arrangements suggested by the progress of events. Presbyters or bishops at Philippi and Ephesus, but teachers and ministers of various sorts at Corinth, and probably at Rome, were raised up and acknowledged or appointed in office, with no exact uniformity at first. The framework of

the church, as the Brethren rightly teach, was moulded by the life within; so that it was a true representative of inward power or of deep-felt need. The evidence of the Apocalypse serves to convince the writer that *primitive* episcopacy (not diocesan) was becoming general in the lifetime of apostles; and the 'necessity 'of the case' was one which acted as much in their presence, as behind their back. Nay, they themselves at Jerusalem recognized in James that priority, which other churches imitated, and soon learned to entitle Episcopacy. But the Brother imputes to us a statement that this was a departure from the divine order! and says we are boldly imputing to God a want of forethought.

Now human nature being ever in the main like itself, and the first anomalies of the ancient church having so soon disappeared, that we can speak of one particular form, viz., Congregational Episcopacy, as *the* primitive one; it is a fair *presumption*, that the nearer our system is to the apostolic, the better. Moreover, it is highly inexpedient, and therefore wrong, capriciously to deviate from that model: for the following of precedent (in civil or ecclesiastical matters) is most valuable to save disputes concerning indifferent things. The burden of proof, therefore, rests with him who vindicates a departure from apostolic precedent. He has, as it were, to apologize, and to establish that we cannot or ought not to adhere to it, owing to our *change of circumstances*. It was in this apologizing tone that we wrote the opening pages of our former article. But on the other hand, we think the Brethren to be decidedly and mischievously wrong in teaching that the apostolic regulations are our law for imitation; a law by which the Brethren themselves must inevitably be condemned. We believe that the grand universal *precepts*, and the spirit of Christianity itself, diffused through the apostolic writings, are our eternal law: but that their *conduct* in its detail cannot always be wisely imitated. When they adopt rules for churches possessed of miraculous gifts, to imitate them might be absurd, if we have no such gifts: to lay hands, as they did, on newly baptized adults, or even to anoint the sick, might in us be an act of presumption. It is useless to imitate their forms, where it is undeniable that we cannot realize the spirit and inward substance of those forms. It is better to have our church a living reality, adapted to the wants and circumstances of the nineteenth century, than a stuffed image of the first.

But to be set on having many presbyters in every church, barely to imitate the outside of the apostolic arrangements, when we cannot imitate apostolic unanimity, might be but a sham reformation. If brought about by the actings of the *legal* principle, (as though it were an abstract duty), we rather contemplate mischief from it. By establishing so strongly the importance of a FORM, it might once more elevate church officers into an over-

ruling caste. Hence (we suggested) 'perhaps it is not much to 'be lamented that we cannot.' In the providence of God, evil is neutralized by evil. Nothing here is perfect, but if errors be opposite in character, they usefully balance each other. It is imperfection (and it is ordinarily connected with sin), that strong intellectual differences exist. Yet while perfection is not attained, it is possibly seen by the All-Wise to be better that we err in many ways, than all in one way. On the other hand, it appeared to us that there is no real and powerful impediment to a greater measure of co-operation among Dissenting churches than generally exists, and that many advantages might accrue from a greater blending of them. Reunions produced by the acting of a freer and larger spirit, not by imitating an antique exterior, but by developing a modern reality, would be accompanied with an establishment of the right limits of private judgment and mutual toleration. It would set up union and peace on the basis of justice * and freedom: and be in little danger of rivetting upon us mere chains of formality. It ought not to be aimed at in order to produce 'a fine show of presbyters' (for in such words we indicated our fear that one zealous for antiquity † might gain only an empty parade), but for its intrinsic advantages. If we discuss with such an one the accomplishment of his end, we must discuss it as an outward thing to be brought about by direct outward effort, and it appears to us greatly to resolve itself into a question of 'pounds, shillings, and pence.' We may be wrong in all this; but a person who can turn it into such nonsense as was above produced, shows a want of common sense himself.

The Brother is offended that we do *not* maintain our churches to be true counterparts of the apostolic system; which he holds to be a perfect model. He regards it as our duty to maintain this, or else, quit our position as untenable. 'We have seen,' says he, p. 497, 'aggravated evil coolly confessed and coolly vindicated.' This 'aggravated evil' is, the sin generally accompanying separation and schisms; such, *for instance*, as the separation of the Brethren from all other churches. The Brother cannot embrace, at least cannot retain, so strange a thought as that we included the formation of the Plymouth body among separations? He thinks we are as it were complimenting them by comparison. Again, p. 494 [the Eclectic reviewers], 'have *admittedly* de-'parted from the apostolic model, which, as regards ecclesiastical 'order, is simply APOSTACY.' The *admissions* which we made

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* 'Who art thou that judgeth thy brother?' &c., is a principle, the *letter* of which is familiar to all; but which this brother sufficiently shows he does not practically understand.

† *Highest* antiquity [*why not Scripture?*] says our acute critic.

include the Brethren and all other churches; inasmuch as, we conceive, nothing but sects can now possibly exist. Yet farther, p. 512, 'If the writer does not regard [the Establishment] as 'apostate, he is guilty of sin in not living within its pale.' We differ widely from this Brother. If of two churches, one is ill-managed and opposes vast obstacles to change, while another is somewhat better ordered, and presents inferior impediments; we hold ourselves at liberty to move from the worse to the better, in spite of all this fulmination; though we may neither believe the former to be apostate, nor the latter to be perfectly apostolic. We believe that this Brother speaks the sentiments of his whole body, in allowing nothing between these extremes. Forsooth, we may not go *out*, unless a church be apostate; and may not come *in* unless its constitution be perfectly apostolic. A singular dilemma.

He attributes to us a confession of degeneracy; and after various severe deductions, asks whether we were intending to prove that it was no degeneracy at all. Great acuteness was not needed to see that we laid no vehement stress on the matter in question, and, indeed, had no very fixed opinion; but supposed another person, zealous 'for the highest antiquity,' to consider us degenerate. He imagines that we as it were envied the 'fine 'show' of presbyters, if we understand his italics. At a later part (p. 513) he strangely gives it as our opinion, that the Dissenting churches 'grieve and quench the Spirit; and that this is to be lamented.' He has seized upon a supposed incautious admission. We merely imagined (p. 586) a Plymouth Brother to allege this, and for arguments sake admitting it, we urged that, *even so*, it did not justify them in refusing to unite in charitable and religious societies, outside of all churches. But here, as elsewhere, it is clear that this Brother holds all churches, but his own, to be guilty of this sin (churches known and unknown to him) by virtue of their mere constitution. The churches over which Baxter, Howe, Owen, Doddridge presided (honored names with the Brethren, we believe), were all apostate; *for* they had departed from the divine order and appointment! We confidently ask, Is not this, under the pretence of honoring the Spirit, a shocking over-valuing of outward form; the very essence of high Church error?

He calls our phrase, 'attraction of cohesion,' a new name for *Christian love*. A little attention to our argument, or a slight knowledge of church history, would have shown him that we spoke of *cohesion without love;* which was common in the church for fifteen centuries. Christians generally quarrelled *within* the pale, but none were willing to go out of it. They might dispute who should be bishop, but they did not dispute whether bishops ought to exist. No one dreamed of changing the organization; hence secessions did not take place.

Our disputes are, on the contrary, more concerning the right organization, than about any thing else. This constitutes a difference of circumstance between us and the primitive disciples, which (let the Brethren kick against the pricks as much as they please) makes it absolutely impossible for us to imitate the comprehensiveness of the apostolic churches. We are all of necessity sects, sections, or denominations, persuasions, if any prefer these softer terms. The Brother regards us as 'self-con-'demned,' because we speak of dissenting sects. Does he forget that we used the same term of the Brethren? It is an untractable phenomenon, that a Plymouth Brother cannot in conscience become a common Dissenter; nor can an Episcopalian become one of the Brethren; nor can a Quaker become an Episcopalian: and so on. A church constructed to offend in its organization the conscience of *no one*, cannot exist; as long as this stubborn fact subsists, the direct contrariety of consciences. The Brethren flatter themselves most egregiously, in pretending that they are all-comprehensive. They will admit, no doubt, any Christian *who will submit to their regulations;* and so will Independents or Presbyterians: but none of the three will break up their existing order to please an applicant for admission. The Brethren will not give up Open Ministry, and take to bishops and priests, to satisfy the conscience of an Episcopalian. Open Ministry then is their '*bond of union*,' and it is a point '*of differ-*'*ence, not of agreement*,' among the true people of God. By this Brother's own criterion, therefore (note, p. 494), his church is a sect. Shall we, then, have no churches at all, no order, no ministry, until we are agreed as to the right church order? Shall we, on the one hand, acquiesce, without grudging or murmuring, that each body should regulate its own concerns, claiming to be acknowledged as a church, yet allowing that other bodies are churches too? Or, on the other, shall each of us protest that *his* alone is the true church, and that all others are counterfeits, or (to use the Brethren's phrase) are apostate? Now to *acquiesce* under the overwhelming difficulty is generally designated by 'agreeing to differ.' We had stated that the Brethren disapproved of this. This 'Brother' in name broadly denies it (p. 505); yet in a note he allows that it is highly probable that we have heard many of them speak to that effect; only (he thinks) meaning that they disliked 'indifferentism.' But he himself most fully warrants us in reasserting, that he regards it as a sin, to agree to differ at least concerning the constitution of churches; which is the most critical and important case. Again, we complained that they would not co-operate on neutral ground (p. 575), and that they pretended nothing was neutral (p. 586). Now on this the Brother remarks (p. 498), 'Neutral ground; 'THAT IS, *ground which would involve a violation of principle, a*

'*sanction of evil, and defilement of conscience.*' Do they not then practically regard nothing as neutral? that is, do they not think it wrong to agree to differ? And does not this Brother plainly avow that they will co-operate with no Christians except those of their own sentiments (p. 509)? *He* catches at our expressions; *we* look at the substance and meaning of their words and actions alike, and we find this clear result; that at a time when other dissenting bodies are learning more and more to avoid arrogant pretensions (the grand foundation of schism), the Plymouth Brethren, like the Church of England, avow and defend them. Nay, this Brother rebukes us for not doing the same. 'The 'Eclectic writer,' says he, p. 514, 'has no quarrel with them (the 'Brethren) for *leaving* other churches. He does not unite with 'the Churchman in the cry of schism.' [This, we are to suppose, would seem pardonable.] 'No, he is angry with them for 'molesting the peace of other churches,' &c. Most assuredly we are. We would not call our Brother a bigot, because we trust he has too many good elements of another kind in him; but we think, in so far as *this* point is concerned, he shows a bigot's sympathy with bigots. 'The Church of England declares she is the only church in England (says the Brother virtually); *this* is bearable; for so do we declare the same of ourselves. But the Eclectic Review says, Let each man obey his conscience, and unite himself to the best church he can find or make; but let no one disturb the peace of other churches *by exclusive pretensions* [these were our words, p. 583, though the Brother, inadvertently we presume, did not notice them]; now *that* is 'unbearable indif-'ferentism and worldliness.'

We had believed that the Brethren had too much experience of the unjust pretensions of the Establishment not to understand the following sentence of ours, p. 573: 'If any one allege that 'herein consists our sin, that we are so ready to separate from 'one another, he will state a great truth; *yet a truth which may* '*easily be so used as to inculcate error and injustice.*' We meant, as our next paragraph showed, that the separations of churches oftener took place in anger than in love; yet, that it is a gross injustice and absurdity to say, 'Our Lord would have us all to be of one mind; therefore it is *your* duty to be of *our* mind:' which is the common reasoning of Churchmen. This Brother instantly commits the very injustice which we deprecated; not perceiving that '*our* sin' includes all Protestants.

So admirable is his self-satisfaction that after accepting our statements concerning the divisions of the churches, he adds, 'And if this (the Brethren's) remonstrance be ALMOST 'UNIVERSAL in its aspect, it is accounted for by our opposer, 'when he says, that this bad and degenerate state of things is the 'case *not of Congregationalism, but of Protestantism.*' Thus the

Brother even forgets that he is a Protestant, and looks on our words as a justification of his sect! He regards his party as something so unique as to fall under no category. It is excluded from all common terms, such as Separatists, Dissenters, Protestants; and, naturally, it has exclusive privileges to correspond. They are pet lambs of God, who are permitted to butt with all their might at any one who enters his house, but whom no one can touch without impiety.

Perhaps he will say, that it is *the possession of the truth* which justifies him and his church, and makes them to be catholic and others to be sects. We hold that it does not justify any assumption of superiority. Each church *believes* that it possesses the truth; but which *is* true, God has given no earthly judge. We must meanwhile live on terms of equality. If any Christian be 'weak' in conscience, and through over-scrupulosity cannot bear close ministry, while his fellow-Christians can bear either the close or the open, he might plead with them for enlargement on this ground; and those who look on it as entirely a question of expediency, might be able to effect some compromise. Patient representations, *and truth to back them*, work wonders in a church not nailed down by endowments. If the Brethren be really the 'strong' ones, this would enable them to bear up against ignorance, prejudice, love of traditionary customs, or any of the other things, which (with much or little grounds) they often impute to common Dissenters. But unhappily these Brethren allow no neutral ground on these matters, and abhor compromise; which abhorrence must to others mean, that they are determined to have all their own way.

But we must proceed to our alleged misstatements. The Brother has here got up a case against us by a variety of methods. *First*, whereas we had again and again declared that they violently disapproved of creeds and test articles, he has represented us as pretending that they *enforced* all the opinions of which we spoke; and when he has nothing else to object against our statements, he alleges that the opinions are 'freely held.' Yet he clearly discerned that we were not writing their creed, for he remarks that all essential articles of the faith are omitted; while he actually imputes this to us as a fault. We are not absurd enough to imagine that a creed can be 'enforced' on any mass of men, much less on English seceders. Nay, in Popery as in corrupt Judaism, it has always been, 'My people love to have it so.' Coercion falls on the units, not on the multitude. *Secondly*, some opinions are checked and corrected by others; so that two combined make a different thing from two viewed separately: and that which is in theory contradictory is harmonized in practice. This happens peculiarly with the Brethren, from their habit of very broad and exaggerated statement. Now in such cases, this

Brother represents us as 'confuting ourselves!' Equally undiscerning is he as to the real* contradictions; the fault of which lies at the Brethren's door, not ours. Moreover, when we believed that they were not wholly agreed *among themselves*, we did not feel it right to force and pinch their views, so as to produce an unreal harmony. A great and substantial agreement there is, as this Brother indeed boasts; but we did not pretend that it was perfect, especially as to the minutiæ of interpretation which have no immediate result. *Thirdly*, we warned our readers that the phraseology into which we translated their language would often be disowned by the Brethren; yet he has criticised it word by word, as though we had alleged it all to be theirs. *Fourthly*, we did not pretend to exhibit doctrines held or believed by them all, but currently taught and inculcated; and in drawing general conclusions we never adverted to the points of detail, as though these were believed generally. For instance, the important point is, not whether they all hold a special exposition of the Old Testament, but whether they all assent to the principle on which such exposition rests, when it is an extravagant one; or dictate concerning it in a haughty tone, when this is the thing which we were exhibiting. Every part of our account is drawn either from their books or from the life; but we have done as a painter in drawing a national likeness, viz., in selecting strong and well developed features, thoroughly characteristic. In this way the spectator best apprehends the style of countenance, and gains what we called a 'substantially faithful' impression, 'as a 'whole.' But we spoke of many individuals, as having 'but par-'tially imbibed or understood the system.' This Brother, therefore, deals unfairly, in pretending that we attributed all these opinions to every one. *Fifthly*, he has greatly misrepresented us, in suppressing the fact, that we ourselves informed the reader that Mr. P. Hall disavowed the statement that the government of the world is under the devil's guidance. That which we alleged *must logically follow* from Mr. H.'s views, and is essentially *implicated* in them, this Brother by partial quotations pretends that we impute as Mr. H.'s explicit doctrine; and then adduces quotations from Mr. H. which add nothing to what we have already said. *Sixthly*, he speaks as though we were holding up Mr. H. *personally* to odium, as the supporter of 'ungodly' and 'wicked' doctrines (such are the Brother's words); as if we pretended Mr. H. to desire a dissolution of civil society! And then, our declaration that the Brethren were *practically* support-

* It is not wonderful that he does not notice all of these; for instance, that it is 'lawful to lend, but unlawful to borrow;' an impossible union of correlatives, as we think.

ers of Tory principles (in which this Brother seems to glory), which ought to have shown him that he has misrepresented us, is adduced by him as inconsistent and self-confuting on our part. *Seventhly*, he puts us before his readers in the light of hypocrites, who hate the Brethren for concealed reasons, and attack them for sham ones. Their intolerance; their hatred to civil liberty and apathy as to breaking the chains of the slave; their infatuated contempt of mental cultivation; which are with us prominent and avowed grounds of opposing their system, this Brother represents as so many points, which, we suppose by great acuteness, he has discovered that we dislike. *Eighthly*, to aggravate all the above, he most gratuitously imagines that we disapprove of all the opinions which we name as current among them; and makes use of this to give us some very needless grave admonitions. Yet we distinctly declared, 'Many of their opinions appear to us to involve valuable truth;' words which he quotes, but does not believe. *Ninthly*, he has in two instances really misquoted our words, while putting a false sense upon them, so as to obtain pretence for contradiction. These will be noticed presently.

By help of so many engines he produces the appearance of much injustice on our part; and yet, as to the *general result*, every practical and important doctrine which we ascribed, he accepts, either by passing over our pointed statements, or by express avowal; sometimes using stronger and more precise terms than we would have ventured to adopt. On the other hand, the points contested by him are not practical, and several of them are marked by us as necessarily theoretic. Indeed, as regards the case between us and the Brethren, we should willingly adopt this Brother's own letter as the groundwork and book of reference; for every erroneous and hurtful principle which we ascribe to them is defended or exhibited by him.

He plainly intimates that he is justified in charging us with falsehood, because we did not verify our assertions from the Christian Witness. We did not do so, *first*, because, while convinced ourselves that the great mass of its sentiments is held by the Brethren, we knew that they would appeal against it, if we tried to 'demonstrate' by quotations that they held an opinion which it was not otherwise notorious that they held. And herein this Brother justifies us, for he declares that such quotations would go for nothing (p. 499). But, *secondly*, having had considerable means of personal observation, the writer held himself at liberty to use such sources, particularly because the system is one which is not always the same on paper and in reality. Reading this Brother's declaration, that 'they do not think it wrong 'to agree to differ,' and the eloquent extracts which he makes on this subject, any one might imagine them a most comprehensive and liberal body, which is very contrary to the fact.

Read their declamations against the imposing of a creed, and you will not suspect what the Brother unawares confesses, as we shall show, that this is but a name. Moreover, by numerous expressions the reader was given to understand, that we had other means of knowledge beside the books whose titles were prefixed; as indeed it is very customary with reviews to set the names of books, as mottoes, at the head of an article. Whatever personal responsibility the writer hereby incurred, is relieved, if not entirely removed, by this Brother himself; and as for a few points that remain, *not affecting the general question*, the writer is most willing to bear it.

The bad features which we ascribed to their system may be described as intolerance, censoriousness, exaggeration, peremptoriness, hatred of freedom, contempt of mental cultivation, and (consequent) loss of common sense in the exposition of Scripture. The Brother refutes none of these; but avows some, and pretty clearly exhibits the rest. Their chief practical opinions may be concisely stated, as those concerning open ministry, concerning educating ministers, concerning democracy in the church and the receiving of ministers, concerning separation, test articles, church history and other literature, the canon of Scripture, worldly property, worldly power, political rights, and improvement of the community; on all which the Brother has none but a fictitious difference from our statement. When in addition to this, we volunteered to say (as from personal knowledge) much that was honorable concerning them, and which we might as well have suppressed, it appears to us an unworthy thing in this Brother, by measured yet sufficiently definite and often repeated language, to hold us up as false witnesses.

In such a mass of confusion as he has produced by his misinterpretations, it is difficult to us to know where to begin explanations; for if we take every detail in order, we shall fill a volume.

I. We begin, then, with what, he says, 'surpasses all our other 'statements in careless hardihood,' the opinions of the Brethren, and particularly of Mr. P. Hall, concerning magistracy. Here the Brother is ignorant of the contrast of meaning between the phrases 'ordained by God's *providence*,' and 'ordained by God's '*grace*;' which we have heard so often from eminent men among the Brethren, that we supposed it to be understood by them all. And if not, our own words explained it; for we made *providence* to be that which also ordains 'banditti, earthquake, pestilence;' and said that God 'regulated and controlled even the devil's acts,' and yet this Brother pretends it is contradictory to say, 'ordained 'by providence,' and 'appointed by the devil.'

Now, while we think the doctrine to be very *mischievous* that a Christian ought to forswear political power and rights, and in so

far, mischievous to hold that the devil is the immediate source of this power, we did not pronounce the latter to be an *ungodly* * and *wicked* opinion, which would seem to imply impiety in those who hold it. What we do regard as *ungodly* is, that the Brethren should force upon others their tenet about political disfranchisement, as one main test of their Christian character. This Brother will not deny, that whoever interprets the New Testament herein differently from them, they pronounce to be *worldly*. 'Union with 'the world,' with them means very chiefly, the retaining and exercising political † rights; and though most of them see that Paul must be the first person condemned, they do not shrink from this haughty conduct.

But be the sentiment ungodly or otherwise, it is not seldom professed, without incurring reproof, by many of the brethren; while *all* hold the practical inference from it, which is the main thing for which we care. In the Christian Witness, vol. vi. p. 66, we read: 'Satan has in his power (*subject indeed to an 'overruling control*) the kingdoms of the earth during this age, 'and no longer. He is only the prince of this world for a time; 'but he is termed even the god of this world. The world and 'its kingdoms *will be* redeemed into the possession of the Lord 'of the whole earth, &c. . . .(Note) I do not think that Satan 'rightfully had the kingdoms of the world when he offered them 'to the Lord: [I think] that he was not *at that time* prince of 'the world; and *only became so by the world having rejected 'Christ.*' Again, ch. iv. vol. v. pp. 2, 3: 'Does the world belong 'to Christ or Satan? *This is a question of immense practical 'concern, as involving our present standing and relationship both 'to God and the world.* There is no question it belongs to Christ 'in title and in right, for all things were made by him and for 'him, &c. . . . But in this dispensation of long-suffering, there is 'no visible assertion of that right, *nor any exercise of it for the 'right ordering of the world.* Such an assumption of direct con-'trol, we learn expressly from Rev. xi. 15, 17, 18, to be yet 'future, &c. . . . The devil had claimed the power of this world 'in his approach to Christ as the tempter, and *our Lord was far 'from denying the fact.* Nay, in the progress of his rejection, 'he could himself own him to be the prince of this world, &c. &c. 'The Scriptures relative to these facts have been largely opened 'for our instruction in the WITNESS, and they have no doubt by

* Opinions may be either true or false, but they are not in any strictness godly or ungodly. To call an opinion *ungodly*, could only mean (we apprehend) that the holding it is a mark of ungodliness.

† It is not merely the exercising them *ill* to which they object (for who does not?), but to exercising them *at all:* to the being linked in a 'worldly system.'

'this time become familiar to us.' Afterwards, p. 5, at bottom: 'The relation and intercourse subsisting between wicked spirits 'and ourselves, *involves much more than a mere influence over our* '*hearts*, though that indeed is most pernicious. Their active 'personal interference in the concerns of the world, it would be 'most injurious for us to overlook; for assuredly it is real.' We believe the writer is maintaining the reality of physical miracles wrought by devils; for he is discussing Rev. xiv. 13, 14. But it is more to our purpose to insist, that he deduces from the fact, that the devil is prince of the world, the practical inference that we may not exercise political rights or authority, which is what we asserted. If we understand the above, it is shortly thus: 'Christ is king *de jure*, but exercises no direct power; the devil 'is king *de facto*, and in the real exercise of power; therefore all 'political office is unlawful to a Christian.' But we proceed to Mr. Hall. It is difficult to quote from so exceedingly diffuse a writer, but we must attempt it. In 'Discipleship,' p. 34, he is arguing from the text, 'that which is highly esteemed* among 'men, is abomination in the sight of God,' whence he deduces, that God abominates rank, and therefore no Christian ought to retain it. It is not the *misuse* of rank or authority merely, but *the thing itself* which God hates, according to him. This convinces us that Mr. Hall does not hold God to be in any *direct* sense the author and ordainer of it, however he may deceive himself by the phraseology, 'ordained of God.' Again, p. 41, he says; 'Love has taught him (Mr. H.) to count the cost; and 'in truth he can say, it is sufficient for him to be as his Master: '*how then can he retain a commission of authority, when the* '*source of its power is the darkness of the world?* God knows 'it is not in harshness, &c. &c., that this is said,' &c. Mr. H.'s complaint is not that it was an abuse of power to put *him* into office; he objects to the power, barely *because its source is bad.* He proceeds: 'There are but two channels of authority, the power 'of the world, and God's ordained servants, the ministers of his 'Spirit. If I were of the world, it should be well that I should 'hold of the former; if the grace of my God has translated me '*out* of it into his kingdom, to be led of the Spirit is not only 'my privilege, but I should err in holding power from *another*,' &c. &c. No doubt, after this, Mr. H. adds warnings to prevent it from being thought that he is a radical or a regicide, bowing himself to the sovereign as to 'God's anointed,' and declaring

* On a recent occasion, the writer had a long discussion with a much esteemed (Plymouth) Brother, who, on the ground of this text, maintained unflinchingly, that *God abhors natural talents.* Of course it proves this, if it proves Mr. Hall's point. The context seems to demand the rendering, 'That which exalteth itself among men,' &c. &c.

that 'power is of God, and *not of the people*;' [not of the *devil*, would be more to our purpose;] which passage is now quoted by this Brother, as convicting us of falsehood! Truly, it may prove that Mr. Hall is an ultra Tory, who (under the belief of that religion demands it), inculcates political principles subversive of the existing constitution of this realm; but so far it entirely supports and does not contradict our statements. Indeed, nearly all this Brother's quotations are to no purpose; for they do but re-echo certain phrases of Scripture, while the real question is, how those phrases are interpreted—'All power is of God,' 'ordained of God,' &c.

We must here go a little deeper. Two classes of things are ordained by God. First, all the moral relationships; marriage, family ties, social duties; private rights—the right to one's own body, and to the fruit of one's own labor: mutual duties of Christians. These things so emanate from the will of God, that we count them therefore good, because ordained by him. A Christian errs greatly, who thinks himself 'too holy' for the marriage tie, or for menial service; for that true virtue to which he is called, consists in rightly performing all these common duties. But, secondly, God also ordains the calamities and the minor trials of the physical world, the fierceness of beasts, the power of banditti, the revolutions of empires. *All these are to work together for good* to the Christian; yet he never infers that they are therefore intrinsically good because God has ordained them; nor is any moral or holy relationship found in any of these things. We have often heard some of the Brethren entitle the former, ordinances of God's grace; the latter, ordinances of his providence.

Our question is, To which of these does civil authority belong? If to the former, then obviously the relationship of ruler and subject, is very similar to that of master and servant, or parent and child. In *all* such relationships we must obey God rather than man. If a child is ordered to steal or lie, he must disobey; if a servant be employed as an instrument of profligacy, he must leave his place; and so must a civil magistrate, if ordered to assist in idolatry. But no servant who leaves a wicked master, is right in denouncing the post of a master (or of a servant), as one intrinsically unlawful to a Christian; nor, by analogy, is it right to teach, that a Christian may not be a responsible officer, higher or lower, barely because many rulers misconduct themselves; and much less, *if any* (as these Brethren) *disavow their right to judge of the conduct of rulers.* (p. 508, l. 40.)

That Mr. Hall, and all his party, should disown this analogy, appears absolutely required by their arguments. We do not find that they vindicate magistracy, as *a righteous institution*, founded on mutual benefit; the superior giving protection, the inferior

repaying it with honor and service; and we are sure that many of them (as the above quotations show), are strongly opposed to this view. Mr. H. represents a Christian as wholly *passive* towards the government. If commanded, he submits; if ill-treated, he endures it; if taxes be demanded, he gives them. A Christian servant pays *active* service to his master, by voluntary zeal even supplying what has been forgotten to be commanded: but a Christian subject (they hold) becomes *a worldly character*, if he display a desire to benefit the community by any voluntary exertions. Mr. H. enforces the duty of submission to the magistrate, not by insisting on his abstract moral claims on our help (which is St. Paul's argument), but by the dry appeal to authority: the Scripture has commanded it! —the same reason which he would urge for submission to a robber. It appears to us therefore most clear, that Mr. H. (though perhaps unconscious of it through want of mental analysis), does *not* hold magistracy as co-ordinate with the other social relations, —as an appointment of God's grace, intrinsically righteous,— but as collateral with the ordinances of Providence, hurricanes or revolutions, under which we are to be resigned, with full belief that they are permitted for our good; and that the theory which is implicated in his arguments, degrades civil authority. At the same time, the Brother who writes in the Inquirer, asserts (and quotes to the same effect), that, 'As *holders* of power, magistrates 'are the ordinance of God; though in their *use* of power, they '*may* be the servants of the devil.' The words *may be* are highly significant, and if followed to their just results, obviously destroy the Brethren's whole system. But as the Brother agrees to all Mr. H.'s practical inferences, this sound principle is an idle theory with him.

Through some want of attention, he has understood us to say, that WE 'should be subject to a cut-throat, *if by God's permission* '*our ruler*, only for wrath, and not for conscience' sake:' but the words in italics are his own insertion, and utterly reverse our sentiment. As he pointedly asks one question, we reply—that 'in Nero's days' we should have thought it our duty to obey, to suffer, to bleed; revolution would have been a guilty lottery, issuing at best in a change of masters. We think that it is in *moral* force that the strength of Christians lies; and that it would be in us an ungrateful return to God's mercy, to make light of the blessings of English citizenship. If unrighteously invaded, we may legally and boldly defend them, as Paul defended his Roman citizenship. This Brother most unjustifiably pretends, that we are offended because the Brethren will not use swaggering and insolent language towards the government; he treats us as promoters and lovers of *rebellion*, who are barely kept down by force! Truly the Quakers, with whom we contrasted the Brethren, are not wont to bluster;

nor does any one fear their muskets and pikes. Is this Brother so staunch a Tory, as to be unable to conceive of such a thing moral influence upon political measures? Does he imagine that all the affairs of nations are determined by bribery and physical force? We, on the contrary, believe that a nation which contends for the rights of others, by words of truth with disinterested zeal, strengthens its own liberties thereby, better than could be done by successful insurrection.

Yet we do not believe that Rom. xiii. was written to dissuade Christians from seeking to promote a political revolution. Since the failure of Brutus, it had become clear to every man of intelligence, that the Roman empire afforded no materials for any thing but a despotism; and it is quite unlikely that Christians should have conceived the idea, and that Paul should have needed to check them. And had he done so, it could not have been by such reasonings as he uses. For instance, of what avail would it have been to plead *the important uses and benefits of magistracy*, in order to dissuade the Whigs of 1688 from ejecting that *bad* magistrate James II.? Such an argument must have been directed against those who looked on magistracy as only 'the law 'of the stronger;'—a familiar opinion in Greece;—or, as a violation of Messiah's higher authority; in which latter light it would occur to Jewish Christians and their disciples. Against such the apostle vindicates it as a righteous and useful institution, to which their own conscience ought to teach them the duty of submitting.

Now we maintain, that, among 'the ordinances of man, to 'which we are to be subject for the Lord's sake,' is that ordinance which invests many Christians with the political franchise, and some few with a peerage; and that a Christian's duty is to exercise this, 'as to the Lord, and not unto men:' setting to all men an example of incorruptibility, justice, truth, candor; with a view to which, a certain knowledge of public affairs is to be sought after. If circumstances prevent this, it is better to give no vote, than to give it at hazard; but no Christian is justified in the course pursued by these Brethren, of condemning all as 'worldly,' who seek the present good of their fellow-men by means which God has ordained. What sort of vituperation would be heaped on *us*, if we made in any thing else as little of Paul's opinion and judgment, as these Brethren make of it in the matter of worldly citizenship? At Philippi, at Jerusalem, at Cæsarea (after two years' imprisonment for meditation on his former act), this apostle deliberately repeats that which they so condemn in us. He counted himself still a citizen of this world; so do we count ourselves. There is not a hint in the Scripture to imply that Paul sinned in this matter. Surely a little modesty or candor might make them suspect, that when Paul's *conduct* appears to them so erroneous,

they probably misunderstand his *doctrine* also. Moreover, when he has broadly laid down that magistracy is a righteous institution, according with the will of God, it is evident that the burden of proof rests with those who say that no Christian can lawfully be a magistrate. This Brother, and all his party, urge that there are no directions in Scripture how a Christian is to conduct himself as a magistrate—as though that made it unlawful! But in this, as in most other matters, our controversy with them is concerning the laws of interpretation, of which we shall speak presently.

We profess to this Brother, that we regard his party to be peculiarly reprehensible, as practical promoters of oppression. They have not the excuse of ecclesiastical Tories,—many of them most deeply sincere persons,—who so dread the loss of the Church Establishment, that, to support this, they forget every thing else; for the Brethren hold the Establishment to be a prodigious and most evil fiction. Yet they throw all their *moral influence* on that side, which has for a length of time past favoured oppression and iniquity, bloody and lasting wars, grinding taxation, burdensome restrictions, church jobs, a cruel administration of cruel laws, colonial slavery, and Indian misgovernment.

If all English Christians held the views of these Brethren, the negroes of our colonies would still be treated as cattle, and far worse: and does Christ forbid us to utter our voice to our rulers against these enormities? Was it right to drink our coffee and sugar,—the blood of these men!—and plead conscientious scruples against petitioning for their release? and this, when it is notorious that our rulers themselves, unsupported by the moral power of the nation's voice, are unable to effect beneficial reforms which they may earnestly desire? Truly this Brother greatly mistakes, in supposing that we are secretly ashamed and afraid to avow our deep disapproval of this baneful sentiment of theirs.

But we cannot allow it to appear as though the question between them and us were one of mere party. The Brother would have it believed, that solely because this Review upholds reforming or 'radical' sentiments, do we object to their doctrines. It is not so. Radicals, Whigs, Tories, all alike repudiate the notion, that a Christian may not be a magistrate or a watchman; all alike regard it as a monstrous idea, that he may not help in improving the laws of the realm, or the public welfare and organization of the community; that he may not exercise the franchise or the right of petitioning. We have on our side all the good and great men, through whose exertions these Brethren now possess the gospel, the Scriptures, and freedom of conscience; and, first and greatest, we have the apostle of the Gentiles.

This Brother does not deny, but tacitly confirms what we

stated—that they hold it wrong to seek to improve the outward condition of the world. Their sentiments must lead to this, for social, civil, and political relations are not separable by any intelligible principle. May I not be a member of parliament?—may I then be a member of a town council? May I not be lord chancellor?—may I then be a commissioner of tithes or bankrupts?—or may I sit on a jury? May I not be conductor of the Post Office?—may I then be an excise officer? May I not sit in the privy council?—may I then be a member of an agricultural society? If it were right to produce individual cases, we could prove that leading Brethren well understand how far their doctrine must carry them, and do not shrink from it. One thing indeed is yet to come—the believing it unlawful to receive interest on money, or rents of estates. Certainly landed property has its duties, and must put them in a false position.

We have dwelt very long on the head of Political Rights and Duties, both from its own importance, and from the stress which the Brother laid on it. When he regards our statements here as 'utterly false' (p. 508), the reader may judge with what sort of discrimination he has declared, that we make out our case 'per fas aut nefas,' and teach that 'the means are sanctified by 'the end.'

II. Perhaps next in importance is the tenet of Open Ministry. This Brother before accused us of pretending that it consisted only in having a great *number* of teachers. When he comes to our explanation, that the main point of it is, not to put undue constraint on the energies of the Holy Spirit, he takes an opposite objection, that we unduly confound them with the Quakers. This, of course, was maliciously intended by us to imply, that the Brethren, as the Quakers, hold the Spirit to supersede and take precedence of the written word! (pp. 500—502.) Indeed, we referred to the Quakers solely as being a well known sect. But we were speaking of Church *Order*, not on the mode of ascertaining truth. Our words were, 'Namely, that the Spirit is still 'given to the Church in so emphatic and peculiar a mode, as to 'make all Church *Arrangements* for edification unlawful.' [We did not say, 'As to be paramount to the evidence of the written 'word.'] 'They do not attack bad organization, but organization 'as such.' The Brother objects, first, that he cannot understand the phrase *emphatic and peculiar;* which, he seems to suspect, conceals something wrong. We reply, that we wanted to avoid a verbal discussion about ordinary and extraordinary, miraculous or nonmiraculous gifts; and thought to do so best, by stating the result and effects, not the essence of these gifts; viz. that they supersede Pre-arrangement; indeed, render it unlawful. Next, he thinks we, rather craftily, confound arrangement and organization. Indeed, we regard the latter as somewhat more permanent than the

former. But what should we gain by this craft? For, thirdly, the Brother here declares that he approves solely 'of the Divine 'organization of the Spirit, and not that of modern churches,' p. 500; which of course must be meant to avow and defend the opinion which we ascribed to them: otherwise it would be a wretched quibble. But farther, he thinks we unduly confound them with the Quakers, when we represent it to be decided which of the Brethren shall speak, by the 'moving of the Spirit 'on the heart;' whereby (he says) we throw out of sight that they believe gift and qualification permanently to reside in individuals. So far from it, that we believe the Quakers to hold the same opinion. Not every Quaker is a John Joseph Gurney. We many times spoke of their 'leading men,' and represented them as holding, that 'the Spirit is eminently in the few.' Observing, however, that the Brother again corrects this last expression, and wishes we had said, 'All gift and qualification for rule are ever in 'a few;' we have certainly been struck at this sensitiveness, and are led to inquire whether his notions of the influences of the Spirit differ so much from those generally acknowledged, as their phraseology has seemed to us to imply. Indeed, but for their views of the uselessness or mischievousness of mental culture, and the sinfulness of *all* error, we should incline to this opinion. If on this head we still misunderstand and misrepresent our Brother, we assure him it is unwillingly and inadvertently.

But let us hear his own account of open ministry. Note, p. 495. 'The real meaning of exclusive and of open ministry, is, I 'believe, generally little understood. It might not be the will of 'the Lord for a number of years to raise up in a Christian church 'more than one individual qualified to minister in the word. If, 'however, there was an open door left meanwhile for any upon 'whom it might please the Lord to bestow ability to minister his 'gift for the common profit, this would not be exclusive ministry. '*But if in another church the ministry of the word were extended* '*even to ten or twenty members, and then arbitrarily limited to that* '*number, this would be that exclusive ministry which the Scripture* '*calls* SCHISM: 1 Cor. xii.'

We should have feared to state the case so very strongly, lest it might appear exaggerated; but the Brother does not shrink from it. To reason with him may seem hopeless, when he is amazed that we regard this distinction as a trifle, in comparison with the peace of churches and brotherly moderation. We feel very strongly upon it, and spoke strongly. Because he cannot conceive of the depth of our feelings concerning it, he taxes us with levity; we might say, with profanity. But again we must appeal to our readers.

Do ministers of the New Testament spring up in a night? or are they gradually matured by time and exercise? We suppose,

from this Brother's language, that he holds the latter; but we do not know. Even if the former were true, it would not quench nor grieve the Spirit, to order that certain persons alone speak *in a certain building* and at a certain time. For if others were gifted, ever so suddenly, they would find, in another building, and to another audience, the opportunity of using their gifts. Who now advocates what Queen Elizabeth did,—the trying "to stop prophesyings" by outward force? Let the new prophets or teachers speak elsewhere: if their powers are remarkable, the church whence they came will hear of it, and can, if it please, make room for them. Its ordinances are not immoveable, as of the Medes and Persians.—How much less then is an insult offered to the Spirit by the regulation supposed, if it be believed that ministers and teachers are not formed without time? This regulation may be *wise*, or *unwise*: that is not our question. But, have the Brethren a right to dogmatize, as they do, about it?—to call all churches apostate which judge otherwise?

This word "Apostate" is intended to have, and has, a real sting: it is not equivalent to *misjudging*. For, consider how the Brother deals towards churches which do not assent to his strange interpretation of 1 Cor. xii. 25, and his application of the whole chapter. He decides, first, they have left the apostolic model; secondly, they are apostate—their order is fleshly order, their union an insult to the Spirit; thirdly, he does not recognise the relationship between a pastor and his flock, or between church-members, as a spiritual reality, however truly cemented by the Spirit; but as mere fleshly formality. He would rejoice at its destruction. If the ten or twenty ministers were persuaded suddenly to abandon the flock and join the Brethren, would not this Brother glorify God that 'they had come out of all systems,' without asking whether the ties broken were spiritual, or merely formal? This is what we meant by saying that they did not care 'what spiritual* ties they burst, while pressing their theories:' for is not this quite a refinement of theory?

He corrects an assertion of ours, which implied that it is not lawful for an individual to collect *believers* (suppose to his own house) in order that he might teach them himself, and be the sole speaker. Our words certainly contained this, although we had only intended them as an emphatic re-asserting of the duty of open ministry, whenever they met *as believers;* which we believe is identical (in the Brethren's view) with meeting *as a church*. This Brother, however, says that open ministry is to be enforced only 'when they meet as a church *for the worship of* 'God.' We gladly publish this more correct statement of their

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* The Brother seems to think we meant *ecclesiastical*.

views; although we cannot conceive how 1 Cor. xii. authorizes them in this limitation. May not a church, if it please, meet for the mere worship of God, without having, at such time, any ministry at all?

If, as this Brother appears to think, their open ministry *works well*, we do not grudge it them, but are glad to have this and other methods put to the proof. Yet we think it clear, that an *unfair* advantage is given to the system, in a picked and therefore sectarian church. While the differences between speakers lie within narrow limits, so long (and only so long) are they bearable. But let the doctrine of Wesley (to give but one instance) be broached before the Brethren; let it be periodically and permanently enforced; and we are confident that they will either silence it—by persuasion, entreaty, authority; or they will quit the church themselves.

We know they will say, that this difficulty, though great, is hypothetical; and that their faith is exercised in looking to be kept out of it, as much as to be helped *through it;* nay, and hitherto have been so! We cannot allow this writer the triumph implied in his thankfulness for their unanimity; for it is plain that they have employed the surest *human means* for suppressing differences WITHIN their church. These are two: first, by using great strength (we say, exaggeration) of sentiment, which disgusts and repels all who do not embrace it; to which also their general intolerance of contrary opinions conduces: secondly, by securing that the chief power of mind should rest on their side. Their plan of proceeding is available to propagate truth or error alike. Some half-dozen men of education, and of energetic minds, coalesce, and assemble round them a number of females and of less educated men. Individuals who combine with them become assimilated to the pre-existing body; for a person remaining neutral and calm in the midst of them would be as a chill to their fervour, and in perpetual collision. If all (true) Christians joined them instantly—as they fancy they wish—their system would prove impracticable. But because all who disagree with them either keep away through kindness, or are driven away by disapprobation,—that is, because they are a sect, and *not* the catholic church, therefore alone it is that open ministry succeeds. Still, *in a sect*, and cleared from enthusiasm, it may be a very useful institution, for any thing that we are concerned to maintain.

III. We will next advert to an instance (p. 503) of his misapprehending us in a rather grave matter. Because we said that the Brethren held the law of Moses not to be our rule of life 'in any sense whatever,' he thinks that we are charging them with Antinomianism! Now in fact, not a feature which we have ascribed to the Brethren has any similarity to that odious error; and we particularly stated that their 'Calvinism was very moderate.'

It is the more remarkable, because this is one of the tenets which the writer of the former Article held 'to involve valuable truth;' and in a note upon their view of the Sabbath, in connexion with it, may be read: 'This is no peculiarity of theirs; *since it was 'held by all the Reformers, as well as in all times by the most 'learned writers of the Church of England.*' Did it need much study to discern that the writer agreed with them? Suspecting there might be a strong feeling against this among his coadjutors, he did not feel justified in using the editorial *We;* and yet (considering it to be a doctrine on which few use discrimination), he could not endure to permit it to bring odium on the Brethren, without stating, though dryly, a fact tending to disarm hostility. How the Brother, with that note before him, could suppose Antinomianism to be the thing imputed, it is difficult to say. But what did we mean by *in any sense whatever?* Merely, that *as a rule*, it was gone by entirely and for ever; and not (as some distinguish) a rule in moral matters, but not in ceremonial; or a rule of conduct, but not of justification, &c. &c. The Brother fully accepts for himself the sentiments which we described; but tells us that they are not altogether unanimous, while we had said 'we believed' they were.

IV. He complains that we 'insinuate what we dare not assert,' that they lay claim to the gifts of prophecy. We assure him that we insinuate no such thing. We desired, as concisely as we could, to point out the contrast between the Irvingites and the Brethren; the former holding that miraculous gifts *have* come and are *present*—the latter, that they are to be desired, prayed for, looked after, but are not (to their knowledge) come. We are certain that this used to be held by the Brethren, and not very long back; nor do we find that this Brother repudiates it. But, as we before said, he makes us suspect that their views concerning the Spirit have been modified. Perhaps they now think that no more gifts (in kind) are to be expected or prayed for, than they actually have at present.

Speaking of insinuations, we will add two other matters. He complains that we insinuated that they are *not* anxious to proselyte souls *to Christ;* because we spoke of their 'zeal to proselyte 'persons, not to Christ, but to a new system.' We cannot withdraw this statement: nay, we believe they will glory in it, changing the word *system*. But that we did not intend the alleged insinuation, might be seen by our broad statement, that they held they ought 'to preach the gospel, feed the hungry, &c.' In case any of our readers have not attended to this, we here distinctly disavow any such meaning. It would be very unworthy to imagine that no better motive than party zeal prompts their efforts to enlighten the ignorant and convert the abandoned.

Farther, when we spoke of 'pews or no pews,' as a thing on

which they lay inordinate stress (as we deliberately think), we were not intending to beguile the reader into the belief that it was the mere pew, and not the moral principle of a private pew, to which they objected. We ourselves twice said, '*private* pews' and '*payment* for pews.' Those congregations with which we are acquainted, would object, as strongly as the Brethren can, to allow poor members to be excluded from convenient sittings, by the rich monopolizing them.

V. Another grand accusation. We hold in our hands a paper, which we believe has been widely circulated, entitled, 'Some 'Explanation of the Views of certain Brethren in Christ.' Therein we read: 'We hold that *no difference of judgment* or 'experience ought to hinder communion and visible unity among 'those who *love* our Lord Jesus in sincerity.' This is a statement which, we feel satisfied, the Brother will approve: as will all Congregationalists, except Strict Communion Baptists. Yet this principle is really more barren than it seems. At first sight, it appears to say, that a man's creed is *not* one of the elements by which we decide whether or not he loves the Lord; but that other means exist by which this may be known, and that, this having been ascertained, his creed goes for nothing. This sounds delightfully large: our hearts open towards it with desire,—we speak most seriously. We believe it is painful to every generous mind, to be brought back to the conviction that it is not possible to act up to it; but that there *are* points which, even as a bare creed, must be exacted. When this is allowed, it is clear that the proposition should be: 'No difference of judgment, *which is not* '*such* as to induce the belief that an individual does *not* love, '&c. &c.'; in which form it loses all its pleasant generality, and says no more than 'common dissenters' hold.

We remarked in our former article, on the appearance of 'liberalism or liberality' in the Brethren, which came to nothing in practice; and this was meant as an eminent instance of it. They find great fault with all others for enforcing creeds, confessions, &c., and loudly proclaim, (as something forsooth peculiar to themselves,) that 'no difference of judgment should hinder communion,' &c. Yet this, when checked by a second principle, is stripped of its grandeur. We exhibited the two propositions as follows:—

Every person claiming admission into a church must be received, *if* he is a partaker of the Spirit, be his opinions what they may.—

The wise and eminently spiritual may detect that a person is *not* partaker of the Spirit, by some deficiency in the Articles of his Creed.

The former is only that which we quoted above, with a slight change of grammar, and the word *opinion* put for *judgment*. We

have heard this proposition in a great variety of forms, and will not contest with the Brother which is best; for instance, that 'Nothing is to be inquired into, but the possession of the com-'mon life;' or, in Scripture language, 'We are to receive all 'whom Christ has received.' Now, (will our readers believe it?) this Brother actually repudiates indignantly the former of our two propositions; and next, accepting the latter as true, declares that we contradict ourselves! He says, 'First, a person may be a par-'taker of the Spirit, *be his opinions what they may;* and next, 'he may be proved not to have the Spirit, *by a defect in his* 'Creed!' Against such stupidity (we must use this term, as we would not think it wilfulness) it is indeed hard to contend. He quotes as our words, which we never used; viz., 'A person *may* '*be* partaker,' &c.; which it would be utterly false to impute to the brethren. We used* two hypothetical clauses, *if* he be 'par-'taker,' and '*be* his opinions what they may;' and this is what the Brethren themselves say, and what, we doubt not, this very Brother has often eagerly pressed. Certainly, before he charges us with falsehood, he ought to ascertain the difference between saying, 'No difference of judgment ought to separate those who 'love the Lord,' and, '*If* any love the Lord, they ought not to 'separate, *be* their difference of judgment what it may.'

Let it observed now, that the Brother leaves without remark the following sentiment, which we ascribed to them, though he closely criticises those on each side of it: 'It is unlawful to lay down 'any creed, as a test of communion, or as a test for ministers;' which we likewise stated in pp. 575, 583. Why does he not again tell us, that we are confuting ourselves? For (he might urge), 'First, a man may be detected as unspiritual, and justly 'rejected from the church, for a defect in his creed; and next, 'No creed may be laid down as a test for communion!' The inconsistency is theirs, not ours.

Believing, as we do, that their talk of imposing no creed is self-delusion, and that they really impose a precise one unawares —being remarkably unable to endure intellectual differences— we much wish that they would draw out a creed. It would then appear whether or not such articles as these must be believed, in order to admission to their church, 'It is contrary to our Chris-'tian profession to retain the rights of worldly citizenship;' and various others which we might name. But few notions, we believe, are more inveterately fixed in their imaginations, than the abstract wrong of test articles. Meanwhile, we must again

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* Thus if the order were given, 'Admit any genuine Englishman, be the color of his skin what it may,' the Brother might allege that this was to assert, that 'a man may be a genuine Englishman, and yet be as black as a negro.'

beg it may be observed, the Brother formally acknowledges that *some* creed or other is to be exacted, though he does not say *what.*

VI. We proceed to a kindred subject. We have given as among their current doctrines, to deprecate distinguishing between fundamental and non-fundamental truths. This is in fact an immediate deduction from the unlawfulness of Creeds, and *as such we represented it.* The Brother now opposes us by a very interesting passage, p. 595 (which we would quote had we space), on Unanimity, Uniformity, and the distinction of Fundamental truths. Only it sneers at 'Creeds, Catechisms, and Con-'fessions;' which in this connection is strange enough, for the whole scope of it is really to prove the lawfulness or necessity of a Creed, so that it be a right one. But we beg to add this to the number of our 'paradoxes,' to hold that *they,** and not *we,* are here, as elsewhere, inconsistent.

Let us suppose a conversation between ourselves and a Brother (the substance of the following has more than once actually passed). 'What is the Creed held by your church?—It is not our place to make Creeds; we hold it to be an undue assumption, and contrary to the mind of Christ.—But do not you hold *any* truths to be essential? would you admit a deist who seemed to be spiritual?—Oh! no: we would not.—It being then conceded that not all opinions or doctrines are admissible; if you *do not* know which are fundamental, what right have you to exercise church discipline and authority concerning such matters? but if you *do* know, is it not the duty of the church to instruct men in it? or am I really to understand that you know, but will not tell?' When the conversation reaches this point, they† uniformly deprecate the attempt to divide truths into fundamental and non-fundamental, saying that it tends to disparage the latter, and more to that effect. And without for a moment impeaching the sincerity of this writer, we cannot get rid of the belief that he also would do the same. The texture of the logic is too close to admit of any other refuge. At the same time, we gave it to be understood, that they did not try to act on this

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* If this Brother, or any of them, will plainly admit that it *is* right to draw up and impose a Creed, we at once withdraw this.

† This Brother imagines we have heard them do so, when they meant to urge the "heartless ingratitude" of making light of the latter. We think it a very grave error to suppose truth to be unimportant, because not fundamental; but perhaps as grave, *so* to urge on persons that which is not fundamental, as to make them feel that there is no Christian sympathy or comfort for them, until their judgment be convinced. We here add, that we are satisfied we have read in one of their books, the statement formally made, that no one ought to mark off truth thus into two parts; but we cannot lay our hand on it, and indeed are unconcerned so to do.

theory (for as such it must be regarded), for it is indivisible from the explanation of Heresy which we ascribed to them, of which we added, it was 'a rule that could not be carried generally into 'effect.'

It is singular to see the art, or the simplicity with which the subject of Creeds is managed in the 'Answers to a Clergyman,' quoted by this Brother as exhibiting their views. The question is put, What are the Scripture Terms of Communion? and the reply is, 'A Confession of Faith in those truths, *the belief of* '*which constitutes a person a Christian, but without faith in which* '*a person cannot be a Christian;*' and this (i. e. faith) 'manifested 'by a righteous walk.' Thus, when asked, What must be believed for admission to the church? they reply, The things which must be believed for salvation: and decline all farther elucidation; which is about as useful as the Romish reply, The things which the Church believes. But this may show how vehemently they refuse to allow (in theory) the right of the Church to dictate a Creed, while they leave themselves at liberty to be really as exclusive as they please.

Lest some of our readers misinterpret our own views, we must distinctly say that nothing is farther from our thoughts than to approve of fixed, traditionary, unalterable Creeds, which it is unlawful to question. Churches, as individuals, being highly fallible, must not assume airs of infallibility; but since in this matter they are called to *act,* it may surely be demanded that they act publicly, and that truths believed to be essential to the validity of a Christian profession, should be distinctly recognized as the basis of union in a Christian church. The minds of individuals may be much exercised and well-informed on the subject, but we apprehend it seldom or never is pondered by the great majority. When any new case arises, the church has simultaneously to form its general principles, and to act upon them; of course under no small excitement, if they are deciding upon the Christianity of an individual. It is our opinion (at least, the opinion of the immediate writer), that every increase of general intelligence and activity of mind upon spiritual subjects, will make this difficulty more and more formidable.

VII. On another subject, the definition of Heresy, we freely confess that we have been hasty in attributing to the Brethren generally that which is probably only held by some individuals. We stated that they taught Heresy to be '*the choosing for oneself* 'an opinion not according to the mind of the Spirit:' and that a person holding it is to be excommunicated, *because* Heresy is 'a work of the flesh.' This certainly is no invention of ours. We know it to have been maintained by one very conspicuous person among them for years; and it is our full belief that we have read this definition and explanation of Heresy in the Chris-

tian Witness, though we have not now succeeded in finding it. We certainly gave a prominence to this in recapitulating, so as to imply that it was held by them *generally*. But this Brother informs us that at their Clifton meeting, in June, 1838, they judged Heresy to be 'the evil activity and restlessness of the 'flesh in using false views as an engine of division, &c.' This is later in time than that to which we refer, and we do not doubt that he has rightly corrected us. We are sorry to lessen the cordiality of such concession, by saying that with his usual want of discernment, he neglects to observe that we ourselves distinctly stated that they did not, and could not, *act* on this doctrine, except in isolated cases. '*Could* the rule be carried generally 'into effect,' said we, 'it would split up the church, &c., &c.,' and then we proceeded to show that it was only in individual instances and on new comers that it would be exercised: and we see nothing in all this which we would wish altered. But the Brother formally argues out the impossibility of acting on such a definition of heresy, as if we had not already said the same thing.

But when he wishes us to believe that the Brethren would refer any case of this kind to the decision of the church, we are wholly unable to admit it. We deliberately reiterate all that we said concerning their determination to disavow the authority of the collected church, and their jealousy of its power. We know this as a fact; it is required by their sentiments; and it appears quite plainly in this Brother's own writing. He quotes the words (p. 508), 'It is for the brethren already in com-'munion to decide according to the above tests, upon the title of 'those who propose themselves for communion:' which he contrasts with our words, 'Wisdom will be given to the few to 'judge of his character, but the sense of the church must by no 'means be taken.' *He omits our words which follow:* 'The 'church being always formed chiefly of babes and ignorant per-'sons, must never vote *by the head* on such a matter.' This last omission was decidedly unfair, because he elsewhere (p. 504) admits that 'the sense of the church is not to be taken' by head-voting, which is the only thing of which we spoke; and he does not explain in what other way they proceed, when the church is not unanimous. Not but that we believe *every kind* of authority in the church is disowned by them. There is an unfair ambiguity in the words *according to the above tests;* for one of the tests is, that the candidates be sound on 'fundamental 'truths;' and this Brother's own extracts declare that the church may not set forth a declaration, *what* truths are fundamental: so that no test is really proposed. Suppose now a candidate for admission, who in other opinions agrees with their church, but who disbelieves the doctrine of *Preventing* grace as held by

Calvinists, or the strict eternity of future punishments; the real question is, whether the leading brethren will submit to the decision of the church, should it happen to be against their own. We can see nothing in this Brother's writing to make us suspect that *he* would: and we are personally confident that many of them would not. Nay, he has not ventured to reject this statement of ours, 'If any Brother in his public teaching, utter that 'which is false or unedifying, those who are wise must reprove 'him, and he must submit to them. For we are ordered to be 'subject *one to another. And if he do not submit, they must reject 'him as a heretic, after a first and second admonition.*'

But indeed, no other course is open to those who condemn democracy in the church, who forbid even that a congregation shall choose its pastors, and *yet* refuse all fixed official authority. It must remain that strong-willed individuals be uncontrolled, as much in censuring and excluding from the church, and in other public acts, as in their private capacity. We do not dissemble the *difficulties* of democracy in the church. St. Paul found them at Corinth. But these Brethren are deluded, if they suppose that their own system is any thing else. There is no middle thing (such as they dream of) between formal and informal church order. An amalgamation of the two may exist, but nothing differing in kind from both. The formal, which recognizes official authority to decide things spiritual—as, who shall teach, or what shall be taught—they repudiate: the informal can be nothing but the democratic system, viz. 'a legal equality of all;' in which, consequently, there is no rule but that of opinion, no influence but that of persuasion, or perhaps, blustering. Tell us not of gifts. It suffices not to have such gifts as Paul, *unless the possessor is believed by others to have them.** The apostle John was overpowered by the influence of Diotrephes. When therefore the Brethren impotently condemn the democracy of dissenters, they only show their love of finding fault; or else, a miserable desire of irresponsible power. This is like the old giant 'Pope' in Bunyan, who, being chained, could do nothing but show his teeth. The utmost that he can obtain, is a sort of Arab despotism, which may exercise any acts of power on those without, so long as it is lenient, and upholds its popularity with those within the tribe.

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* In the Christian Witness, vol. v. p. 81, it is confessed that the democratic system appeared almost immediately on the departure of the apostles; but this is treated as a manifest and grievous error—natural in a high churchman, but absurd and self-contradictory in one who will not allow that the Apostles had any formal successors, and who holds that it is the duty of each Christian to prove and try every one who calls himself a minister of Christ. The truth is, that Paul's own system was democratic. Only *his personal qualifications* sustained his authority in the churches; and he says, 'If *we* or an 'angel from heaven, &c.'

It might now seem needless to answer the Brother in the Inquirer, who adduces the text, 'Obey them which have the rule 'over you,' as a condemnation of democracy in the church. Does he know what 'democracy' means? perhaps, being a Tory, he supposes the word to mean 'tumult.' But we believe that *he* expounds that text, as all other Protestant Dissenters do; viz. that, 'after judging, as best we may, *who are* the persons to 'whom we are to be subject, then we are to obey them *within* '*reasonable and lawful limits.*'

Before leaving this head, we must notice a fictitious contradiction which this Brother advances, by making us assert that which we did not.* His words are (p. 504): 'The Brethren 'frequently take the judgment of the assembled church on *many* 'subjects, *though they are here said to hold it unlawful.* They find no difficulty in doing this, *without putting the matter to the* '*vote.*' He does but confirm all that we stated; viz. that the opinion of the church is *not to be taken by vote.* In the same page (p. 577) we wrote, *vote* '*by the head,*' using marks of quotation to show upon what the stress was laid by the Brethren. He has also omitted our expression, 'on any spiritual subject," which was here important; for we are not aware that the Brethren object to voting on other questions; for instance, as to the locality of their meeting room; and we were careful not to impute it.

VIII. It remains to speak on literature and mental cultivation. This Brother informs us that they allow of the study of the original languages of the Scripture, but disapprove of literature. He speaks of *philology, rhetoric,* &c. as condemned in Scripture (note to p. 503), and again (p. 514), gives us insight into the breadth of his prohibition thus: 'The Brethren object to *world-*'*liness,* whether religious or otherwise; and regard politics, 'literature, exclusive ministry, &c., as so many forms of it.' We beg to call our readers' attention to the portentous *et cætera.*

We were *not* ignorant of this distinction, yet we must justify him in supposing that we were; and both to correct misapprehension in the reader's mind, and for the importance of the thing itself, we are glad to recur to it now. Embarrassed by the multiplicity of subjects, we not only did not give this distinction its deserved prominence, but certainly wrote one sentence in forgetfulness of it. Yet we know not how to make to the Brethren an

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* Not to omit what is yet unimportant enough, we add that the Brother corrects an ill-formed sentence of ours which certainly represented them as thinking it right to break bread *several times* on the Lord's day, if the church met several times (p. 576). They think once is enough, but that it should be at least as often as once on every Lord's day, that is, once a week. This is what we had ourselves intended.

apology worth giving or receiving, since the substitution of the words 'Philology and History,' for 'Hebrew and Greek, will leave the point of our remark as sharp as before: viz., that in theory they despise, but in practice seek to use, these things. An unfortunate misprint of 'unlawful' for *lawful* (p. 578, l. 15), and the popular phrase 'Latin and Greek,' used for *ancient literature*, made our meaning yet more indistinct. Let us beg, at the end of this long article, for yet a little more patience, while we develop the meaning and result of the doctrine taught by the Brethren, that to study the bare languages of Scripture is right for a Christian, but to cultivate the mind is wrong.

We must explain what, in our last quotation from the Brother, is 'religious worldliness;' and it may illustrate to him what we meant by saying that they judge the Scriptures by other than the common laws of grammar;—words which he does not understand. *We* are used to speak of the religious world, or the Christian world, or the Protestant world, as freely as of the musical world or the mineral world; and judged by common grammar, all are equally good. But the Brother decides that *the Christian world*, is a contradiction; being, it seems, equivalent to *worldly Christians!* He three times attacks us about it, as in the note, p. 515: 'There is 'nothing self-contradictory in the expression *religious world*, for 'man is naturally *religious;* but that of *Christian world* is sadly 'anomalous, and like popular phrases, fearfully expressive of the 'existing state of things. Surely it was never intended that the 'terms *Christian* and *world* should be named together, save in 'the way of *contrast*, or meet together save in the way of *conflict.* 'And yet they are now found joined together in all *seeming* har-'mony.'

We are afraid to call this a specimen of 'divine grammar,' for it really might be mistaken for profanity. But is it not miserable to see religious feeling degenerate into this mawkish sensibility about words and syllables, with such a loss of the common powers of reasoning, in one who has not been ill educated? It is hard to predict from what absurdities in Biblical criticism a person would shrink, who has so perverted his faculties as to expound the Christian world to mean worldly Christians. To such a mind, the knowledge of the mere languages, Greek and Hebrew, is an *ignis fatuus*, if indeed* this is a specimen of other criticisms. But who need doubt that their critical principles

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* It may seem to be a *morceau* much valued in their school; for in turning the pages of the Christian Witness we have met the same idea more than once. Thus, vol. i. p. 350, Note, where somebody is rebuked for wishing universities to be *a preparation and introduction to the world.* We should refer to John xvii. 15, but text-quoting between us and the brethren is useless.

must be *other than common*, when this Brother reckons *Philology* among the parts of 'worldliness' to be avoided by Christians? We have not room to enlarge on this absurdity. But surely, all who know anything of antiquity, know that to appreciate the force and spirit of an ancient tongue, far more is needed than the bare letter which a dictionary can afford. What we intended to ascribe to the Brethren is this; a superstitious feeling concerning the dialect of the Scriptures, as though 'the words of the Holy Ghost,' were not also human words subject to the same laws as those of common men: hence they have a horror of all explanation depending on *figures of speech*,* however convincing may be the proof at hand, that this is the real interpretation; and when they compare Scripture with Scripture to find the force of words, it is less because the dialect happens to be the same in the books compared, than to ascertain how 'the Holy† Ghost' employs terms. Nay, they appear to dread the study of common Greek, as though it would mislead them as to the SS. We believe this to be a most hurtful error, tending to promote superstition with some, infidelity with others; and destroying in numberless cases the true sense of the sacred volume.

This Brother complains that we do not rest our opposition to them on texts of Scripture. His complaint touches the heart of the subject, and *assumes* that which we are strenuously denying; viz. that all knowledge available or useful to a Christian is contained in the Scripture. What a confusion of mind it implies, to imagine that *the laws of interpretation* can be dictated by the Scripture, when every text quoted on the subject, needs to be itself interpreted before it can be used! Our main controversy with these Brethren is concerning laws of interpretation, laws of argument and evidence; we contend that they have heated imaginations, and are deficient in sound sense. We understand this Brother's texts very differently from him, and our controversy can never be thus settled. The publication of the letter of Scripture is a vast blessing, because so much holy and most important truth is on the surface; about which there is little question among Christians. But three centuries in this country have fully demonstrated the falsehood of the old maxim, *Bonus textuarius bonus theologus.* A MIND to interpret the texts is

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* The Brother does not object to our statement, that they hold that our Lord's maxims must not be modified by considering their Hebrew idiom. We might as well say, that English is to be interpreted 'by the laws of gram-'mar, without reference to the English idiom.'

† The Englishman's Greek Concordance, favourably noticed in our November Number, is executed by the Brethren. We did not choose there to stir the question, but barely glanced at it.

first essential, and no text-quoting will separate man from his intellect, or the spiritual from the natural understanding. That there may be life in the letter, we need not only to have our religious feelings quickened, but also our mental faculties soundly developed. Yet these Brethren virtually teach, that the weaker a man's perceptive and argumentative powers, the more likely is he to attain divine truth.

Since this Brother does not object to our statement that they regard history as a 'worldly' study, we presume that he includes it in the *et cætera*. Yet he (as they) has no objection to try his hand at historical argument, in the following words, p. 503, note: 'IT IS NOTORIOUS that mere literature has never done anything 'but mischief in the church, removing men from the simplicity 'that is in Christ. *As literature advanced and prevailed*, the 'truth became darkened, diluted, and mixed with pernicious 'errors, until at length it was well nigh extinguished. To the '*learned* we may trace almost every heresy and false doctrine which 'has at any time plagued or desolated the church; and if we desire 'to see infidelity raging under the Christian name, we must turn 'our eyes to the neologians of Germany, who are admittedly in 'philology, mere criticism and literature, *facile principes*. And 'yet* the religionists, especially the dissenters, of these countries, 'have failed to take warning from this.' '*Mere*' literature, is doubtless a double-edged weapon, and so is '*mere*' criticism: each may be mere counterfeits. But we do not hesitate to assert, that the facts of history inculcate the very opposite lesson to that which this extract is designed to convey. So far from it being true that the departure of the early church from the faith is chargeable on 'literature,' in any sense which that word now bears, it may be difficult to suggest any accessible human means which would have more efficiently resisted that sad declension, than the general study of Cicero, Xenophon, Tacitus, and other sober classical authors, by Christians of the second and third century. The disease of the church was fanaticism, credulity, and superstition; an obscuration of the primary notions of morals, and a loss of common sense. *The Scriptures were in the hands of all, but none could use them aright.* It is most certain, that the decline of literature and sound judgment in the age at large, went hand in hand with the decline of true religion in the church. Farther, the spread of Latin (*heathen*) literature in Europe, was the dawn of religious improvement in the middle ages; while the introduction of Greek (*heathen*) literature was the herald of the Reformation. Since then, if we ask why it is

* It is believed that the Brother is by no means well-informed, nor is an adequate judge, concerning the progress of the German mind: but it is too great and arduous a subject here to touch.

that *we* discern many truths more clearly than our fathers; why we do not believe their demonology, nor their astrology; why we burn neither witches nor heretics; why we do not abuse the Old Testament to the same extent, and use it to justify crusades; why, in short, we are beyond them in the discernment of any point which can be boldly pronounced to be The Truth; the only answer is, because *the mind of the age* is somewhat more cultivated. It is not by a larger outpouring of the Spirit; for the unspiritual partake in this light. Had not astronomy and other physical science dispelled the superstitions but recently general, these very Brethren might be now deciding causes of witchcraft by texts from Moses, or fighting battles with demons like Luther. Errors pardonable in the uneducated, are by no means so in *them;* and least of all, while the FACT remains, that those among them who by superior capacity and cultivation would in any worldly society take the lead, are also The *Gifted* and Ruling men in their church.

So widely do we differ from this Brother's axiom (for as such it must be regarded), that philology, rhetoric, literature, et cætera, are *worldly* things in his sense, that we believe all honest exercise of the mind to be a truly religious matter. As the firing at a target forms an expert archer or musketeer; so the seeking after truth and nothing but the truth, in common every day topics, imparts to it a *habit*, which it retains in spiritual inquiries. Nay, we believe that one who should attempt to confine his mind to the latter subject, would inevitably contract most vicious habits of arguing and investigating. For we have not the same ability to verify and correct the processes of the intellect, when veneration or fear press too heavily on the reasoning faculty.—'But the 'Brethren are so spiritual and so devoted, they surely would not 'be allowed to go wrong;' says each concerning the rest. We reply, the most *devoted* men that ever lived, yes, and the most unworldly (if this is spirituality) have been among the Roman Catholics, and those, very superstitious ones. Man cannot with impunity transgress the conditions of being within which God has placed him; and he who tries to be holy *out* of the world, instead of holy *in* the world, must soon fall into gross and mischievous errors, from which a little of the world's ordinary sense might have saved him. Moreover, no declamations against Rhetoric secure men from using the lowest rhetorical tricks; no neglect of Ethics or Logic will serve to improve their insight into human duty, or their powers of investigation.

We must finally declare, that our own convictions have been much strengthened by the study of this Brother's reply, as to the substantial justice of all our complaints against them. What indeed but the most exclusive principles and peremptory denunciations, can one expect from the advocates of ignorance?

Whenever he touches a point of difference, he displays this dogmatic temper. Thus (p. 507): 'Neologically to explain the 'law of leprosy as a regulation of quarantine, or that of the 'avenger of blood as an adopted Arab custom, does surely argue 'a mind *very*, if not *utterly*, dark as to things spiritual.' It is not our purpose to advocate any particular interpretation; but we must protest against the Brother's supremacy over our faith. There is absolutely nothing in either Old or New Testament to prohibit what he is pleased to term the 'Neological' view; and whether it be true or not, can only be determined by that 'gene-'ral literature' which he reprobates. If the phenomena of the oriental leprosy agree pretty nearly with the Mosaic; especially *if* there be two sorts, infectious and non-infectious (that is, unclean and clean); it would be irrational to reject the elucidation. The other question is equally connected with the laws of ancient nations concerning the exile of an accidental homicide.

As this brother is perplexed to know what we ever hoped for from them, and why we are disappointed, we will tell him. We admire enthusiasm, as we do the sportive bounds of a child, or the vehemence of youth. It is a noble power, stirring the heart deeply, the spring of every reformation; generally self-denying, self-devoting, connected with the highest principles of humanity. But its effervescence too soon sours into fanaticism. When it becomes intolerant—when, claiming private judgment for itself, it denies the same to others—when it is exclusive and dogmatic —when it proscribes all literature except its own productions— when it forbids the cultivation and strengthening of the intellect —when it shuts out intercourse with other minds, equal to its own in power, but differing in sentiment—our hopes of good from it fall indeed very low. Nay, another fear remains, that the distortion of understanding which it occasions may degenerate into pious frauds and cunning expediency, as happened with the ancient church What are we to think of this principle (not repudiated by the Brother), that 'it is a presumption to criticise 'the historical evidence for the canon of Scripture?' what, but that they adopt an irrational assumption, barely because they must else renounce their tenet of the uselessness of literature and mental cultivation.

We complained of their 'scornful, supercilious tone;' this Brother now recriminates on us, as equalling their scorn. We have hereby been led closely to interrogate our conscience, and obtain the following answer. It is possible that we have been led beyond bounds in our expressions; to pretend otherwise would be to advocate our infallibility or perfection. But most sincerely do we feel, that not one of the Brethren's sentiments that can be separated from intolerance would be treated by us with disrespect (however ill-grounded we might think them), if they

were held with ordinary modesty. But to meet with this intolerance, this hatred of liberty, this virtual teaching that ignorance is the mother of devotion, from men who have themselves seceded and claimed the rights of conscience, and whose influence, whatever it is, depends on their education and their intellectual energy,—this certainly so fills us with pity and indignation, that the mixture is probably very similar to scorn. But whatever of this sort has been said, is directed not against the mass of their followers (whom it is not possible to know in detail), but against those who suppose that by the sacrifice of their estates or worldly prospects, they purchase a right to lord it over the faith of their fellow Christians. The only excuse which we know for them is a poor one: that they are so shut up among themselves, and hear their own thoughts so re-echoed, that they cease to be aware how magisterial is the place they have taken.

Art. VII. *Lectures on Preaching.* By Ebenezer Porter, President of the Theological Seminary, Andover. London: Ward and Co.

THE abundance of books in any particular department of study is by no means a proof that the subject has attained its ultimate perfection. So far, indeed, from this being an index of such result, it may be and is more often the evidence of defect. The subject is not set at rest, it is more properly overlaid; and the repetition of instruction proves that the master-mind has not yet appeared: when such a mind once speaks all weaker efforts are useless. Neither have the ages which produced the most celebrated books on the theory of any art been renowned for the most finished specimens of its practice. Criticism did not become a study till long after the time when Homer had written; Quintillian composed his Institutes at a period when eloquence had forsaken the Roman senate; and it was amidst the din of the polemical strife of the Commonwealth, that Stillingfleet and Burroughs wrote their *Irenica,* and 'Peace Offerings' were placed on the national altar in such astonishing plenty. On similar principles we are perhaps warranted in believing that the very great number of elementary books on the eloquence of the pulpit which characterizes the age, is a correlative, if, indeed, it be not an index of the feeble and attenuated character of preaching prevailing amongst us: the ancient athletæ carried with them no rolls of strengthening plaster to the arena.

A mere catalogue of treatises of this nature would, we are per-

suaded, astonish our readers, or at least that portion of them who are not accustomed to the melancholy observation, that in the prosecution of human affairs we are often at a loss to discover which of two facts is the most remarkable, the profusion of instrumentality, or the insignificance of result. In our own little collection besides the treatises of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintillian on the nature of oratory, we have a magnitude and variety of prædicatorial apparatus sufficient to give success to the labours of all the preachers in the world, if the best tempered weapons and the best instruction in the adroit use of them were the alone conditions of victory; but as we have painfully experienced in our own case, the silver handle and the embroidered scabbard of the sword give no pledge of the sharpness of the point; and the thrust of a most unpolished weapon, directed in defiance of all the rules of the masters of the noble art, shall often be successful when artificial exactness has utterly failed to teach.

Among the treatises on the art of preaching which were in the hands of our ancestors, there were three or four small works in Latin, which acquired a great and deserved reputation, and to which we the more willingly refer as they are little known to modern students, and their perusal might be beneficial in forming the habits of our junior brethren. The duodecimo of Gaussenus, entitled 'De ratione studii theologici,' the treatise of Crocius under the same title, the Manuductio of Frankius, and the work 'De pastore evangelico' of our countryman Bowles, are admirable preparatories to the more regular and critical study of theology. Our old divinity is rich in this department. That racy though antiquated puritan divine, Richard Bernard of Batcombe, whose 'Isle of Man' is the genuine ancestor of Bunyan's 'Holy War,' has left a tract on the pastoral office entitled 'The Faithful 'Shepherd,' 1621, which is by no means unworthy of perusal. Prince, the historian of the worthies of Devon, Glanvil, of witch-believing memory, and the all-learned Wotton, have each written on this subject, and each has instamped on his book the characteristic features which even the smallest productions of original minds ever bear. Bishop Wilkins's treatise is too well known to need any mention, and the Gildas Salvianas of Baxter soars too far above the reach of criticism in the ardour of its unaffected piety to need any recommendation. The eccentric though truly respectable 'Manuductio ad Ministerium' of Cotton Mather, is chiefly known to the British public by a very injudicious abridgment which has contrived to omit all the racy originality of the original, and has effectually tamed the somewhat uncouth gambols of the high mettled courser of Massachusets into the formal amble of a young gentleman's poney docked of his tail and mane to bring him into the prevailing fashion. Fenelon's essay has

long been appreciated, and Campbell, great in his 'Philosophy of 'Rhetoric,' greater still in his work on the Gospels, and greatest of all on 'Miracles,' is generally approved in his 'Pulpit Elo-'quence' by all who make this subject a part of their study. Of Claude we say nothing but that his English translator has so effectually buried his author under a farrago of often irrelevant though always interesting notes, that whatever may be the design of the original work, the English version is as far as possible from answering the design of instructing young ministers in the composition of a sermon. Whatever may be the merits of the more recent of these publications—and that they have merit we are abundantly willing to admit – there is one error pervading all of them, an error we believe of the most fatal consequence, and one which must be opposed and successfully exposed if we ever expect to see the preaching of the gospel of Christ possess that high character of instrumentality for which it was intended in the designs of its great Author; and that error is the general and in many cases the entire omission of serious exhortation to young ministers on the indispensable necessity of acquiring the genuine meaning of that book which they profess to explain. We are deeply and painfully convinced that ignorance of the mind of God in the Scriptures, is the sin of a great majority of Christians; that our congregations are distressingly uninformed of the meaning of that language which God has addressed to their understandings, and that there are popular and eloquent discourses spoken in our places of worship on the Sabbath day, and which receive the plaudits of admiring crowds, which contain no attempt to explain the portion of truth on which they are professedly grounded, and which, whilst they abound in meretricious eloquence and in all the figures of artificial oratory, leave the hearers deplorably deficient in clear and enlightened views of that which is the alone work for which the ministry was originally appointed, the testimony of truth. We speak it in sorrow, and with a distinct conviction how disagreeable such an avowal must be to many whom we love—but we give it as our solemn and heartfelt conviction: *the word of God is but rarely explained in the pulpit, and hence it is but little understood by our people.* We have listened to much admired pieces of hortatory eloquence in the pulpits of the metropolis, to addresses in which the most jejune views of the word of God have been brought forth, and because they were brought forth in a cloud of sesquipedalian words and lofty imagery, the penury, or occasionally even the distortion of sense in the exegesis has been forgotten amidst the admiration which has been lavished on the medium of its conveyance.

In addition to the works to which we have already alluded, we have now another publication on this subject by Dr. Porter, the President of the Theological Seminary at Andover, in the United

States. Like the generality of the theological publications of our transatlantic brethren, the work is respectable. To originality it makes no pretension, but it is written with good sense and moderation, and is deeply imbued with the spirit of piety. Like all the publications, however, which have appeared in that country, it manifests a most deplorable deficiency in the knowledge of the best English books, and especially in the department of sermons. In the author's list of English sermons the names of Thomas Jackson, Donne, Farringdon, Bebington, Brownrig, Sherlock, Samuel Clarke, Horbery, Sanderson, and Stillingfleet, do not once occur. We should have thought that such omissions were beyond even the capacity of Anglo-American ignorance of English classics. Certainly it is not our intention to recommend either of these great men as finished sermonizers, but we are at a loss to understand how a preacher can be presumed to be prepared for regular pulpit exercise in the English language, without being made acquainted with the great authors to whom we have alluded; who together with Jewel, Chillingworth, Rainolds, Willet, Whittaker, Hooker, Carleton, Hakewill, and other men of the same time and the same spirit, will continue to be the glory of the English pulpit in all that regards depth and solidity of judgment and masculine energy of thought, when many of the men mentioned by Dr. Porter are forgotten. Our brethren are, however, becoming better acquainted with our older and truly classical writers, and ere long, we are convinced, those writers will occupy the place in the minds of the reading classes of the United States which their intrinsic merits deserve. A shade of melancholy, however, passes over our minds as we observe that these tests of our country's intellectual power are becoming daily more difficult to be obtained: we have reprints of every thing ludicrous and uncouth which antiquity in its strangest freaks has bequeathed us, but the theological folios which originally procured from the tongue even of foreigners the testimony so glorious to England, *Clerus Anglicus stupor mundi*, are suffered from year to year to become still more scarce, till at length, as some of us have painfully realized within a few days, there are many of them which are not on any terms to be procured

Art. VIII. *The Claims of Japan and Malaysia, Exhibited in Notes of Voyages made in* 1837, *from Canton, in the Ship Morrison and Brig Himmaleh.* 2 vols. New York. 1839. London: Wiley and Putnam.

AMONG the remarkable features of the age, perhaps there are few more astonishing, certainly there is none so important in its connexion with the dissemination of those principles which are to bless the whole family of mankind, as the attitude in which the United States of America are beginning to stand towards the older sections of the world, and especially towards the east. It is now but little more than two centuries since the small band of English confessors, destined in the mysterious counsels of Providence to become the fathers of a new, and preserved, perhaps, hereafter to be the teachers and reformers of the old world, landed on the rock of Plymouth. Flying from that persecuting rage which attempted to destroy in their own country the spirit of free inquiry, and to substitute a blind vassalage to the pompous rituals of a Romanizing hierarchy for the spiritual and pure worship of the heart, they sought the shores of America to secure that noblest of all blessings under the wide canopy of heaven,—the rights of conscience. They issued forth into the wilderness possessed of little else but that hardy frame of body and mind which their native land had given them;—the head that could plan, the heart that could determine, and the arm that could execute a bold design: the healthy throb of English liberty beat high within their breast, and gave a determination to their resolves which none but freemen can ever feel, and these materials for noble bearing were directed and controlled by one principle—the best, the noblest, and the most elevating which man in this lower world can enjoy, the knowledge and the love of the truth. They carried with them the Bible—that sacred book was the ark which sanctified and defended their camp; to the worship enjoined in its pages were their earliest cares devoted; and from the principles it contained were derived the polity, the laws, the whole spirit of that government which they chose to be the guardian of their persons, their property, and their rights. What are the results that have followed that voyage? Let Europe behold the present state of the Anglo-American republic. To the philanthropist, the politician, the Christian, she presents a spectacle truly interesting, a problem before untried in the history of nations. She has demonstrated beyond the possibility of contradiction, that a free people will secure to themselves, by the unfettered exercise of their own judgment, that form of government which is best adapted to their wants, and that at the least possible expenditure to the public purse; and that voluntary efforts are the most efficient means of sup-

plying a nation with religious instruction, and of carrying out and extending the principles of the spiritual kingdom of the Messiah. In the estimate to which we are now directing the attention of our readers, we have no wish to amuse by descanting on the gigantic proportions of the transatlantic colossus: neither the magnitude of the territory, the rapidly increasing ratio of population, the extent of commercial enterprise, the magic growth of the western cities of this vast empire,—neither any nor all of these have engaged for her our sympathies. The consideration of her moral and religious phenomena, and of the influence she is now exerting, and is enabled by Divine Providence to exert in a still more ample and beneficial degree in meliorating the spiritual condition of the human family, by giving to them the blessings of knowledge and civilization, thus realizing the designs of an ever merciful Providence in bringing again a fallen and degraded world to God and to holiness, is the alone ground of our admiration. Whether national welfare be best secured by the gorgeous trappings of a monarchy, or by the Doric plainness of republican simplicity, is a problem, towards the solution of which we shall offer no attempt; whether the advantages of social intercommunion are rendered more efficient by the suavity of aristocratic mannerism or by the inartificial rusticity of plebean familiarity; whether the sum of human happiness be greater in the land whose citizens enjoy a sober uniformity of possession equally remote from poverty and from excessive wealth, or in that where the extremes of both are met with in immediate contiguity, are beside the range of our present design; but the anticipated instrumentality of this great republic in evangelizing the nations, in pouring out the flood of light which is to scatter the thick darkness now covering the world in its three great divisions of Heathen, Mahometan, and Anti-christian delusions, is to us, and we trust will be to all, a subject of deep and thrilling interest. It is evident to all the true disciples of our blessed Master, that the old world has hitherto failed in the design of evangelizing the nations, if, indeed, that can be called a failure which has never been seriously enterprised: she has either faithlessly betrayed the cause, or proved herself utterly inadequate to the task. The only country which is now using any legitimate effort in its furtherance is itself deplorably and utterly destitute, as to the vast majority of its inhabitants, of that very evangelization which it is the will and the command of the Founder of our religion should pervade every land and regulate every conscience: its millions of baptized heathens in the savage ignorance of their mind, and the ferocious sensuality of their moral character, their drunkenness, their oaths, their pollution, and their depredations on property, testifying too plainly to the inadequacy of the existing system to Christianize its own advocates; and speaking in terms not to be

misunderstood, of the utter hopelessness that such a system will ever even attempt the conversion of the world. Praiseworthy exertions have been made, and with much success, by different Christian sects of this country, who have adopted a system of religious operation more in accordance with the genius of religion itself, and the recorded proceedings of its Founder, and even by a section of the dominant party, who in acting in their missionary exertions on the principles of others, have practically acknowledged the inadequacy of their own; but the system which the nation has adopted, has utterly failed even to make its own supporters Christians. Its legislators have, indeed, made Christianity the law of the land, but as to its being the law of obedience to the people,—the only way in which it can possibly accomplish the great ends for which it is designed,—such an object is now as far from being effected as in the days of its primitive conveyance to these shores. In this highly privileged kingdom a professedly reformed system of our common faith has been established and endowed, at a higher expense to the public than perhaps any other existing form of religion. For upwards of two hundred and fifty years it has tried by all possible means, by the banishment, the civil disqualification, and occasionally by the putting to death those of a different opinion, to keep its machinery in exclusive operation, and by pecuniary mulcts to make even its opponents contribute towards the sluggish motion of the unwieldy engine: and now let the results of this so lauded instrumentality be seen in the fact, that the overwhelming mass of the community is fearfully ignorant of the spiritual and regenerating influence of the great truths of Christianity, that even as regards a rational comprehension of the system of biblical knowledge no inconsiderable number are perfectly and fatally uninformed, and that the debauchery of the operatives of our cities and manufacturing towns, and the sensuality, ignorance, and superstition of our peasantry are such as to make them ripe for sedition, incendiarism, and open infidelity, from which latter state they are preserved by the fearful alternative, that they never exercise their thoughts on any subject higher than the mere gratification of appetite: safe only from the easy seduction of socialism, or the daring wickedness of the system of Thomas Paine, by the one defence of a total destitution of any mental effort.

When, in order to form a just opinion of the relative advantages of both systems, we turn our eyes to the American continent, and observe the operation of the voluntary system in the northern and middle states, especially where alone it has been tried for a sufficient time to enable us to form a correct judgment; when we listen to the testimony of unprejudiced, and to the still more important testimony of prejudiced travellers, acknowledging that there is scarcely an uneducated adult in these provinces, asserting the de-

cent propriety of the moral conduct of the great body of the people; when we see these statements corroborated by statistical documents of the criminal and penal annals of those states; when we hear of the prevalence of vital and scriptural Christianity in most districts, and observe the influence which it exercises on the national institutions, the habits of society, and, in some instances, on the public and political dealings of this republic with other nations, and especially of late with heathen nations, we look at her with a kind of reverence, and feel an honest pride at reflecting that these are the genuine effects of the principles we advocate. To New England, we repeat, to the valleys irrigated by the Connecticut river, would we refer the philosophical and philanthropic inquirer into the relative efficiency of different forms of religion, on the formation of the human character; there let him learn that religion in its purity, in its moralizing efficiency on the human heart, in all that it imparts of sanctity in this world, and of preparation for another, is best secured and established when it is left to the spontaneous and hearty affection of those who feel its value. Let the inquirer observe facts, and trace them to their principles. Let him observe that the Christian religion has hitherto, with very few exceptions, been supported in America on the same system in which it was originally left by its divine Master and his inspired apostles, and on which it depended for the first three hundred years of its existence, when its growth was stopped and its vigor manacled by the cumbrous armour of a state alliance. Let him institute a comparison between its state in the two different countries which we have purposely chosen to contrast together, as being confessedly the portions of the world where Christianity is most known, and whence its blessings are to be poured forth in the expected regeneration of the world. Let him observe the progress of education in the American republic, the paucity of crime, the tone of moral feeling pervading her community; let him remember that societies formed on the principle of a total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors, are now almost general through the length and breadth of the land, that there are several states wherein, except for medicinal purposes, these provocatives cannot easily be procured even in houses of public refreshment, and that this example is likely to be followed throughout the Union; and, finally, that according to the statement of a respectable minister of that country lately on a visit of brotherly affection to the Dissenting churches of England, were not the number of dissolute foreigners an obstacle to the design, there is a great probability that alcoholic mixtures would be effectually banished from the whole republic, as they are already from a great portion of that class of its subjects who were once supposed to need them most, the sailors and operatives. These are facts that speak too plainly of the moral state of America to be silenced

by the suspicions of Tory prejudice, or the insinuations of hierarchical intolerance. We know well, that the force of this evidence is attempted to be avoided by the statement of a great destitution of ministerial instruction in many sections of this great country, and that this statement is considered by uncandid men as supplying an argument against the validity of the voluntary principle. If we could hope to bind down our opponents to follow the results of a full examination of this point, we should be happy to rest the weight of the argument on this very fact. Could we expect candor to have any room in the mind of the person who puts forth this statement, we should ask him, before he adventure on any numerical experiment, to make allowance first for the fact, that the several states of that great republic were originally colonized by very different races, and by companies of the same nation of very different and opposite views in politics and in religion, and that sufficient time has not yet elapsed for the several states to combine in the formation of one national character, but that each province yet preserves, in a great degree, the feelings, the prejudices, and the intellectual features of the country and the sect from whence their ancestors sprung. The high aristocratic Episcopalian of Somerset and Devon is still to be found in Virginia and Carolina, the Quaker in Pennsylvania, the Baptist in Rhode Island, the Independent of Lincolnshire, and Suffolk, and Essex, in Connecticut and Massachussets. In the provinces of New England, peopled originally by the Presbyterians, and Independents, and Baptists, there is a supply of ministerial agency fully adequate to the population, and certainly equal in relative proportion to the number of the same class in England, as appears by undoubted statistical documents. And be it remembered, that these states are the Goshen of America, and that even English Tory prejudice has been constrained to acknowledge, in a late tour through Connecticut, that in the villages of that province the principles of morality and religion are better practised than perhaps in any other part of the world. The states of Virginia and the Carolinas were colonized by Episcopal aristocrats and Tories, and Maryland very principally by the English Roman Catholics. It can not surprise any one who reflects on the unvarying character of Toryism in every age, and in every clime, to find that dissoluteness of manners yet characterizes this section of the republic, and that it should walk hand in hand in these states with the support of slavery. And if the observer will further remember, that this part of the United States is distinguished also by a manifest inferiority in the numerical proportion of ministers to the more favored regions of the north, he will be assisted, perhaps, in accounting for the defect by the remembrance, that the ancestors of the present planters being principally Episcopalians of the English Church, had been educated in the habit of looking to the government for the supply of their reli-

gious wants. If the admirers of the coercive system will point out these provinces of America as affording an instance of what they call the failure of the voluntary principle, let them remember that Virginia and Carolina were the only provinces of America where the English Episcopacy was ever established by law; that the slave provinces of the south were precisely the very sections of the country which were first colonized by the zealous defenders of Toryism and Episcopacy; that these principles yet prevail in these states more than in any other section of the Union, and that what has been done there for religion has been principally effected by a healthy importation of more enlightened and more liberal measures and men from the northern states. The southern and Tory states of America are as remarkable for a low state of education and morals, as the children of the Puritans are for the contrary. The western and trans-Alleghany sections of this republic can scarcely be said to be yet settled; but a few years ago they were either an impervious forest where the axe of civilization had never resounded, or waste prairies, the range of the wild bison, or of the wilder Indian. To expect a supply of ministers in these districts adequate to the geographical dimensions of the land, or even to the numbers of its widely scattered inhabitants, is what no candid, no fair inquirer into the relative capabilities of the different systems could pretend to justify, especially when he remembers that a considerable portion of these people are dissolute natives of Britain, unaccustomed from educational habits to any feeling of concern about their destitution of religious instruction; whilst others, especially in Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, are Irish papists, who have felt too acutely the oppression of a national clergy distinct in religion and manners from the inhabitants, and forced upon them, and supported by the aid of Protestant bayonets, to entertain any great affection to Protestantism. Such an inquirer will also remember, that the supposed deficiency in the proportion of ministerial agency which is presumed to characterize the western states, is built on the inaccurate, and, indeed, now obsolete statistical report of Dr. Dwight, who, though an excellent man, was, let it be remembered, a bigoted Congregationalist; for, alas, bigotry is not confined to England, nor to Episcopacy; and as a proof of his bigotry, in the various religious statistics he has inserted in his otherwise excellent book of travels, he takes no account of any ministers but those who were regularly educated in the theological colleges, and recognized by the ceremony of ordination, omitting altogether that class so common in the western provinces especially, who are in the constant habit of imparting religious instruction without the previous reception of ordination, in consequence either of some scruple at the rite, or their distance from brethren of their own faith and order. This class is very numerous amongst the different sections

of Methodists, the various schools of the Baptists, and the minor sections of Christian modification which the scrupulous or erroneous conscience has originated with such abundance in that country. To add to this consideration, since the publication of Dr. Dwight's work, great changes have taken place in the religious relation of that part of America, a circumstance that should have a very obvious influence on the statements of our countrymen respecting the United States. No where in the whole world does the face of nature and of society change so rapidly, and institutions move onwards to their acme with such velocity : the circumstances of mankind there forbid any thing to be stationary, and more is done within ten years than can be performed here in a century. Since that statement was first put forth, great exertions have been made by the Presbyterian and Congregational churches in the formation and working of Home Missionary societies, and these societies have been for many years in active operation in the very districts where the destitution was once felt and complained of; and ministers of many denominations, but principally of the two former, and the Baptist and Methodist connexion, are now in addition to the original number, either settled over separate churches, or are evangelizing the most distant parts in orderly and periodic succession. In fact, relying on the testimony of gentlemen from America, we dare assert that the proportion of ministers to the whole population is, even in the distant provinces, nearly, if not quite equal to the average proportion of resident and preaching ministers in England; and that compared with the secluded parts of the highlands, and especially with the western islands of Scotland, the superiority will be found greatly in favour of the United States.

The reflections which we have offered above to the consideration of our readers, arose from a glance at the work whose title stands at the head of this article, connected as these volumes are with many of a similar character which have lately proceeded from the press, as records of the labours of the American churches. When we think of the vast efforts which the Christians of that land are making for the evangelization of the heathen, and consider the ability, the practical good sense, the self-denial, and the scriptural piety exemplified in the publications of her missionaries, we have no doubt—whatever their enemies may say—as to the real state of religion in the churches which sent them forth ; and we congratulate ourselves on this additional proof of the efficacy of the principles we have already seen triumphant in its home operations. The investigations preparatory to missionary excursions which are recorded in the volumes named at the head of this article, were undertaken by the American missionaries and merchants residing in the year 1837, at China. The first volume gives an account of the voyage of the ship Morrison, from Macao to Japan. This ship was commanded by Captain Ingersoll, and carried

Doctor Parker, Mr. Gutzlaff, the well known missionary, and Messrs. Williams and King, as passengers; and it was hoped that its approach to the interdicted ports of Japan would be facilitated by the undoubted benevolence of at least one object of this voyage, the intended restoration to their native land of three parties of Japanese seamen, who had been shipwrecked on the different shores of western America, Hainan, and Luzonia in the eastern Archipelago, and by the character of the vessel, which was deprived of all her warlike implements for the sake of allaying suspicion as to her designs. The object of the second volume is to give the details of the voyage of the brig Himmaleh from Macao to Singapoor, and successively to Celebes, Ternate, Borneo, and other isles of the Indian Sea. This vessel was commanded by Captain Fraser, and had on board Mr. Stevens, an American missionary, and on his decease, at Singapoor, Mr. Dickinson, a gentleman of the same official character, and Mr. Lay, an English naturalist, and an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Mr. Lay is the author of the second volume, as Mr. King is of the first, and two volumes of a more interesting character, interesting in the most exalted sense, as having for their object the record of a truly benevolent and Christian design, were never presented to the public. In the light of documents on the moral state of the countries they respectively regard, they are valuable to the philanthropist; to the student of nature they offer some original, and in truth, some philosophical observations, which we doubt not will be of considerable value in the theories of atmospheric phenomena, and other kindred sciences; but it is in their religious aspect we especially regard them as at once affording a valuable testimony to the disinterestedness and benevolence of the Christians of America, and as supplying a long desired directory in the prosecution of future designs for the civilization and evangelization of the eastern world, at that glorious and long expected time when the energies of Europe and the other Christianized sections of the earth, shall be extensively and fully called forth to the high and noble work of raising their degraded and idolatrous fellow men to the knowledge, and worship, and obedience of God.

Japan has been long known to Europe as being, conjointly with China, the country most impervious to the civilization and science of Europe; her ports have been for the period of a century obstinately shut to all intercourse with this portion of the world, excepting in a very limited degree with Holland; and this privilege appears to have been granted to the Dutch as a reward for their not very honourable conduct towards the Portugese and Spaniards in the quarrels between those nations and the Japanese. This jealousy of foreigners has been exercised to such a degree of intolerance, that European vessels are not permitted to enter her

ports, and in those instances where her own countrymen have been shipwrecked on distant shores, their return to their native land has been virtually forbidden, as all attempts to land them from European ships in Japan have been prevented by force. We have already observed, that this benevolent object was again undertaken in the present instance, and to prevent the possibility of any misconstruction of the designs of the agent of this enterprise, the vessel undertook her voyage deprived of all her military apparatus. It was hoped that whilst this first purpose was answered, and the shipwrecked Japanese were restored to their country and to their families, a regular mode of intercourse might be established between Japan and America, and that opportunities might be afforded of conveying the blessings of pure Christianity to its many millions of idolatrous inhabitants. Our readers are aware that a peculiarly corrupt form of that religion did once exist, and, indeed, so far as numbers and influence are concerned, may be said at one time to have flourished in Japan; but the ambitious designs of the Popish priesthood being discovered to the ruling powers, the European missionaries were universally banished, and the native converts, after a series of sanguinary persecutions, were at length effectually and completely eradicated. In truth, the secular designs which the Japanese government detected as lying hidden under the mask of proselytism in the Roman priesthood, first directed the storms of persecution against the professors of Christianity, and have ever since been the cause of the extraordinary policy which has forbidden all intercourse with the professors of that faith. The vessel was furnished with printed documents in the Japanese language, expressive of her exclusively pacific character, the benevolent object she contemplated, and the wish of America to establish an intercourse which might be favourable to both countries; it was hoped that the known fact of that country having no form of religion connected with her state polity, would be a sufficient guarantee that such designs as had been in former ages charged on Portugal and Spain, would not be suspected in the present instance; and it was felt as a favourable omen of the enterprise, that if an opportunity should be granted by this or succeeding attempts of introducing a purer form of Christianity into this country, one objection to its reception would at least be obviated, in its entire independence on national and secular power. If Christianity were thus again to visit the shores of Japan, it would go in its own character and for its own sake, and not as the means of securing national aggrandisement, and of advancing worldly power and ambition.

We regret to say, that as far as concerns the primary and ostensible object of this enterprise, the design failed: the vessel was not permitted to approach the shores, and the Japanese authorities did all that was possible to prevent any connexion between the

inhabitants and the crew; they even carried their bigoted and short-sighted policy to such an unjustifiable height as to open a fire from batteries constructed for the purpose, on the unoffending vessel, though well acquainted, from printed documents in their own language, and circulated abundantly amongst their countrymen, with the pacific character of the voyage, and the utter impossibility of carrying on any belligerent design, in consequence of the absence of the usual warlike armament; nay, farther, though the intention of the American captain of restoring the shipwrecked Japanese to their families and country was industriously circulated, and the humanity of that design very generally, at least among the poorer inhabitants, appreciated. But our readers will acknowledge, with us, that one object of the visit was obtained: it is worth the difficulties of the voyage to know that a large portion of mankind yet lies in this state of inhuman and savage hostility. We should scarcely have believed without this painful experience, that any section of the family of mankind, still less that a section not of barbarians, but of men who have attained to no mean proficiency in the arts, nay, even in some of the sciences of civilized life, and who in their own estimation have reached to a height of refinement from which they may regard the nations of Europe as barbarians, could thus outrage the rights of humanity. Here we have a stronger evidence than perhaps has yet been presented to the eye of philanthropy, of the need of missionary institutions. If there are yet even in our country individuals who doubt the propriety of efforts to Christianize, surely they will now concede, at least, the necessity of some well directed effort to humanize these children of the rising sun. That attempt shall be again made. The address to his Christian reader, with which Mr. King concludes his account of this frustrated benevolence, will not be read in vain by Christians in this and other lands.

'If he will follow me, and the American people will follow me, through the inferences I would make from this experiment, and the plans I would ground on its apparent failure, results may be obtained equivalent to ample success. I said failure; but what are failures in any worthy cause? 'the lesser waves repulsed and broken on the strand, while the great tide is rolling on, and gaining ground with every breaker.' It is over a succession of repulsed and fallen instruments that grand plans, like the ocean tide, make their steady, irresistible advance.'

Though this voyage contributed but little to the great object of missions in any direct shape, yet the observations which occur in Mr. King's narrative are well worthy of a missionary's attention, and speak so favourably of the sobriety of his religious views, that we cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of quoting one or

two. Speaking of one of those many causes that render sea voyages often tedious, Mr. King says—

'No wonder, if at sea, after the failure of all and sundry signs and tokens of a coming breeze, a sovereign supporter of hope, 'a special providence,' should be called in to raise a wind. Let me not be understood to impugn the trust of the becalmed sailor; I would rather prompt him to admire the providence which has subjected the strongest influences he is called to encounter, to laws which he may usually ascertain, if he be intelligent, and will always conform to if he be humble and wise. Let him rely, then, on special interposition whenever the '*dignus vindice nodus*' shall occur, but remember all the while, that benevolence is to be sought for in the rules of the Divine Government, rather than in exceptions to them; that it is no miracle for God to be kind.'—p. 161.

The volume commences with a well written introduction, in which Mr. King gives a concise history of the successive circumstances which have attended the intercourse of the several European nations with Japan, according to the order of their chronological connexion with the East. The Spanish and Portuguese narrative occupies, of course, the first place; and, as may naturally be supposed, occupies the greatest portion of this recital. To that succeeds the history of the Dutch factory; and, finally, we have a brief account of the English attempts to establish a connexion with that country, an account which might be considerably enlarged, and rendered far more interesting. A few pages on the Russian intercourse conclude this account.

An account of the voyage from Macao to the coast of Japan next succeeds, in which the author gives a narrative of his short stay at the interjacent isle of Loochoo. There are many observations on the currents and prevailing winds between China and Japan, which we doubt not will contribute to facilitate future missionary enterprises in this part of the ocean; but we confess the observation of our author on coming a second time within sight of Japan, conveys a sentiment we have so keenly felt on similar occasions, that we are tempted rather to select it for our readers than any of a more scientific character.

'Uninteresting as this coast is, there was a kind of pleasure felt by all, again on the 23rd at the cry of 'land.' In fact, beautiful as the plateau is, whose centre the ship at sea always keeps, I observe that no one ever regrets when its perfect outline, on the broad base of the noble dome that covers it, is broken by any mean, little lump of ground. All share with the companions of Æneas, in the 'magno telluris amore.''

After the author has described the various attempts made by

the ship's officers to open a friendly communication with the Japanese authorities, and lamented their unsuccessful result, he closes his volume in a strain of Christian reflection which gives us additional cause to regret that the enterprise did not succeed; for we cannot but think that had the men who were capable of penning such sentiments been permitted to hold any intercourse with the natives, some impression would have been made on their minds, and an opportunity secured for farther and more direct missionary exertions. Our author, in drawing his narrative to a close, has these admirable remarks—

'To the friends of moral enterprise I would further say—You need not fear that your beneficence must needs run wild, because it takes up a rapid and distant march. On the contrary, like the ship at sea, it is manageable only while it moves on, cutting the sidelong current, and dashing opposition from its track; it fears the calm, and not the gale; its steerage is perfect so long as it has 'head-way.' To the friends of eastern Asia in the United States, I must once more say—let your answer to this imperfect appeal, if it have interested you, be promptly and actively expressed. The waters that gush the purest and most limpid from their fountains, by the laws of physical geography, become saline and bitter if they find no outlet; so, by the laws of mind, the best designs and sympathies, that never reach their object, are turned to worthlessness and impurity. Friends of eastern Asia, directors of the political, benevolent, religious influence of America, let it not be so with yours, with you.'

The second volume, which records the voyage of the brig Himmaleh in the Malayan Archipelago, is distinguished by an accuracy of description in several departments of natural history, and a philosophical style of reasoning, especially in the observations on atmospheric phenomena, which clearly attest that Mr. Lay is no inattentive or superficial observer of the circumstances in contact with which he is thrown in his travels. The islands of these seas are well known to this country as rich in many objects of natural curiosity as well as productive of articles of commerce, and our readers will easily believe that a man of Mr. Lay's character could not fail to enrich the account of his visit with many interesting observations. But neither the only, nor indeed, the most valuable sections of this book are the parts illustrative of the natural productions of these gems of the ocean: the moral statistics claim our especial regard, and will, we doubt not, prove of no little advantage in the salutary directions and useful hints which the author's good sense has enabled him to deduce from them, in prosecution of the great design to which his enterprise, as well as that of his companions, was devoted—the evangelization of this part of Asia. That part of his advice which struck us

as being singularly excellent, was the proposition of seeking to make our missionary efforts, in this part of the world especially, more generally acceptable to the natives by connecting them in every case with the benefit of European medical science, the undeniable superiority of which over the scanty empiricism of the native practitioners is acknowledged by the islanders universally, and will ultimately be productive of a very salutary influence in preparing them to listen to the truths of Christianity. It is certain, that by a judicious conduct of this kind on the part of the officers of the *de propaganda* society, the church of Rome obtained in former times a very ready welcome and a safe protection for her emissaries, under the shadow of which the principles of that church were at one time very prevalent in the countries adjacent to those of which we are now speaking.

On the whole, we must in justice say, that two more excellent volumes, both as it regards their religous tone and the reflections interspersed throughout, have seldom issued forth to the public in connexion with the missionary cause, while the general good sense, and accuracy of information, displayed cannot but exercise a very beneficial influence on the minds of those who professing themselves friendly to the dissemination of our holy religion generally, have often expressed a doubt as to the efficiency and even as to the suitability of the instrumentality generally employed in prosecution of that design. We are persuaded that no real philanthropist, no man who wishes the melioration of his species in relation either to their intellectual or moral nature, would scruple to employ and cherish such agents as the gentlemen who have given us the result of their benevolent voyages in these two volumes, or any persons who should act on their principles and according to the pattern here advocated: we at least can have no sympathy with the morbid apathy which regards such attempts with cool indifference. For our part, we reverence the authors of these and kindred volumes, as the true benefactors of our species, and should be glad if circumstances permitted, to share with them in their disinterested labours, and what we doubt not they will eventually enjoy, their glorious success.

Brief Notices.

Poems now first Collected. By Lord Leigh. 8vo. pp. 402. London: Moxon.

This is another of those volumes of which we have had a succession of late, from the hands of our aristocracy; and which if they do not startle us by their extraordinary outburst of power, give us a very amiable idea of the refined taste and elegant pleasures of their authors. We are glad to see them were it only for an evidence of this kind,—of the rational and delightful manner in which the wealth of this class of Englishmen enables them to pass their time—in travel, in study, and in poetical reflection. The former volumes of our author, then simple Chandos Leigh, have met with a favorable reception from the critics; the great distinguishing characteristics of this are excellent feeling, a spirit of liberal and unaffected piety, a contempt of the general tone and pursuits of fashionable life, and a sound and healthy expression of sentiments of liberty and the love of popular reform. In 'the Letters to a Friend in Town,' the reigning follies and dissipations are unsparingly lashed, and if we are ready to cry out for more vigor of arm, we are perfectly satisfied with the honesty and correctness of mind that dictate the satire. To those who prefer benevolent sentiments, a cordial love of nature, and of domestic enjoyments, rather than high-flown descriptions and stormy passions, this volume will, no doubt, be a welcome one.

Conversations for Children: on Land and Water. By Mrs. Marcet. London: Longman and Co.

This little volume consists of desultory conversations between a mother and several young children, 'in which,' says Mrs. Marcet, 'I have endeavoured to mingle information with amusement, and to teach those of my young readers who may be learning geography, that there are other matters connected with land and water quite as interesting as the names and situation of the different parts of the earth.' The style maintained is eminently suitable to the capacity of juvenile readers, while the information conveyed is adapted to awaken curiosity, and to lead on the young inquirer to the study of other and more complicated phenomena.

Seven Hundred Domestic Hints in every Branch of Family Management: combining Utility with Elegance, and Economy with the Enjoyment of Home. By a Lady. London: Tilt. 1839.

This little book will prove very serviceable to the young housekeeper by showing how easily economy and elegance may be combined in all domestic arrangements.

The Inquirer Directed to an Experimental and Practical View of the Atonement. By the Rev. Octavius Winslow. London: Shaw. 1839.

The author of this manual contemplates a mind anxiously inquiring 'What shall I do to be saved?' And anticipating the difficulties connected with the doctrine of the *atonement*, meets every inquiry with a lucid explanation and a salutary address to the heart. Its sound scriptural views, its pathetic appeals, its insinuating style, and its deep-toned piety, commend it to the candid attention of every awakened mind.

The Mabinogion. Part II. Containing Peredur the Son of Evrauc. By Lady Charlotte Guest. London: Longman and Co.; Llandovery: Rees.

This splendid work proceeds with a spirit equal to its promise. The present part contains the remainder of the Norman French version of Le Chevalier au Lion, and the story of Peredur the Son of Evrauc. Peredur is one of Arthur's knights, and his story is as wild as one of the Arabian Nights. It is just a delightfully romancing legend full of the peerless prowess of its hero, who puts down all before him, and meets with plenty of picturesque adventures; with fair ladies, and grey haired men, dwarfs and dwarfesses, blacks, and serpents, and sorceresses, all which is pleasant to read as the autumn-storms set in, by a good fire, with the rain and hail dashing on the windows, and two or three eager children sympathising most exultingly in the real triumphs of the mighty champion. The part is also illustrated with some beautiful wood-cuts, facsimile specimens of the Welsh and Icelandic MS. copies of these stories, and a sufficiency of interesting notes.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Voyages of the Dutch Brig of War Dourga, through the Southern and Little-known parts of the Moluccan Archipelago, and along the previously unknown Coast of New Guinea, performed during the years 1825 and 1826. By H. Rolff, Jun. Translated from the Dutch by George Windsor Earl.

The North American Review. No. 105.

Extracts from Holy Writ, and Various Authors, intended as helps to Meditation and Prayer, principally for Soldiers and Seamen. By Captain Sir Nesbit J. Willoughby.

The Catholic Doctrine of the Triune God, proved from two hundred and nine Texts in the Old and New Testaments. To which is annexed Remarks on forty Texts, said to be the grand foundation of Socinianism. By Charles Douglas Hope.

The Governess. By the Countess of Blessington. Two volumes.

A Diary in America, with Remarks on its Institutions. Part Second. By Captain Marryatt, C.B. Three volumes.

Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans: with Remarks on the Commentaries of Dr. Macknight and Professor Moses Stuart. By Robert Haldane, Esq. Vol. III.

Texas: Its Claims to be recognized as an Independent Power by Great Britain, Examined in a Series of Letters. By John Scoble.

Hints for an Essay on Anemology and Ombrology, with a Weather Almanack for 1840. By Peter Legh, Esq., M.A.

The Sons of the Soil. A Poem. By Mrs. Ellis.

Chapters on the Modern History of British India. By Edward Thornton, Esq.

The Pictorial History of Palestine. Part II.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspere. Part 14.

Edwards on Revivals: with Introductory Preface, by the Rev. J. A. James; and Carefully Revised, with Notes and Introduction by the Rev. W. Patton, D.D.

Lectures on Revivals of Religion. By Charles G. Finney. With Introductory Prefaces by Rev. J. A. James, Rev. G. Payne, D.D., and Rev. N. S. Beman, D.D. With Notes and carefully revised by Rev. W. Patton, D.D.

The Revival of Religion. A Narrative of the State of Religion at Wyeliffe Chapel, during the year 1839.

The Day of Pentecost. A Sermon Preached at Leeds, June 6, 1839, before the West Riding Auxiliary Missionary Society. By Andrew Reed, D.D.

Lives of the Most Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Great Britain. English Poets. By Robert Bell, Esq. Vol. II.

Special Religious Services improved and vindicated. By the Rev. Thomas Milner, A.M.

Letters from Palestine: written during a Residence of three years, in the years 1836, 1837, and 1838. By the Rev. D. Paxton.

Bacchus. An Essay on the Nature, Causes, Effects, and Cure of Intemperance. By Ralph Barnes Grindrod.

W[illegible]d's Library. History of the Hebrew Commonwealth. Translated from the German of John Jahn, D.D. By Calvin E. Stowe, A.M.

The History of the Moravian Mission among the Indians in North America, from the Commencement to the Present Time. With a Preliminary Account of the Indians from the most authentic Sources. By a Member of the Brethren's Church.

Popery Unveiled, in Six Lectures.

Self Defence. The Ministers of the Established Church not the only true Ministers of Christ; nor the Church of England the only sure road to Heaven. A Sermon preached at Cowbridge Chapel, Hertford. By Isaac Anthony.

Practical Reflections on the Sufferings and Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. By the Rev. F. A. Gonthier.

Help to the Schoolmistress; or Village Teaching. By Emily Taylor.

Old Humphrey's Addresses.

Hints on Etiquette and the Usages of Society; with a Glance at Bad Habits. 19th edition revised (with additions) by a Lady of Rank.

Lectures on Revivals of Religion. By William Sprague, D.D. With a Preliminary Essay on the Psychology of Religious Revivals. By a Scottish Minister.

Repton's Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture. A New Edition. By J. C. Louden, F.L.S. Part 6.

A General Outline of the Animal Kingdom and Manual of Comparative Anatomy. By Thomas R. Jones, F.Z.S.

A History of British Birds. By William Yarrell, F.Z.S. Part 15.

An Encyclopædia of Rural Sports. By D. P. Blaine. Part 3.

The Pilgrim's Progress: in two parts. By John Bunyan. With Original Notes by the Rev. Thomas Scott. 8vo.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

For FEBRUARY, 1840.

Art. I. 1. *Lives of Eminent British Statesmen.* By John Forster, Esq., of the Inner Temple. Vol. III. John Pym. No. 91. 2. Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. Vol. II. No. 78. Cabinet Cyclopædia. Longman and Co.

THERE is a ludicrous incident mentioned in the Harleian Manuscripts, with regard to King James on a particular occasion. 'The parliament was on Wednesday clean dissolved by 'proclamation. The same day, his majesty rode by coach to 'Theobalds to dinner, not intending, as the speech is, to return 'till towards Easter. After dinner, riding on horseback abroad, 'his horse stumbled, and cast his majesty into the New River, 'where the ice brake: he fell in, so that nothing but his boots 'were seen! Sir Richard Yong was next, who alighted, went 'into the water, and lifted him out. There came much water out 'of his mouth and body: his majesty rode back to Theobalds, 'went into a warm bed, and as we hear, is well,—which God 'continue.'—Harl. MSS. 389. Now doubtless it never occurred to the anointed of the Lord, that his somerset, cold bath, and hot sheets, exactly typified and anticipated a long crisis, through which the constitution of his three kingdoms would have to pass. Yet such really was the case: nor shall we be far from the mark, in adding that John Pym, the principal subject of our present paper, performed the veritable part of Sir Richard Yong, in rescuing the parliamentary liberties of his country from sinking into a dishonourable grave.

He was born in 1584, at the family seat of his father, called Brymore, not many miles from Bridgewater. Of the old mansion-house, a large porch, with a pointed gothic doorway and pinnacles, still remains. Three hundred years ago, it formed the centre of considerable estates, which had been held by his ancestors from the reign of Henry the Third. The great patriot was

also blessed with a truly pious mother, who after the decease of her first husband married Lord Rous, and died in 1620; leaving behind her a fragrant memory for all good works, as well as a son, whose name can never die, so long as the temple of British freedom shall continue unimpaired. This extraordinary individual was about the same time deprived of his wife, described by the quaint preacher and poet Charles Fitz-Geoffry, as having been 'a most loving, holy, helpfull lady,—whose learning rare in that 'sex, whose virtues rarer in this age, whose religion the rarest 'ornament of all the rest, could not choose but level the sorrow 'of losing her with the former comfort of enjoying her.' Her name was Anna, the daughter of John Hooker, Esq., a neighbouring country gentleman. We can hardly avoid observing, that the noblest spirits of the seventeenth century stood connected with female associations of the loveliest character; as may be seen in the instances of Pym, Colonel Hutchinson, and many others. Religion by the hearth-stone, in the person of wives and mothers, imparts solidity and mental beauty to the members of the household; such as will resist alike any shocks of subsequent violence, or even the silent canker of decay. John Pym, both as a youth and a man, soon made himself attractive by an exercise of quick natural talents; nor less so, by the unwearied perseverance with which he followed truth, and cultivated literature, for their own intrinsic excellence. He was admired at Oxford for his learning and pregnant parts; and on leaving the University, he contrived to acquire such a thorough knowledge of law, that it has been supposed he must have entered one of the inns of court, with a view to the bar. Antony à Wood, however, merely *conceives* that he did so; an imagination which, unsupported as it is by any other authority, furnishes slight grounds for the confident assertions of previous biographers. In those days a mighty struggle had begun between prerogative and popular rights; analogous to that occurring before our own eyes between democracy and aristocracy. Every man of deep feeling ranged himself on one side or the other; or if endowed with sufficient wealth, connexions, or talents, an ardent politician panted for the honours and perils of parliament. To secure the former, and encounter the latter, nothing more perfectly contributed than an acquaintance with jurisprudence generally, and our own constitution in particular. Mr. Forster well says, that Pym had 'the almost certain expectation 'of being called upon at no distant period to serve in the senate, 'by the side of that great party who had already, by no unequivo-'cal signs of their power and resolution, startled the misgoverned 'people into hope.' The Earl of Bedford already honoured him with his notice; nor is it improbable, that this nobleman opened for him a way to the responsible office which he held for several years in the Exchequer, where he hardened himself in habits of

business, preparatory to his more notorious career of future usefulness. In 1614, he was returned member for the borough of Calne; but it is not clear, whether his senatorial services on this early occasion were rewarded with a committal to the Tower: an inconvenience which, as is well known, awaited several of the more forward patriots. Not long after the dissolution his marriage seems to have occurred. The interval, between that event and his widowhood, saw him the happiest of husbands, and the parent of five young children,—two sons and three daughters. It was an oasis in his life of labour: and when death threw its dark shadow across the felicity of domestic retirement, he never would again think of wedlock; but 'what 'he was from that moment,' says a contemporary divine, 'was 'altogether for the public good; in and for this, he lived, in and 'by this, he died. It was his meat and drink; his work, his 'exercise, his recreation, his pleasure, his ambition, his ALL.' Not that, in the nervous language of Bishop Hopkyns,—he ever suffered any one set of duties to be stained with the murder of others. He was as good a father as he was a patriot: and he had his reward in both kinds. His descendants gloried in his fame, and followed his footsteps. On the assembling of the parliament of 1620—1, he again took his seat for Calne. We have pleasure in extracting a passage from our eloquent author, illustrative at once, we venture to think, of his taste and zeal for liberal principles.

'Hampden also in this year first entered the House of Commons; and in the preparations for the session, we observe the first formation of the system of parliamentary party, which has brought such great results, for good and ill, in England. The men, who were foremost in opposition to the court, held constant meetings at the house of the great antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, in Westminster. Here assembled, for a common purpose, the men of learning and of action,—the intellectual and moral power of England. Here were the Pyms and Seldens leagued; Camden, Coke, Noy, Stowe, Spelman, Philips, Mallory, Digges, Usher, Holland, Carew, Fleetwood, and Hakewell, acknowledged a common object here. The famous library of Sir Robert Cotton, now the priceless property of the nation, furnished to these meetings the precedents from which their memorable resolutions were taken; and from within its walls the statutes of the great days of England were, one by one, unrolled, and launched in succession upon the popular mind. May we not, with slight alteration, apply to it the matchless language of Milton! 'Behold now that mansion-house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with God's protection; behold that shop of war, with its anvils and hammers working, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleaguered truth; behold the pens and heads there, sitting by studious lamps,—musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas, wherewith

to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation !' '—Pym, p. 7.

That a reformation was cruelly needed in these realms, those only can deny, who have chosen to remain ignorant as to the history of the times. In our paper upon the life of Eliot we enumerated some of the abuses which justified, and more than justified, that great patriot and his compeers, in the standard they raised against the church and the crown. Monopolies stood forth among the most prominent grievances in the new parliament now before us. Pym, and other members of the opposition, began to turn their fiercest artillery against three particular patents, which had long crippled the freedom of British trade. Two notorious projectors, Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Michel, as agents for Buckingham and his family, had engrossed into their own hands, the licensing of inns, the licensing of hostelries, and the manufacture of gold thread. They of course exacted for their licenses whatever sums they pleased ; since without their permission, neither refreshments nor lodging could be lawfully afforded by inn-keepers or publicans : nor could the third patent be invaded but at the risk of enormous fines and protracted imprisonments. Knavery followed close upon the heels of oppression. Adulterated articles were sold at enormous prices : the gold thread was so scandalously debased with copper, that it was said to corrode the hands of the artificers, and the flesh of those who wore it. More honest men were styled interlopers, if they ventured to make or sell a cheaper and better fabric ; whilst a clause in the patent of the monopolists protected the latter from all actions, to which they would otherwise be liable for attacks upon the liberties or properties of their fellow subjects, either in the way of committal to unlawful custody, or searching even private houses. So again, because it was given out with designed falsehood, that certain persons had made discoveries as to the manufacture of soap, these individuals were erected into a corporation with exclusive rights of preparing this necessary of life, and vending it on their own terms ; ten thousand pounds sterling being paid to the crown for the monopoly, besides the tax of eight pounds per ton imposed upon every sale. It was affirmed, indeed, although utterly without truth, that the former dealers had passed off a bad article on the public; but so loud grew the clamour, that the lieutenant of the Tower, the Lord Mayor of London, with several of the aldermen, and some others, were appointed commissioners to investigate the business. We may fancy the state of things in England, when soapsuds and the bubbles of washing-tubs excited a metropolis to the verge of revolution. There were two general washing-days at Guildhall in the presence of the worshipful arbitrators. Most of them, under courtly influence, declared

for the new manufacture: but the Lord Mayor so trembled before a troop of washerwomen exclaiming against the fashionable alkali, that the Privy Seal received an order from the king to reprimand him sharply, which was done to the royal satisfaction. Justice however came off triumphant. The laundresses demonstrated that their linen was destroyed, their fingers blistered; and that the waste was ruinous through a preponderance of lime and tallow. Salt, starch, coals, iron, wine, pens, cards and dice, beavers, bone, lace, tobacco, hay and straw, herrings, butter, kelp and seaweed, hops, buttons, hats, spectacles, combs, pipes, saltpetre, gunpowder, with subdivisions of retail so minute and insignificant, as to descend 'to the sole privilege of gathering rags,'—all these were subjected to the fetters of monopoly! The genius and common-sense of the age felt that they were doing penance in a shirt of hair. Government met them at every turn, in all the daily details of life, as a petty hateful tormentor, with a bunch of nettles in its hands,—besides having the lictors of office at its back, with their fasces and axes on their shoulders. 'All backdoors to taverns on the Thames,' says the correspondent of Wentworth, 'are commanded to be shut 'up; only the Bear at the bridge-foot is exempted, by reason of 'the passage to Greenwich. To encourage gentlemen to live 'more willingly in the country, all game-fowl, as pheasants, 'partridges, ducks, also hares, are by proclamation forbidden to 'be dressed or eaten in any inns, and butchers are forbidden to be 'graziers.' This however occurred several years afterwards, for it was always found before the Long Parliament, that as one crop of nuisances fell under the scythe of patriotism, another yet more stringent and disagreeable sprung up in their stead. Pym and his friends succeeded in impeaching and degrading Mompesson and Michel: the member for Calne having earned by his talents and inflexibility, the honour of being marked out by his majesty 'as a man of very ill-tempered spirit.'

In fact, this rising individual now boldly and magnanimously stepped forth before his country as the stern accuser of her enemies. To sustain such a character with honour to himself, and advantage to others, required a rare combination of qualities which few besides could ever hope to realize in their own persons. But he courted and feared neither smiles nor frowns. His virtue had the eye of an eagle, soaring so loftily in its flight as to look down upon its objects from an altitude equally demanding penetration and securing disinterestedness. James had tried his utmost to cajole this very parliament. The impeachment of Bacon, the question of privileges, the smallness of the supplies voted, only seemed to afford him so many opportunities for displaying inexhaustible resources of kingcraft. Two subsidies without tenths or fifteenths were accepted so graciously, that he assured his commons, he preferred them to millions of money;

and that with regard to the redress of grievances, the royal will stood ready to advance for their redress at least 'half way.' The house took him at his word, and having attacked the monopolies already enumerated, turned their discussions upon the Palatinate, indulgences granted to Catholics, and the Spanish match. Some of these points pierced him to the quick. He remonstrated, lost his temper, and then prorogued for several months; yet after the recess Pym gave him no rest. The warfare recommenced in good earnest between prerogative and freedom. James wrote to the Speaker, denouncing 'certain fiery, popular, and turbulent spi-'rits,' which led to a conference at Newmarket, between himself, Pym, and eleven others; on which occasion, the irritated monarch exclaimed, as they entered the presence chamber, 'Chairs,—'chairs! here be twal kynges comin!' No oil was cast on the troubled waters by what passed then, or followed afterwards. The Stuart stuck to his pretensions, while parliament held fast by its privileges. Before the dissolution, a protest was entered upon their journal which the king tore in pieces, preparatory to ordering the member for Calne, together with Coke, Philips, and Mallory into custody. These arbitrary incarcerations have sometimes been insidiously described by conservative writers as a sort of honourable detentions, not exactly indeed to be justified, but involving no actual disadvantage beyond personal inconvenience. Let the subsequent death of Sir John Eliot illustrate the correctness of such an idea; or the following complaint of Sir Robert Philips, on this very occasion: 'To live still in close prison is all one, as 'to be buried alive; and for a man that hath any hope of salva-'tion, it were better to pray for the day of judgment, than to lie 'languishing in such waking misery.' Pym only remarked, that *he had rather suffer for speaking the truth, than that the truth should suffer for want of his speaking.* The prisons of such men, says our biographer, 'were the sanctuaries of philosophy and 'patriotism.'

He was released so soon as the current of circumstances compelled his sovereign to call his last parliament; in which, having obtained his seat again for Calne, he chiefly employed himself upon the declaratory statute against monopolies, and in impeaching Lord Middlesex. Then ensued the succession of Charles the First on the demise of his father. The nation was alive with excitement, as their ill-fated ruler ascended his throne, to be exchanged deservedly for a scaffold, within the lapse of four and twenty years! Pym was returned for Tavistock, to labour with that constellation of pure and shining luminaries, amongst whom Hampden and Eliot were the glorious stars. The affair of Dr. Montagu, a royal chaplain, gave him immediate employment. This divine emerged into notice as a precursor of Laud, an inveterate patron of Arminianism, and an anticipator of the Puseyism of our own day. It must be borne in mind, that in the

seventeenth century, Romanism in religion had allied itself with absolutism in politics. The thinking part of the population could conceive no idea of any possible severance or distinction between the two: nor did the Puritan Calvinists deem the doctrines of Arminius much better than those of Popery. Montagu had republished a book which Archbishop Abbot had censured at the request of the House of Commons in the preceding year: nor yet satisfied with doing so, he composed a defence of his treatise, entitling it 'An Appeal unto Cæsar,' and dedicating it to the new sovereign. Herein he identified the English church with that of Rome, defended the use of images, affirmed that the saints had memory and knowledge of human things, and that they exercised peculiar patronage over certain places and persons. He maintained the real presence, numbered ordination among the sacraments, approved of auricular confession, bitterly attacked the Puritans, decried lectures and sermons, sneered at the right of private judgment as to Scripture, and claimed for his majesty a prerogative founded on divine right, paramount to the constitution. The state of the public mind was such, that to leave the reverend and foolish bookworm to his folly, was supposed inexpedient, if not dangerous. The patriots 'let fly' at this ignoble quarry. Pym was the appointed falcon to pounce upon the carrion crow. He drew up an erudite report respecting the offensive volume, and procured the appearance of its author at the bar of the Commons; whilst Laud in vain implored Charles to interfere, declaring, as our Oxford doctors now declare, that passive obedience is the doctrine of the gospel; for that should the contrary be insisted on, no civil government could be supported. The member for Tavistock, however, lost not sight of his victim, until higher game had been started; for after the first dissolution, on his return a second time for the same borough, he found himself nominated one of the secret managers against the Duke of Buckingham. To his ardor and eloquence the eleventh and twelfth articles of the impeachment were entrusted, which charged the minister with having obtained titles and grants for his own unworthy creatures, as also with embezzling royal property of immense value on his own account. He spoke in support and aggravation of them, at great length before the lords, summing up in the following sledge-hammer fashion against the insatiable delinquent:

'The sum he hath received is great in itself, but much greater by many circumstances. If you look upon time past, never so much came into any private man's hand out of the public purse. If you respect the time present, the king had never so much want, never so many occasions, foreign, important, and expensive. The subjects have never given greater supplies; and yet those supplies are unable to

furnish those expenses. But as such circumstances make that sum the greater, so there are other circumstances which make that sum little, if it be compared with the inestimable gain the duke hath made, by the sale of honours and offices, and projects hurtful to the states both of England and Ireland; or if it be compared with his own profuseness. Witness, notwithstanding gift upon gift, his confession before both houses of Parliament, to be indebted £100,000, and above! If this be true, how can we hope to satisfy his immense prodigality?—if false, how can we hope to satisfy his covetousness?'—Pym, p. 40.

The result of the movement against a royal favourite was only another angry dissolution, and the committal to prison of the orator, until his third return for Tavistock, in the quickly ensuing parliament. Now came the memorable struggles for the Petition of Right; when Pym, in supporting Eliot, manifested in an equal degree both his ability and modesty. The one was a political David in the forefront of the hottest battle; the other was a disinterested Jonathan, strengthening his hands in the Lord. Pious men were not then afraid of venturing forward, as champions with regard to civil questions, into a public arena. They acted the citizen, as became the gospel of Christ. Well knowing that eternity hinges upon time, they staked life and estate on the magnanimous labour of winning liberty for themselves and their descendants, that religion, uncaged by despotism, should illuminate the ends of the earth. Meanwhile the mantle of Dr. Montagu had fallen upon another royal chaplain, in the person of Dr. Mainwaring. Pym lived and died in most cordial and affectionate communion with the episcopal church; which placed him upon advantageous ground for denouncing the false politics of its priesthood. Laud had issued certain instructions to the clergy to preach the most slavish tenets in their sermons; which many of them obeyed to the letter. Mainwaring maintained, from the pulpit and the press, 'that the king could make laws and do whatsoever 'pleased him; that he was not bound by any pre-existing acts of 'parliament respecting the rights of the subject; and that his sole 'will in imposing taxes was obligatory on the conscience of sub-'jects, under pain of eternal damnation.' The member for Tavistock wasted no precious moments in idle resolutions or over-delicate explanations. The Commons impeached the preacher; after which Pym appeared at his post, before the Lords, to vindicate the glory of freedom against falsehood and distorted theology. He brandished the rod of a pedagogue for the reformation of divines, as an interlude between more important conflicts. 'The accused,' said he, 'is an expounder of the holy word; and yet he has en-'deavoured to make that, which was the only rule of justice and 'goodness, to be the warrant for violence and oppression. He is 'a messenger of peace; but he has endeavoured to sow strife

'and dissension, not only among private persons, but even betwixt 'the king and his people, to be the disturbance and danger of the 'whole state. He is a spiritual father; but, like that evil father 'in the gospel, he hath given his children stones instead of bread; 'instead of flesh he hath given them scorpions. Lastly, he is a 'minister of the Church of England; but he hath acted the part 'of a Romish Jesuit: they labour our destruction, by dissolving 'the oath of allegiance taken by the people; he doth the same 'work, by dissolving the oath of protection and justice taken by 'the king.' Pym displayed considerable erudition in the whole course of his address. Passages from the fathers were quoted and disposed of, in opposition to the statements touching imperial or supreme power. A knowledge of precedents, and of what we should now term black-letter learning, availed him not a little. His attacks upon ecclesiastical assumption rang through the metropolis, and even told upon the nerves of Laud and his sovereign. The latter affected to express an opinion, that by possibility his chaplain might perhaps have gone too far: 'He that will preach 'other than he can prove, let him suffer'; an anticipation this of the hypocrisy which, in later times, abandoned to the block a sublimer victim. Immediately after passing the famous Petition of Right, the Upper House pronounced sentence upon the doctor. His sermons were ordered to be burnt: he was fined £1000 to the king: he had to make an apology before both the peers and the commons: he was suspended from his sacred function for three years: he was condemned to imprisonment during the pleasure of parliament; and was declared incapable of ever holding an ecclesiastical dignity, or a secular office, or of preaching at court. Patriotism seemed to have triumphed; not then aware, that royal deception wore more masks than one, or even two, for every suitable occasion. The theologue, thus apparently surrendered by the court, rose like a skyrocket into the darkness of spiritual wickedness in high places. Mainwaring, as well as Montagu, became rich through crown preferments, and they soon hid their heads respectively under the mitres of Chichester and St. David's.

The third dissolution of parliament then ensued, with the long and dreary blank from 1628 to 1640. Sir John Eliot was immured in the Tower, where he died. The Petition of Right sank into a dead letter. The duties of tonnage and poundage, which Charles had solemnly pledged himself never to take, but as a gift from his people, were rigorously extorted, without being so given. Illegal warrants invaded the property, or imprisoned the persons of any individuals whatsoever, who presumed to resist. The Star Chamber and High Commission Court played the parts of Giant Despair and his wife Diffidence, towards multitudes of unfortunate wretches who happened to fall into their clutches. Taxes were imposed for the support of muster-masters of the militia.

Coat and conduct money never ceased to be exacted. Soldiers were billeted upon private dwellings, as before. Monopolies, like locusts, devoured the profits of commerce, and turned plenty into desolation. It is utterly impossible to conceive, in the present day, the little innumerable vexations, as well as the more atrocious grievances, from which Pym and his associates were made the instruments of delivering us. Advantage was taken of a proclamation in the thirteenth year of James, against an increase of houses in the suburbs of London. The royal edict, never really legal, had been disregarded, and quantities of new edifices had been erected, which his most excellent Majesty Charles now ordered to be pulled down. Yet after all, they were permitted to remain, on a composition of paying three years' rent, and some annual allowance beside, to the impoverished coffers of the treasury. A commission was issued out in execution against cottagers not having four acres of ground about them, upon an obsolete statute of Elizabeth, which harassed the poor to desperation in many districts; more especially as the agents employed to carry forward the process of robbery were needy profligate creatures, let out from the Fleet for so foul a purpose. Even the introduction of hackney coaches and sedan chairs afforded the monarch and his ministers fresh occasions of oppression. In Holland, when Spain was bearing down upon that infant republic, a reward was offered to any one who could invent a new source of public revenue; but in England, in these days of prerogative, without offering any reward at all, exactions were enforced wherever the subject could be brought to submit rather than be thrown into a dungeon, or invoke the tender mercies of Chancery. 'Under the candid 'pretext of curing defects in titles to lands, a proclamation was 'issued, proposing to grant new titles, upon the payment of a rea-'sonable compensation; and all who declined to avail themselves 'of this general offer from the court, were threatened, in no mea-'sured terms, with the loss of their property: nor, indeed, were 'such cases infrequent. Many pretended flaws in titles were 'dragged into the courts, where a parcel of obsequious judges sat 'ready to establish the objections. Even the forms of the patents 'of the judges were changed to fix their slavish dependence more 'surely! The old clause, *quam diu se bene gesserint*, was 'changed into *durante bene placito*, and the benefit of the first 'clause was even denied to one judge who had received his patent 'before the change, because he was thought too upright for the 'designs in hand.' Lord Clarendon admits, that the king nominally received a vast sum of money from persons of quality, or indeed of any reasonable condition, throughout the kingdom, about the law of knighthood, as well as other feudal incidents; of which, however, while the reproach came home to him, the bulk of the profit went to other persons. The community groaned

under oppression: the exchequer gaped with exhaustion: courtiers waxed fat through repletion. So it was in other instances. For the monopoly of wine, £38,000 per annum, only found its way to Whitehall; while the vintners, paying forty shillings a tun to the patentees, raised the impost on the public for 45,000 tuns, the actual number sold, to £90,000! Yet this was merely an abuse *in limine;* for the vintners again imposed two-pence a quart on the retail, which thus quadrupled the duty to eight pounds sterling per tun, or £360,000; nearly ten times as much as reached the royal treasury. Meanwhile Noy, the attorney-general, a deserter from the patriots, invented ship-money. He was a great delver in antiquities, keeping his notes and precedents on small pieces of paper 'in the coffin of a pye, which had been 'sent him by his mother'; whereby many of them got lost from mouldiness. We are told by the historian of the Great Rebellion, that 'for a spring and magazine that should have no bottom, and 'for an everlasting supply on all occasions, a writ was discovered 'and framed in a form of law, and directed to the sheriff of every 'county in England, to provide a ship of war for the king's ser-'vice, and to send it amply fitted and provided, by such a day to 'such a place; and with that writ were sent to each sheriff in-'structions, that instead of a ship, he should levy upon his county 'such a sum of money, and return the same to the treasurer of 'the navy, for his Majesty's use, with direction in what manner '*he should proceed against such as refused;* by which for some 'years accrued the sum of £200,000; which was in truth the 'only project that was accounted to the royal service.'

Together with Noy the attorney-general, Digges, Littleton, Glanville, and a few more, had gone over to the court; all which secessions faded away in importance, when compared with that of Sir Thomas Wentworth! This celebrated individual had for a long interval numbered Pym and Hollis amongst his most intimate friends. Eliot had never thoroughly trusted him; but in order to allay the apprehensions which so many deemed utterly groundless, it has been thought probable, not without good grounds, that the member for Tavistock went so far as to pledge his own faith for the fidelity of Wentworth. We therefore may more readily conceive than describe the bitterness of his disappointment. Our biographer thus proceeds:

'Feeling in all its force the truth of one of his own favourite thoughts, hatred now sprang into the place of his former love. The anecdote which dates the first terrible dawning of the change, rests on the cautious authority of Dr. Wellwood. There had been a long and intimate friendship, he says, between John Pym and Sir Thomas Wentworth; and they had gone hand to hand in the House of Commons. But when Sir Thomas Wentworth was upon making his peace with the Court, he sent to Pym to meet him alone at Greenwich,

where he began in a set speech to sound him about the dangers they were like to run by the courses they were then in; and what advantages they might have, if they would but listen to some offers which would probably be made them from the king. Pym, understanding his drift, cut him short with this expression—'You need not use all this art to tell me that you have a mind to leave us: but remember what I tell you, *you are going to be undone;* and remember also, that *though you leave us now, I will never leave you while your head is upon your shoulders.*' Pym kept his word.'—pp. 62—63.

Had Wentworth not been a traitor, he might have been an Achilles amongst politicians:

> 'Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
> Jura neget sibi nata; nihil non arroget armis!'

His genius was invulnerable all over,—with a soul of fire, a mind of light, an indomitable will to guide, and an irresistible hand to execute. He had descended from long lines of ancestors, some of whom were rich and powerful before the Conquest; so that the pride of aristocracy ran like lightning in his veins. As the eldest of twelve children, he inherited an estate of £6000 per annum. Though heir to a baronetcy, he purchased knighthood soon after attaining his majority, probably that he might match himself more easily with a lady of title. He panted for distinction, as the hart after the water-brooks. Having travelled into France and Italy, about the period when Henry IV. was assassinated by Ravaillac, the event, with all that followed, no doubt deeply affected his imagination, and is even thought by some to have influenced his future course. However this might be, his voice and talents were employed on his return in the advancement of the patriotic cause. Serving in parliament for Yorkshire, he denounced abuses with the force of a Boanerges; though perhaps not with the perseverance of those, whose principles, flowing more decidedly from the heart, made less noise, and were less liable to exhaustion. Having resisted the privy-seals for an illegal loan, the council committed him to the Marshalsea for several weeks. He was afterwards one of the involuntary sheriffs; so fearful was the court at that time of his extraordinary energies and demeanour. And no wonder; as the following samples may serve to show: 'Our persons,' said he in the lower house, 'have been injured both by imprison-'ment without law—nay, against law, boundless and without 'bank; and by being designed to some office, charge, and employ-'ment, foreign or domestic, as a brand of infamy and mark of 'disgrace. Oh! Mr. Speaker, when it may not be safe to deny 'payments upon unjust exactions, but we must go to prison for 'it; nor in this place to speak our consciences, but we must be 'stamped to unwilling and unfitting employments! Our estates 'have been sacked two ways; one in the loan, wherein five sub-

'sidies were exacted; and that by commission of men of quality, 'and instructions to prosecute the same, with an asperity which 'no times can parallel! And hence the other consideration of 'the projectors and executioners of it. Nay, this was not all, 'but ministers in their pulpits have preached it as gospel, and 'damned the refusers of it; so then we are already doomed to 'damnation.' Such burning words brought both king and courtiers to some sense of the triumph they would obtain, could Sir Thomas Wentworth be allured over to their side. There had been coquettings and tamperings before; but a direct negociation now commenced, with hardly decent delay. What portion can an aristocrat possess in popular rights, or the perpetuity of freedom? He stipulated to be created a viscount, and lord president of the North; and as indecision formed no feature in his character, he threw body, soul, and spirit into the bargain, when the terms were once settled.

John Pym was not the coward described by Juvenal, who *nunquam direxit brachia contra torrentem;* but rather one who bore up the more gallantly, as difficulties and dangers multiplied. The desertion of his former friend only filled him with that species of abhorrence, which concentrates attention upon the culprit. He watched every motion and action of the newly plumed official, from that hour forward. The latter carried off his disgraceful honours; and avenged himself for the bitterness they must often have occasioned, by wreaking the power of his abilities upon the cause he had forsaken. His intellect was of the loftiest stature; but it seemed always in armour,—so polished was its aspect,—so unbending its strength,—and so heavy was the hand with which he held the helm of affairs. The baton of government, in his grasp, was an iron mace, crushing and grinding every direct opponent. Sometimes he would laugh to scorn the party he had left, mentioning them to others, as 'your Prynnes, 'Pyms, Bens (Sir Benjamin Rudyard), and the rest of that genera-'tion of odd names and natures.' His authority extended over the shires of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, including within itself the tyranny exercised by the courts of common law, of the chancery, and of the star-chamber. 'It was a chaste ambition,' he afterwards argued, 'to have as 'much power as may be, if rightly placed, that there may be the 'more ability to do good for the place where a man serves.' He certainly acted this perilous principle out, even to the uttermost. Absolutism was the single point at which he aimed. He devoted himself, day and night, to the public business. He appeared born to rule over man, that is, in the conservative sense of the phrase, —implying irresponsibility. Government and administration, in his vocabulary, involved two ideas,—raising revenue, and trampling out every spark of liberty, through fear of a conflagration in society.

The general turn of his temperament was in some things a little like that of his saturnine contemporary Wallenstein, so celebrated in the Thirty years' war. Lord Wentworth could attend perfectly to his own interests, even whilst apparently absorbed in national affairs. He was judge, general, statesman, grand vizier, and steward of extensive patrimonial estates, all at the same time. He managed lawsuits, superintended the education of his children though at a distance, baffled all sorts of intrigues in London against himself, ruined his enemies, and raised the income attached to his presidency from £2000 a year to an annual return of £9500! The king, his sultan and master, marvelled at a magician so felicitous in his operations. He offered him the government of Ireland, which he accepted; transferring from York to Dublin, the drama of Taming the Shrew, upon a larger scale than Shakespeare had ever imagined. Pym, with unwearied vigilance, followed him thither, in spirit, if not in person. The patriots knew full well, that Charles had a favourite crotchet of delivering up the three divisions of the kingdom to the superintendence of as many servile ministers, reserving to himself the supreme control over all. Laud was to sanctify England,—Hamilton to mystify Scotland,—and Ireland 'accepted by Wentworth, completed the proposed plan.'

His Irish commission commenced in the early months of 1632; and was accompanied with most extraordinary powers. He constituted himself all but sovereign of the sister island;—quickly convincing those with whom he had any thing to do, that though he served the most wily monarch under the sun, a viceroy could play something more than the part of a king, from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway. His lady had recently died; he had concluded a second marriage in private, with a young woman of humbler fortune than his own; he was furthermore a man of pleasure and intrigue; and yet nevertheless his very arrival at Dublin, in July of the subsequent year 1633, introduced a new era into Hibernian history. He ventured even to summon a parliament, because he felt satisfied that he could manage it. The very name of such an assembly struck horror into the breast of the craven Stuart; yet Wentworth over-ruled all objections, obtained license from his majesty to have the writs issued, met the houses with a mien and manner which terrified some, and overawed all; whilst he demanded and procured the enormous grant of six subsidies, besides eight more from the clergy, whom he had convoked at the same time. The lord-deputy felt that he was in the high road for achieving that object which was uppermost in his mind, when he landed; namely, that of rendering his prince the most absolute potentate in christendom. Here it also was, that both prince and servant were treasuring up for themselves the severest future retribution. The puritans remained quiet, but sleepless. Year after year was filling that heavy

bill of indictment, which John Pym and his friends were destined on another day to adduce in Westminster Hall. Wentworth's correspondence frequently betrays something like internal misgivings; such, for instance, as an acknowledgment that he was stretching the prerogative this way or that way at the price 'of 'his head.' Meanwhile, he hawked, fished, hunted, condescended even to think and write about dentrifices or cosmetics, for his wife and other ladies; played off the catholics against the protestants, and the protestants against the catholics; summoned a second session of his parliament to browbeat and cajole its members as before; and finally had the pleasure of addressing Laud with news that the privilege of impeachment had been wrested both from lords and commons; that certain complaints of the convocation had been emphatically silenced; that his majesty in the person of his humble deputy was now the uncontrolled disposer of the destinies of Ireland; and that all the promises and graces whereby he had ascended to the summit of his ambition, had been thrown to the winds, as though they had never been made or offered. He was also proceeding with a still mightier project; that of reducing Ireland to a conformity in religion. The portrait he draws of the state of protestantism there, goes quite far enough to explain its present opulence in revenue, and paucity in numbers, as well as the curse of any religious establishment whatsoever. He mentions an unlearned clergy, not more despised than cordially hated; even the walls of a majority of the churches falling into utter dilapidation; parsonages in venerable ruin, as void of inhabitants as the temples of worshippers; the people buried in ignorance through the non-residence of their appointed and salaried shepherds; 'the unlimited and shameful numbers of spiritual promo-'tions with cure of souls, held by commendams; rites and 'ceremonies run over without decency of order or habit; bishops 'farming out their jurisdictions to mean and unworthy persons;' and catholics everywhere increasing. It must be remembered, that a century had elapsed since the European Reformation. His views of what the necessity of the case required were in many respects enlarged, and well suited to their object; standing out in magnificent and mountainous contrast with the pettifogging persecution and priestcraft of his correspondent the Archbishop of Canterbury. He brought prelates to account as well as laymen. The diocesan of Killala, having attempted to defraud his see for the benefit of his family, the Deputy cited him to the presence chamber, 'and told him with open and bitter severity, 'that he deserved to have his surplice pulled over his ears, and to 'be turned out of the church on a stipend of four nobles a year'! *O si sic omnia.* Even Pym would have suspended the axe, had Lord Wentworth proved a genuine Gideon, and only thus taught these right reverend men of Succoth with the thorns and briars of the wilderness.

The army next engaged his attention, as the key stone of the palace of despotism. His energetic measures restored it from a state of licentiousness and disorder, and supplied it with all necessary accoutrements and ammunition. He thought the sword might become the great peacemaker between the British and the natives, and enable Charles to mould England, as his deputy had done Ireland. He next sought by every conceivable resource to establish a permanent revenue. As to the customs, neither Pym nor his confederates could discover much to censure. These were now so well managed, that within four years, they rose from £12,000 to £40,000 per annum. Wentworth improved the method of collection, protected the coasts, swept the seas of pirates, extinguished not a few of the worst monopolies, and 'lifted both commerce and shipping into 'a rich prosperity.' Not that tyranny or injustice had ceased to stand at his elbow. 'Money was to be had somehow—if justly, well '—but if not, it was to be had no less. He now for instance 'imposed a license upon the retail of tobacco, and himself farmed 'the privilege for an annual rent of £7000, and finally of '£12000. A tax also was laid upon brewing, by way of feeler for 'the introduction of the excise,—an object of mortal hatred with the 'Irish.' He then brought in the statutes of wills and uses, useful to the subject, and beneficial to the crown by augmenting the royal fines in the court of wards £10,000 a year. He established a mint, dug pits for saltpetre, worked the silver mines, sent the king an ingot of three hundred ounces, attempted marble quarries, and above all, the illustrious project of opening a victual trade between Galway and Spain! The culture and manufacture of hemp and flax were also proposed, together with the monopoly of salt; in order, as he wrote to Charles, that the island through its prosperity might fill his treasury, and also through its commercial pursuits forget to impede the crown, in its various schemes for rendering the people dependent. John Pym, as a recording angel, failed to note none of these things. The linens of Ulster, however, owe their origin to the deep designs of this unparalleled representative of royalty. In the fifth year of his administration, he was able to inform the ministry in London, that the annual revenues of Ireland exceeded her expenditure by no less an amount than £60,000. When we call to recollection that in 1633, his Majesty contrived to scrape together, from sources legal and illicit, an income of £800,000, and that it averaged from 1637 to 1641 £900,000 per annum, according to a parliamentary report drawn up after the restoration; it is obvious that had his wits been equal to his wickedness, the patriots might have been baffled after all, and no Long Parliament been heard of, until Pym had descended to his grave. The merit of this great man lay in preserving his integrity, when others lost sight of theirs; in watching, when others were at least slumbering, if not

sleeping; in estimating, with precision and foresight, the real position of his country towards the sovereign, and of the court towards the country; in never losing heart or hope, but that an end would come at last; and in turning to account every opportunity however minute, which might benefit the cause of freedom, or accelerate its rescue through writs being once more issued from the Hanaper office!

That dreaded crisis was a spectre, which every now and then haunted the king, especially after Hampden had resisted the payment of ship money, and earned an immortal name. Pym was in close converse with him throughout the glorious trial. But other matters also crowded upon him. Laud was performing his merciless task in England, as Wentworth and Hamilton were working out theirs in Ireland and Scotland. The archbishop was a mean and pusillanimous specimen of a sacerdotal courtier. Supple as an osier, when pliancy would ensure success, he suffered both his intellect and dispositions to grow harder as he got rich, potent, and old. Zeal for his order, engrafted upon a selfish heart, rendered him peculiarly excitable against the puritans, or those who favoured them. It has been correctly observed by an able polemic, that 'the smaller the lens, the stronger is its magnifying power; just as the narrower the mind, so the greater is its magnifying faculty towards objects it dislikes.' Nothing indeed contracts its dimensions like religious prejudices and controversial antipathies. Hence he lived to be as cruel as a familiar of the inquisition, before the fangs of persecution struck into his own soul. He wanted Felton to have been stretched upon the rack. He gloated over the agonies of Leighton under the shears of the executioner. Rome proffered him her purple: but the world, the flesh, and the devil for once refused the cardinalate. Yet he willingly accepted from Oxonian sycophancy the fulsome titles of Holiness, High Priest, and Archangel. Prelacy was the Alpha and Omega of his creed,—his darling, his idol, his all in all. He would have extended its dominion from pole to pole, had it been possible, without a scruple at using the temporal sword, or allowing a harem of wives to the laity, if the clergy would but have consented to live alone! He banished the very name of toleration from England, until presbyterianism smote episcopacy; nor was it in truth much better then, until Independency unfurled its banner. It would have soothed his soul, within sight of the block itself, could he but have anticipated what is now going forward in his favourite university. He gave no quarter at his episcopal visitations, which were dreaded by every priest or deacon conscious of any practical attachment to spiritual, rather that formal religion. 'A refusal to attend divine service in the parish church, was in 'all persons, without exception, punished in the first instance by 'fine, and on repetition of such absence, by transportation.

'Roman recusants, indeed, were allowed to compound for these 'penalties by a heavy annual payment; and the celebration of 'mass, though illegal, was connived at; but no similar indulgence 'was extended to the devotional services of protestant dissenters.' Lecturers were peremptorily silenced; domestic chaplains were punished by degradations, too happy to escape with their ears. Wharton after his cruel whipping and mutilation scattered pamphlets from the pillory, and harangued the multitudes. Orders came down from the archbishop in star-chamber that he should be gagged immediately. Bastwick, Burton, Lilburne, and Balmerino at Edinburgh, all bled like ancient martyrs, under their croppings and flagellations! Had Laud any tears of compassion for his fellow-creatures? So far from it, that we find him sending off whining complaints to Wentworth that these 'fellows should 'be suffered (as they sometimes were when not gagged) to talk 'what they pleased while they stood in the pillory, and win acclamations from the people, and have notes taken of what they 'spake, and those notes spread in written copies about the city, 'and that when they went out of town to their several imprisonments, there were thousands *suffered to be upon the way* to take 'their leave, and God knows what else!'

'Time and fate, however, soon pressed in hard upon the government of Charles. Driven to the close of every expedient, his last hope centered in the lord deputy of Ireland, and the capacity and vigour of Wentworth had now twice restored the court finances, and paid the king's debts. Ruin again impended, when Laud, as if to dash at once into the gulf, made a desperate attempt to impose the yoke of the common prayer book upon the Scotch people. A fool might have seen the result, and indeed one fool did see it, and was whipped for his folly. I do not know that it has been remarked before, but the disgrace of the famous Archy, the jester of Charles the First, took place at this time. 'Archy is fallen into a great misfortune,' writes a contemporary, 'a fool he would be, but a foul-mouthed knave he hath 'proved himself: being in a tavern in Westminster, and drunk as he 'says, he was speaking of the Scottish business, when falling to rail on 'my lord of Canterbury, he said *he was a monk, a rogue, and a traitor.* 'Of this his grace complained at council, the king being present; 'when it was ordered, that he should be carried to the porter's lodge, 'have his coat pulled over his ears, and be kicked out of the court, 'never to enter again within the gates; and moreover be called into the 'Star Chamber.'—p. 83.

But the fact was that the cup of national grievances began to overflow. The instance of the Ulster plantations engendered many seeds of abhorrence almost against monarchy itself, within Temple Bar. It was a case of naked robbery. The crown seized these possessions which belonged to the city; the latter,

rather than resist, threw a sop to the royal oppressor of £70,000, upon the understanding that the lord mayor and aldermen should henceforward remain undisturbed. Charles quietly pocketed the bribe, but carried forward the process, as if nothing had happened, and retained his enormous plunder. Valuable as it no doubt proved, he found it at last a sort of Naboth's vineyard—too dearly purchased. Pym declared, as late in the civil war as Waller's engagement, that within the walls of London, as circumstances then and afterwards demonstrated, 'for one wishing 'writing well to the king and royalists, *there were three against* '*them.*' The metropolis told more then upon general public opinion, than it does now. No marvel that thousands of the middle classes felt for their swords. Many among the aristocracy had shared in the spoils, and indulged sundry cachinnations at the idea of plebeian scoundrels aspiring to become politicians and gentlemen. Yet in 1639, a vast mass of monopolies were called in and annulled. Scotland as we have seen, commenced the strife; for in that land John Knox had dropt his robe of fearlessness, when his stern, but truthful soul ascended to its reward. The prosecution of Lord Balmerino, the advancement of the prelacy to participation in secular power, the offensive compilation of canons and a liturgy for the churches, stirred up the spirits of men at Edinburgh and Glasgow. Tumults in those places, to suppress which the crown had very trifling means at command, led gradually, through the regal obduracy and blindness, to the institution of the Four Tables, as they were termed, and the Solemn League and Covenant. The former were deputations representing the different interests of the nobility, clergy, gentry, and burghers of North Britain; all loud and unanswerable in their demands for the withdrawal of the late obnoxious measures, the abolition of the High Commission, a restriction of episcopal arrogance, the restoration of the privileges of assemblies, and the convention of a parliament. When their commissioners appeared in London, Pym, together with Hampden, and lords Essex, Bedford, Holland, and Say, forthwith joined them. Wentworth, Laud, and Hamilton, also met together at Whitehall, when a war was resolved on against the refractory covenanters. As the exchequer would want supplies, the first proposed a loan, subscribing himself the enormous contribution of £20,000, by way of example to encourage others. As if this were not enough, he pledged himself to bring over from Ireland large subsidies, if his majesty would call a parliament there. The ice thus broken, after a lapse of twelve years, it was further resolved to summon one in England also. Wentworth was created Earl of Strafford; and on the 3rd of April, 1640, the king opened the session in person. It must never be forgotten, that before he had consented to issue the writs, he had put a

question to his ministers, whether upon *the restiveness of the house of Commons, they would consent to assist him by extraordinary ways?* Laud, Nixon, Wentworth, Hamilton, Cottington, Vane, and Windebanke assented, and a vote was passed to that effect.

Pym by common assent assumed the leadership of the country party in this parliament. He proved himself the concentrated essence of all the folios of precedent which had ever been compiled at Westminster. With Hampden by his side he had ridden through several of the counties, previous to the elections, to organize suitable returns, and promote petitions upon such points as might be really useful. Charles was as ungracious as a monarch could well be; nor were his representatives in the lower house more prudent. The member for Tavistock opened the campaign in an oration of two hours, which may be described as a prologue to the subsequent struggle. He expatiated with mingled skilfulness and eloquence on the three grand classes of grievances, as they affected parliament,—religion,—and the liberty of the subject. The effect of this speech was so extraordinary throughout England, that it has been made matter of grave comment with nearly every historian of the period. Abbreviated copies of it were taken down and circulated, says May, 'with great greediness;' for in truth it sounded as the cry of freedom vindicating her rights, and agonizing to get loose from the grasp of the oppressor. The lords then passed two resolutions, at the earnest request of his majesty, declaring that supplies ought to precede a redress of abuses; which notable motions John Pym forthwith presented to the Commons as a gross breach of privilege. His own house nobly supported him; and he had the pleasure of being shortly sent up to the bar of the Peers, with an address, requesting their lordships for the time to come to take no notice of any thing debated by the Commons, until they should themselves declare the same to the upper house. Pym moreover delivered his message with not a few dignified but forcible expressions, which might have opened the eyes of acute observers as to the altering position of parties. The patriot received thanks on his return for 'the 'good service he had done;' but Charles demanding by message whether the Commons would vote money or not,—a question followed up by a proposition from the treasurer for twelve subsidies, in consideration of which the sovereign should surrender *his right* to ship-money,—protracted discussions arose, which terminated in a hasty dissolution. From the ashes of this quarrel emerged the Long Parliament.

Pym now felt that one effort more only was necessary to secure his object. His labours multiplied with the demands of the occasion: for indeed the prize was within reach, or at least was clearly discerned by those who could peruse the signs of the times. He

formed the closest combination between all the liberal lords and commoners of note, who could be kept in town; he drew the cords of friendship closer between themselves and the Scotch commissioners; he corresponded with every absent patriot who could serve the cause; the seats of Lord Say and Sir Richard Knightly (son-in-law to Hampden), were fixed upon as convenient places in Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire for frequent consultations; a private press was established at the latter spot, and worked wonders;—whilst precisely as Pym had predicted, the disastrous course of the Scotch war was dragging Charles Stuart to the feet of his indignant subjects. A council of peers had been summoned at York, as a last resource; of which Pym no sooner heard, than he prepared a petition for a parliament, with the names of Bedford, Hertford, Essex, and Warwick at its head; and with which he repaired to York forthwith to present it in person. Eight more lords were there persuaded to sign it; and meanwhile a similar document, set in motion by himself before his departure from London, now reached his hands with 10,000 signatures subscribed to it of metropolitan citizens. The effect turned out irresistible; for other petitions now fast flowed in from different quarters, to the same purport; so that the king, hunted through all the sinuosities of those tendencies to treachery, which had descended to him from his father, once again yielded to stern necessity, and issued writs for a new parliament to meet on the third of the ensuing November.

'And now again, without the pause of an instant, Pym and Hampden were seen in the discharge of their duty, as the chiefs and advisers of the people. It is stated in several books of the time, and repeated by many of the historians, that between the interval of the issue of the writs and the elections, they rode as before through every county in England, urging the electors to their duty. Warwick, Brooke, and Bedford, Lord Kimbolton (the Earl of Manchester's son), Fiennes, second son to Lord Say, and the younger Vane, exerted themselves meanwhile in their respective districts; and Warwick soon wrote to his Essex friends from York, so recently the head quarters of the king, that the game was well begun. The party of the king were not less active, but they were less successful. In the opinion of the great mass of the people, Pym was the author of this parliament; and by the common consent of all he was to be placed in the position of its leader. Preparing himself for that great office, he well knew that the highest duty of his life, and the most fatal there awaited him. He was to keep his old appointment with Wentworth, now the Earl of Strafford.'
—pp. 128, 129.

Twelve weary years had now elapsed since Pym had threatened his apostate friend with a visionary doom. Wentworth, although falling in at last with the designs of Charles towards Scotland,

could not fail, any more than Laud or the Earl of Northumberland then Lord Admiral, to perceive that clouds of danger were rapidly gathering round the throne. The second Scotch campaign proved analogous to the first. A route at Newburn had brought the Covenanters to Newcastle; where by the treaty of Ripon, good quarters were secured for them, with an allowance of £850 per diem. Exasperation increased on all sides. The recent convocation of the clergy had fared no better than the recent parliament. Their new canons, as well as the infamous *et cetera* oath, shocked all reasonable persons with the established church and its hierarchy. Mitres, coronets, and the crown crowded nearer and nearer together, like fowls anticipating a tempest. Henrietta coquetted with her Catholics; and troops were to be enlisted in the Low Countries, if Spain would permit. Cardinal Richelieu had afforded some small yet seasonable assistance to the Scotch before they crossed the Tweed. Even Strafford felt the shadow of his destiny, and wished to remain absent. His health, never strong, was breaking down through an accumulation of cares as well as diseases, which perhaps never man before had sustained under such painful circumstances. As if the mark of the axe had been on his forehead, he implored his ruthless and deceitful master that he might return to Ireland. The royal sign-manual assured him that not a hair of his head should be hurt,—though it detained him in London nevertheless; for who could abide so well the approaching storm? It burst with a clap of thunder. The member for Tavistock on the eleventh of November, moved that the strangers' room should be cleared, the doors being shut, and the key laid upon the table. After an interval of four hours, spent by multitudes outside in various and intense anxiety, John Pym issued from the House of Commons, followed by upwards of three hundred representatives of the people, with whom, proceeding to the bar of the Peers, he there impeached Thomas Earl of Strafford, adding also all his other titles, of high treason against his majesty and the liberties of England!

'The Earl was already in the house, according to Clarendon, when Pym appeared at the bar: and was even prepared with evidence of a correspondence, between Pym and other popular leaders, and the Scotch, supplied by the perfidy or forgery of Lord Saville, on which he designed that very instant to accuse them of treason. According to the lively and graphic narrative of Baillie, however, Strafford had not yet entered the house, with this view; but after Pym's sudden appearance, the earl's is thus described: 'the lords began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haste to the lord lieutenant, where he was with the king; with speed he comes to the house; he calls rudely at the door; James Maxwell, Keeper of the Black Rod, opens; his lordship *with a proud glooming countenance,*

makes towards his place at the board's head: but at once, many bid him void the house; so he is forced in confusion, to go to the door till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to kneel, and on his knees to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delivered to the Keeper of the Black Rod, to be prisoner till he was cleared of those crimes the House of Commons had charged him with. He offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word. In the outer room, James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword. When he had got it, he cries with a loud voice for his man to carry my lord lieutenant's sword. This done, he makes through a number of people, towards his coach,—*all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom, that morning, the greatest in England would have stood discovered.* Coming to the place where he expected his coach, it was not there; so he behoved to return that same way, through a world of gazing people. When, at last, he had found his coach, and was entering, James Maxwell told him, 'Your lordship is my prisoner, and must go in my coach,' and so he behoved to do. For some days, too many went to visit him: but since, the parliament hath commanded his keeping to be straiter.' The result proved this to have been what Pym anticipated, the masterstroke of the time. In whatever view, or in whatever sense, it is regarded, whether of regret or admiration, it cannot be denied to have been, in its practical results, the greatest achievement of this great age of statesmanship. It struck instant terror into every quarter of the court, and left the king for a time powerless and alone.'

—Pym, pp. 137, 138.

Every resolution of the House of Commons from this hour took the shape of action. True to his assumed and terrible character of The Great Accuser, Pym then impeached William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury; besides lodging informations against the bishops of Bath and Wells, and Ely, as well as against other profligate ministers and corrupt judges. Sir Robert Berkeley was publicly arrested in his own court, taken off to prison from the very bench of justice, where he was sitting, 'to the great ter-'ror of all his profession.' Windebanke the secretary escaped to France; Lord Keeper Finch to Holland. The Puritans who had been whipt, pilloried, or mutilated, were released from their imprisonments, and came up to the capital in triumph amid the plaudits of their friends, and the sore mortification of their enemies. Laud, their persecutor, was in the Tower; and his new canons had been scattered to the winds. Deprived pastors were restored to their churches. Religion, in once again breathing freely, appealed to liberty rather than despotism, for her preservation. The Triennial Act was brought in and passed. Ship-money was declared illegal. The penalties of a *præmunire* were denounced against all parties paying or receiving the duties of tonnage or poundage without the sanction of the House of Com-

mons. The courts of Star Chamber, the Welsh Marches, the Northern Presidency, the High Commission, and episcopal jurisdictions, experienced total abolition. Forests were restrained to their known limits ; vexatious proceedings with regard to knighthood were extinguished ; clergymen were excluded from the Privy Council and commission of the peace ; nor could negociations for admitting popular men into office, nor an army-plot countenanced, if not actually originated by Charles himself, rescue the guilty Strafford from his fate, nor the king from his dilemma. Pym had stood forward as prime mover in all these reforms : whilst though he underrated none of them, his whole soul was preparing for the trial of the lord lieutenant. Its history and results must be known to most of our readers ; nor need we do more than remind them, that the member for Tavistock was the mighty orator, backed by the voice of the nation, who alone could have encountered with success the eloquence and talents of Wentworth. He was justly described by his contemporaries as 'the great PARLIAMENT 'MAN !' Westminster Hall presented on that occasion a spectacle only paralleled by a single subsequent scene. Royalty, nobility, patriotism there mingled, as they had never done before. The grand object which the leaders of the Commons had in their minds was to establish against the culprit *an attempt to subvert the fundamental laws of the country ;* and in this they undoubtedly succeeded. Three kingdoms might be said to have been present, through their deputations, and as Baillie avows, 'it was daily the 'most glorious assembly the isle could afford.' Strafford always appeared in deep mourning, wearing his George, with his thick black hair cut short from his ample forehead, over a countenance sternly dark, yet dashed in part with paleness. For not only was he there arraigned for life or death,—but stone, gout, flux, and rheumatism, racked him at the very time all over his person, so that it stooped with its tremendous infirmities, more than with his fearfulness of the trial. He had nothing on his side, but a written promise from his master that 'his life, honour, and fortune 'should be safe,'—the favour of the clergy, aristocracy, and their ladies,—and a mind of overwhelming power. Pym however met, and overthrew him upon his own field. At one particular moment, our biographer has pourtrayed the following scene :

'Strafford had been closely and earnestly watching his accuser, when the latter suddenly turning, met the fixed and wasted features of his early associate. A rush of other feelings, crowding into that look, for an instant dispossessed him. His papers he looked on, says Baillie, 'but they could not help him to a point or two, so he behoved to pass them. Yet presently Pym's eloquence and dignified command returned. He had thoroughly contemplated his commission, and had resolved on its fulfilment. The occasion was not let slip, the energies wound up to

this feat through years of hard endurance were not frozen,—and the cause of the people was gained. In the condemnation of Strafford, they assumed an alienated power, and were reinstated in an ancient freedom. He was condemned. The judges themselves, on a solemn reference by the House of Lords for their opinion, whether some of the articles amounted to treason, answered unanimously that upon all which their lordships had voted to be proved, it was their opinion the Earl of Strafford did deserve to undergo the pains and penalties of high treason by law.'—Strafford, p. 398.

The Commons however before this had altered their course, and introduced a Bill of Attainder, upon which constitutional question we beg to refer to Hallam, who has treated the subject with his usual ability and impartiality. The peers assented: there was no hope for the life of the delinquent: though the king indeed laboured to save him in his clumsy manner,—certain as that manner was of making matters worse rather than better. Pym remembered Greenwich, and proved a deaf adder to every supplication, but that of a violated realm. Strafford himself generously released his master from all engagements; probably conceiving that such magnanimity deserved, if it might not experience, something like reciprocal firmness in return. Yet Charles had never really loved his able minister, who was far too great a man to be any thing but feared or used, and then treated ungratefully by so pusillanimous a sovereign. He therefore forfeited his word, although with tears, perhaps many and sincere; for truly, as he observed, 'the condition of Wentworth was happier than his own.' He subscribed also, with the same pen, a Bill to preserve the parliament from dissolution, without its own consent. That assembly had now won its terrible triumph: and 'Put not your trust in 'princes,' was the final murmur of the mighty but disappointed Strafford. With a demeanor, almost suitable to a martyr, he laid his neck on the block; where the executioner struck it off at one blow, in the presence of 100,000 spectators, on Wednesday, the 12th of May, 1641. For the justification of Pym and his confederates, should any be thought necessary, we cannot forbear transcribing a few sentences from an address delivered by the member for Tavistock, in reply to his noble antagonist. 'The law is the 'boundary, the measure, betwixt the prerogative of the king and 'the liberty of the people. Whilst these move in their own orbs, 'they are a support and security to one another,—the prerogative 'a cover and defence to the liberty of the people, and the people 'by their liberty enabled to be a foundation to the prerogative; 'but if these bounds be so removed, that they enter into contes-'tation and conflict, one of these mischiefs must ensue;—if the 'prerogative of the king overwhelm the liberty of the people, it 'will be turned into tyranny; if liberty undermine the preroga-'tive, it will grow into anarchy.' Strafford had transgressed

heinously, as his master did, against that supreme law, the Salus Populi, the element of all laws, as John Pym used to say, 'out 'of which they are derived; the end of all laws, to which they are 'designed, and in which they are perfected.'

His services to liberty however ended not here. His sleepless vigilance it was, which had discovered and crushed the military conspiracy for releasing the lord lieutenant from the Tower, and bringing down troops from the north upon London. His impeachment of the Archbishop of Canterbury now went forward; with regard to which we are refreshed to fall in with such a passage as this in his opening oration: 'The church of Christ is one body, 'and the members of Christ have a mutual relation, as members 'of the same body. Unity with the true church of God every 'where is not only the beauty, but the strength of religion:' whence he goes on to denounce Laud for having broken this union by his cruelties towards the French and Dutch Protestant churches. He afterwards most satisfactorily fought for the bill excluding bishops from the upper house; although himself an episcopalian,—and not having attained that degree of light on the subject which would have shown him * the full force of what our Saviour enjoined, when he declared, 'My kingdom is not of this 'world.' He acted up however to the knowledge which he had, and shines out in resplendent contrast to Hyde, on this debate, whose secession from the popular cause he was amongst the first to discern. Soon afterwards followed the Grand Remonstrance, introduced by our indefatigable patriot, as a final appeal to the nation, on behalf of liberty against despotism. It was carried only by a majority of eleven: but it made Charles recoil. Disgraced at every turn, and compelled to pour infamy on his own head, with his own hands, he had set out for Edinburgh, to construct fresh schemes for tampering with the officers or troops, whether natives or aliens,—for sowing dissensions between the lords and commons, and brewing a hurricane in Ireland, to be used as convenient machinery for subjugating his two other kingdoms to their duty. But the monarch was no Prospero. His plans were penetrated by John Pym, so as to be unmasked and exposed in rapid succession. Experience could render him no services; for wisdom always seems to salute misguided royalty just too late. Falkland, Colepepper, and the future Lord Claren-

* On a much earlier occasion he had thus expressed himself: 'Howsoever it is alleged that the parliament are not judges in matters of faith, yet ought they to know the established and fundamental truths, and the contrary to them:' in other words, that the secular power should or at least may more or less interfere in religious affairs. Both Sir James Mackintosh, however, and Miss Aiken make out Pym to have said more than he really did say, relying upon an incorrect report of Rushworth.

don, held their nocturnal consultations in vain. The foreign queen had by this time consolidated her obnoxious influence over her husband. He divided his affections between a profligate consort and superstitious prelates. She betrayed him: the latter injured him irremediably by their preposterous protests, which sent themselves to the Tower, although Bedlam, as it was then remarked, would have suited them better. Yet 'bray fools in a 'mortar, and their folly will not depart from them!' Mankind saw it so then, as they see it day by day. The celebrated attempt to seize Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Hazlerig, and Strode ensued; after which the king departed from his metropolis,—as a monarch, —for ever. Then came the tug of warfare; in which, although faults of details, both in motive and conduct, may unquestionably be raked up even against those, whom nearly all now acknowledge to have combatted on the right side, yet philanthropy will give her verdict for the patriots. There might be indeed too much godliness taken for granted; there might be too many mutual recriminations and condemnations extending sometimes to blasphemy beyond the bourne of the grave. There was, it must be confessed, too indiscriminate a commingling of sentiments and professions, which should have been kept separate. Selfishness also sometimes absorbed patriotism; and both were often forgotten, or swallowed up in passion. But when it is recollected, that the fire of three nations was stirred with the sword of civil and sanguinary contention, the only wonder is, that the best ornaments or affections of human nature both endured and survived the conflagration.

Pym appeared to manage every thing. Money was wanted, and he negociated a loan with the city, upon twelve conditions, as to which we scarcely know whether most to admire his eloquence, or his statesmanship. He conducted the preliminary and contemporary paper war, on behalf of parliament, against no less a person than that of Hyde, on behalf of the king, with as much success, as was evinced in raising the sinews and materials for the grosser contest. To him was entrusted the momentous charge of superintending and conducting the affairs of the executive, whilst a majority of his friends followed Essex, or the other popular generals, to the field of battle. Supported by a Committee of Safety, comprising five peers, and ten commoners, he earned the jocular appellation of King Pym, from the ubiquity and preponderance of his talents. 'From three o'clock in the 'morning to the evening, and from evening to midnight,' says Doctor Marshall, an unimpeachable ocular witness, 'he laboured 'in the service of the commonwealth. Now on the field of action, 'consulting with Hampden; now in the tent of Lord Essex, 'strengthening his failing purposes; again at Westminster; and 'then among the London citizens; it was Pym, and Pym alone, 'who held at this awful crisis the framework of the executive

'together.' The successes which attended the royal arms in the earlier campaigns, the conspiracy of Waller, the death of Hampden, tumults around his own doors, even charges against his own uprightness, or his religion, or his conduct,—none of these things moved him. It also should not be forgotten, that through his efforts the system of Excise was introduced into this country; having been suggested by some of the financial procedures in Holland. Yet illness began to tell upon the physical strength, although it left unscathed his indomitable spirit. One more service he had to render, before he died. In 1643, Gainsborough had been re-captured by the cavaliers, Hull was in danger, Henrietta had joined the king with reinforcements, the parliamentary armies had been beaten in the west, there were neither troops nor fortifications to defend the metropolis, and the way thither from Oxford seemed perfectly open. At this crisis the Earl of Essex addressed the House of Lords, advising an accommodation. A moment more and all had been lost. But Pym, true to the last, called St. John to his side, and with him set out, oppressed with disease as he was, for the camp of the lord general. 'There,' says Clarendon, 'by his mental vigour and dexterity, 'he wholly changed him, and wrought his lordship to that temper, 'which he afterwards swerved not from.' In other words, the earl was brought to open his eyes to the real bearings of the case—to the royal resentments on the one hand, as well as the true interests of justice and freedom, on the other. From that hour, the tide of affairs turned; and the army, with its righteous cause, which Pym had held together, through the confidence of all good men in his uprightness and activity, was destined to gather not a few of the most unsullied laurels, which valour has ever won, or patriotism ever worn.

Not that he lived to see them, since he departed this life, at Derby House, on the 8th of December, 1643. Doctor Marshall declared of him in his last moments, that 'he maintained the same 'evenness of spirit, which he had in the time of his health; 'professing that it was to him a most indifferent thing to live or 'die; if he lived, he would do what service he could; if he died, he 'should go to that God whom he had served, and who would carry 'on his work by some others.' He was often heard praying with much importunity for the king and his posterity, for the parliament, and the public welfare. 'Surely,' says the pious Baxter, after the struggle had gone over, 'Pym is now a member of a 'more knowing, unerring, well-ordered, right-aiming, self-deny-'ing, unanimous, honorable, triumphant senate, than that from 'whence he was taken.' Such were the sentiments of the author of the Everlasting Rest, in alluding to those saints who had entered upon it, to enjoy the beatific vision of God. The untainted portion of an entire nation, wept when Pym was carried on the shoulders of the House of Commons to a lamented sepul-

chre. Bonfires at Oxford, the revelry of cavaliers, the foul calumnies of his enemies, are now referred to only as so many memorials of a great man, whom the wicked feared, but the virtuous respected. It was said that he died raving mad; as also, that a loathsome disease had terminated his sufferings, and that he had apostatized from all his principles. Falsehoods like these have often followed the noblest among mankind, as the mementos of their fallen mortality. It was only those who had sold themselves to the evil one, according to the fanciful fictions of the middle ages, that cast no shadows behind them. The name of John Pym was a gnomon on the sun-dial of liberty, through the century of illustrious heroes and glorious achievements, whose magnitude and disinterestedness make us feel pigmies in the present day. Had such a mind, as that we have been contemplating, presided at the helm of affairs when a dominant upper chamber might be clogging the wheels of government, refusing municipal institutions to Ireland after having granted them to Great Britain, or repressing national education,—how would it now have risen with the requirements of the occasion, and wielded the prerogative of the crown on behalf of an indignant people. John Pym was amongst an immortal class of statesmen, who knew what freedom was in itself; as well as what it could do for their species. They were all head,—all heart,—all eye,—all soul, in combatting for the rights of man. They were well aware, that every thing must depend upon the intrepid conduct of a mere handful of patriots, as opposed to overwhelming hosts favourable to the cause of despotism, or at least if not altogether thus, yet timid, and vacillating, and selfish, or prejudiced as to some little paltry sectional view of things, so as to embarrass their professed friends even more than open adversaries. They constituted the Leonidas and Spartans of their period, hemmed in betwixt the mountains and the sea, with the Persians before them. Does not our beloved country at this moment need such men?

> 'Shall Freedom still in slumber rest
> With peril round her palace spread?
> Earth—render now from out thy breast
> Some remnant of the noble dead!
> Of the Three Hundred give but three,
> To make a new Thermopylæ!'

We close this paper with the conclusion of a funeral sermon preached on the removal of its subject:

'Verily, when we consider how God hath followed us with breach upon breach, taken away all those worthy men before mentioned, and all the other things wherein the Lord has brought us low; and now

this great blow to follow all the rest, we are ready to call for such a mourning as that of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon. But mistake me not! We do not mean that you should mourn for him,—you his dear children,—you right honourable lords and commons, who esteemed him little less than a father; I mean not that you should mourn for him! His work is done, his warfare is accomplished; he is delivered from sin and sorrow, and from all the evils, which we may fear, are coming upon ourselves. He hath received at the hand of the Lord a plentiful reward for all his labours! I beseech you, let not any of you have one sad thought touching him. Nor would I have you mourn out of any such apprehension, as our enemies have, and for which they rejoice; as if our cause were not good, or we should lose it for want of hands and heads to carry it on: No—NO, BELOVED,—THIS CAUSE MUST PROSPER; AND ALTHOUGH WE WERE ALL DEAD, OUR ARMIES OVERTHROWN, AND EVEN OUR PARLIAMENTS DISSOLVED, THIS CAUSE MUST PREVAIL.'—Pym, p. 302.

Art. II. *The Kingdom of Christ: or Hints on the Principles, Ordinances, and Constitution of the Catholic Church. In Letters to a Member of the Society of Friends.* By F. MAURICE, M.A., Chaplain of Guy's Hospital. 3 Vols. 12mo. London: Darton and Clarke.

THE intellectual universe, as well as the material, has its comets, whose eccentric courses, if they subserve no other end, may at least teach us to be thankful, that the laws of our own motions never whirl us away into such trackless deserts of space; and whose fitful and brief glare, if it serves no useful purpose of either diurnal or nocturnal illumination, may, notwithstanding, admonish us to estimate more justly those steadier and more orderly fountains of light by which our mortal pilgrimage is directed and cheered.

But yet for our own parts, we have really no sort of objection to an occasional visit either from the material or the intellectual comet, provided only that these rather startling and ominous phenomena be not too frequent, and approach not too near. In the one case there is at least a high gratification in contemplating those rare and marvellous bodies of light which occasionally visit our planetary regions, notwithstanding the prognostications which the astrological speculations of our ancestors have attributed to them; and in the other case there is an analogous, though confessedly an inferior gratification, in beholding the gyrations, the headlong plunges, the fell swoops, the lurid glare, or threatening

glances of eccentric genius. We are, therefore, by no means disposed to be either angry or sad, to utter lamentations, or indulge forebodings, when such strange visitants cross our path. We presume that the world will go on much as it has been wont —that the threatening portents will pass away and return again only at distant intervals, to amaze or amuse future generations.

There is rather a puzzling question, however, which might be raised concerning the uses of these phenomena. The astronomer is perplexed with the one, and our readers must excuse us for waiving any explanation of the other. What purpose can possibly be served by much of the speculation that engages human intellects, it requires an intellect more than human to determine. Happily in the case of the singular volumes before us, we shall not be required to show that they have any useful purpose, or can by any chance subserve one. It will be some consolation to our readers, as it has been to ourselves, to perceive, that the mischief to the cause of religion, threatened by the opinions of such a writer, is in great measure counteracted by the attempt to soar higher, penetrate deeper, and take a much wider range than any other advocate of the same school. For the superstructure which is raised too high for the foundation falls by its own weight, and the ambitious frog that would surpass the ox only bursts his own skin.

'dum vult validius
Inflare sese, rupto jacuit corpore.'

We cannot better describe the present work than by saying, it is an elaborate attempt, prompted by the resuscitated spirit of popery in the Church of England, to philosophize Puseyism into a transcendental theology. It might seem that a theory so essentially dogmatic must pass through a singular process before it could be sublimated into any thing that might aspire to the ambitious name of philosophy. But we can assure our readers that nothing will satisfy the towering genius of our author, short of demonstrating that the New Doctrine is the very light from heaven, which is to explain all the seeming mysteries of man, society, and the world, and to raise human nature to the highest perfection of which it is susceptible. It will not, we trust, be imagined, that we are in the slightest degree caricaturing or satirizing the author in this statement; for he literally pretends that his theory of the kingdom of Christ is the one and the only one that is all-comprehensive, or that possesses the peculiar quality of supreme and infallible truth—that of perfect harmony with every other truth.

It is somewhat amusing that he should have chosen to put forth his speculations in the form of Letters to a Member of the Society of Friends; for it does not appear that any member of that body desired the aid of his lucubrations, or that any specific inquirer is

Not till all the deepest and most sacred convictions of my own heart have been resisted and have perished; not till I become a traitor to God's house, and deny all his discipline; not till truth and error become hopelessly confounded and intermingled in my mind.'—p. 7—15, vol. i.

This is new and strange doctrine to be promulgated by one of the episcopally ordained and apostolically descended divines of our state church. Let the Record and the Evangelicals eschew it. But before passing on to develop the other speculations of our author, we may just observe, what an unanswerable case he has made out to annihilate the pretensions of his own church, as a teacher of all essential truth. If the whole body of the episcopal divines were in utter ignorance of this one essential key to the gospel, without which it had no meaning and could be of no service, while this illiterate quaker was the man to whom it was given to bring this one truth to light—of what use was all their apostolicity? And how much does this author's statement place the poor sectarian teacher above all the bishops and clergy, albeit apostolically descended, qualified and authorized to teach the gospel, which could neither save nor bless any without the explanation of the inward light. Yes, literally, all the bishops and clergy of preceding and of subsequent ages were in darkness and error. Alas! for the dilemma to which Mr. Maurice reduces them. They must all hide their diminished heads before the quaker preacher; for he only says to all mankind, '*there is a light shining in the darkness* '*of your heart; believe in that light, follow in that light, and be* '*happy.*'

Disguise it as our author may, the inevitable tendency of this quaker doctrine is to deism; and the fruits of it are evident enough, both in the great Hicksite schism in America, and the agitated state of the body in this kingdom. The inward light which is thus boasted has all along been set up against the spirit and the letter of Christ's teaching. It is true a nominal respect for revelation has been maintained; but the commanding, practical authority has been the inward light. Its supremacy and independence have been as strongly maintained by writers of that school, as by any of the pure rationalists, though under a phraseology altogether different. Tindal never could and never would have written the three folios of Fox's Journal, Epistles, and Doctrinal Pieces; nor Fox 'Christianity as old as the Creation'; but the pervading principle of both writers appears to us to be identical, bating only the mysticism of the quaker phraseology. Could Tindal have been induced to give a scriptural name to his light of reason, or Fox to have written without fanaticism and as a philosopher, they might on this subject at least have shaken hands and subscribed to each other's doctrines. Happily, the unsuspected deism of the one has at last been extensively detected by his own

followers; and the open deism of the other has lost its vitality, and remains only as a mummy in the museums of the curious.

Nothing we have now written will, we trust, be construed into a denial of Fox's piety, or into a charge of any sort of heresy against our author. He is a clergyman of the apostolic church; whether of apostolic doctrine or otherwise, can be of only secondary importance, seeing '*he has been placed by God* '*on the high ground of a church polity, from which he can look* '*down*,' and show the truth to the poor quakers (yet it seems by the essential light of their own founder; for apostolical as our author is, he is content to borrow his first principle from the quakers) that he may condescendingly guide them and all other poor unillumined sectaries into the bosom of that true church, whose singularly harmonious authorities and teachers, at the present moment, believe and propagate all the widest diversities of theological opinion, from popery down to quakerism, and lower still.

But the most remarkable fact disclosed by this extraordinary production has yet to be stated; it is this, that with all our author's admiration of quaker doctrines, he still remains a churchman—yea, a high churchman, as we should say, the highest of the high. And the most curious part of his performance is that by which he manages, most satisfactorily to himself, to connect his quaker principles of the inward light with his doctrines of a catholic church, an exclusive priesthood, a permanent living authority, and sacramental grace. It will be quite impossible for us to follow him through his long course of reasoning, distinguished as it unquestionably is by much ability, and no mean share of learning. It must suffice to present to our readers a brief analysis of his scheme. This we shall endeavour to do in such a way as can scarcely be objected to by the author himself. We can assure him we have read his volumes through both with care and seriousness; that we entertain no wish to misrepresent his views, but rather to do him ample justice; and that we seek no reprisals upon him for the manner in which he has spoken of ourselves, and of the whole body of protestant dissenters. We proceed, therefore, at once to his general theory. It seems to us to be as follows. If we have mistaken him, he must pardon our obtuseness, but give us credit both for sincerity and candour.

Having amply elucidated the doctrine of the indwelling word or divine light in man, he next proceeds to show that this very light is insufficient (we presume for the maintenance of a visible church, though not perhaps for individual salvation) without the doctrines of justification and imputation, and that these doctrines are *insufficient and even false* when separated from the doctrine of the indwelling word; thence he advances to a universal atonement, as the foundation of the christian community. The church is the type to which the indwelling light is to conform itself;

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But the most remarkable fact disclosed by this extraordinary production has yet to be stated; it is this, that with all our author's admiration of quaker doctrines, he still remains a churchman—yea, a high churchman, as we should say, the highest of the high. And the most curious part of his performance is that by which he manages, most satisfactorily to himself, to connect his quaker principles of the inward light with his doctrines of a catholic church, an exclusive priesthood, a permanent living authority, and sacramental grace. It will be quite impossible for us to follow him through his long course of reasoning, distinguished as it unquestionably is by much ability, and no mean share of learning. It must suffice to present to our readers a brief analysis of his scheme. This we shall endeavour to do in such a way as can scarcely be objected to by the author himself. We can assure him we have read his volumes through both with care and seriousness; that we entertain no wish to misrepresent his views, but rather to do him ample justice; and that we seek no reprisals upon him for the manner in which he has spoken of ourselves, and of the whole body of protestant dissenters. We proceed, therefore, at once to his general theory. It seems to us to be as follows. If we have mistaken him, he must pardon our obtuseness, but give us credit both for sincerity and candour.

Having amply elucidated the doctrine of the indwelling word or divine light in man, he next proceeds to show that this very light is insufficient (we presume for the maintenance of a visible church, though not perhaps for individual salvation) without the doctrines of justification and imputation, and that these doctrines are *insufficient and even false* when separated from the doctrine of the indwelling word; thence he advances to a universal atonement, as the foundation of the christian community. The church is the type to which the indwelling light is to conform itself;

the doctrines of the church, are, *par excellence*, those which this light is to assimilate to itself, or accept at the dictation of the established priesthood; while to the prescribed ordinances it is bound to submit, as the medium of that grace which the priesthood are divinely authorized to convey. The inward light points to, longs after, an external form—a visible unity with God's church; this church is presented to the redeemed world in the formularies, creeds, ordinances, and apostolicity of the whole catholic body, or, as we understand him, in the confessedly corrupt church of Rome, and the *soi disant* reformed church of England, but still more conspicuously and clearly, as that church is now re-reforming itself by stepping nearer to its professed source, the somewhat vitiated matron, who, though she has in a few things unfortunately diverged from the apostolic doctrine, and never been very intelligible upon the favourite and characteristic notion of George Fox and Mr. Maurice, has nevertheless always been the catholic church, which has preserved the essential doctrine of sacramental grace, a lineal and episcopal priesthood, and has uniformly denied the right of private judgment and interpretation—an abomination which has from the first been deemed sufficient to exclude all its abettors, whether individuals or professed churches, from all the benefits of union with the true church, and from all participation in the grace of the gospel. So that it seems even the quakers, favourites as they are with our author, in some respects, are far from possessing a title to be numbered with the church now, or to be admitted to the Saviour's glorious kingdom hereafter. We beg to note, however, that this inference is not broadly and frankly drawn by our author, it is wholly our own, yet flowing unavoidably, as we conceive, from his doctrine of sacramental grace which the quaker repudiates; his priesthood, which the quaker disowns; and the doctrine of union with his church which the quaker refuses. Mr. Maurice's great principle is, that 'the universal light can only be fulfilled and made practical in 'a universal church,' vol. ii. p. 13; and he further describes the church of England as a branch of the universal church, that is, of the church of Rome, for he distinctly and repeatedly denies that the sects or denominations are churches at all, or branches in any sense, of the one universal church. But the author must allow us to say, that he assumes, in his own case, what he not only denies to all other protestants, but he assumes the facts to be proved, in defiance of the documents both of his own church and of the Roman catholic church. He insists upon it that the church of England is a branch of the living tree, which tree is the Roman catholic church—while, in the first place, the church of England standards denounce the church of Rome, utterly repudiate its authority, and admit no sort of communion with it. On the other hand, the church of Rome utterly denies the claim of the church of England, and excommunicates all its

bishops, clergy, and people, as open heretics and schismatics—and yet our author, with many other ecclesiastics of the day, constantly affirms this notion of a universal catholic church meaning the churches of England and Rome, while these two branches not only have no formal or visible fraternity, union, or communion as churches, but reciprocally denounce each other as false, heretical, and antichristian. We speak not of the writings, speculations, tracts, or opinions of individual ecclesiastics, but of the established and authorized documents of each of these would-be catholic churches, all of which confessedly go to the denial of the christianity, apostolicity, and catholicity of the other. We should be glad to be informed upon what ground but that of the right of private judgment, the church of England can justify its claim to be a branch of the universal church—that prior universal church at the same time denouncing its right to set up a distinct church, and to dissent from Romish dogmas, while in defiance of all these denunciations, the church of England still insists that it is a branch of the universal church of Christ. Yet this very church, which thus has its origin in private judgment, and begins with throwing off the authority of the existing church, immediately places itself in the position of the church from which it has dissented, denounces private judgment or dissent from its own authority, and utterly refuses to all who differ from it, the title of Christian churches. They can be no true churches of Christ, nor branches of the universal church in any sense, because they dissent from the church of England; while the church of England, dissenting from and condemning Rome, as the mother of harlots, &c., still asserts its title to catholicity, though it stands in precisely the same relation towards Rome, that the churches of the nonconformists occupy towards itself. Now it appears to us, that it must either give up its claim to catholicity, or it must admit the claim of others. The church of Rome is so far consistent, that it denies the claim of all others, makes itself the exclusive church, consequently the universal one, because on its theory there can be no other. But those writers of the church of England who parade the doctrine of catholicity, are guilty of the double inconsistency of admitting another true church, in relation to which they have no communion, but exist in a state of schism; while on the other hand, they refuse to admit into their catholicity those nonconforming churches whose claim rests upon precisely the same ground as their own. The plain and obvious conclusion is, that there is no such thing as a visible, practical catholicity. It is an idea that may float in the imagination; it may be a spiritual emotion expanding the hearts of good men of all churches, and cementing them in spirit one to another; but the *thing* is an idea having its reality, its counterpart externally, only to him that 'has set

'apart the godly for himself.' The church of England is the last body of Christians in the world that should preach about its catholicity, for it is systematically isolated—it is hedged round on every side; and as a church, with its ecclesiastical canons and invariable forms, is as exclusive as Rome itself, with not a tithe of its numbers, while practically it enjoys less community with other churches than any of the sectaries, and is in spirit less tolerant and liberal than the most rigid of them.

Mr. Maurice has written scores of pages upon the idea that the universal light in man must be met by a universal church, with which it must have communion—that this communion is divinely provided for in the sacraments—that those sacraments are secured in their official administration by an episcopally ordained and apostolically descended priesthood, whose incorporation constitutes the church of Jesus Christ. But he has utterly failed, indeed he has never attempted, to prove, that the *dogmas* thus asserted and reasoned upon have their foundation in the inspired records. He has endeavoured to buttress up his system by the consent of Fathers and the voice of tradition; but in this case he must allow us to say his authorities do not go high enough for us, and moreover appear to contradict the fundamental laws and principles of the gospel of Christ. We put it to him upon his own principle of the universal light, why, if an external society or church is necessary to man, he may not find this, supposing him a quaker, among the quakers? why, if he is convinced of the duty of observing christian sacraments, he cannot find them just as really and more scripturally among the baptists, supposing him an adult baptist? Or among presbyterians, independents, and methodists, if their views harmonize best with his own? Why, if he wants communion with fellow Christians on the ground of agreement with them in the doctrines of the gospel, he cannot find that in any of the churches that teach the apostolical doctrine, as well as in that church which insists upon the virtue of an apostolical descent, which it disgraces by its disagreements, and which it cannot prove by history? And finally, why he cannot be catholic in spirit, while he belongs to an individual or particular church, without deluding himself with a mere notion of catholicity, in a church which both theoretically and practically denounces all others, and holds no communion with any one? For our own parts we can discover no semblance of catholicity in the church of England. It is, practically, any thing but catholic, and all the talk about it is mere idle mockery. We may safely challenge any of its advocates to point out a single proof of this pretended catholicity in any of its documents, or in any part of its practice. It neither in point of fact embraces all Christians, nor does it so adjust its terms of communion and fellowship, as to admit all those into its bosom who are con-

fessedly accepted of its professed Lord and head. It has made its terms of communion straiter than Jesus Christ has made his, and it has obviously added to and altered in various essential points his original church constitution. Its own decisions and inventions it has placed on the same footing as his precepts and institutions. It therefore is not, never has been, and never can be, a *catholic* church. What right then has it to make so unfounded a pretension in the face of its straitness—its unrelaxing tenacity of human prescriptions—its sweeping denial of the apostolicity of all the other churches, Rome itself, the source of its own episcopacy, not excepted.

We must leave our author and the Oxford divines to try their dialectical skill upon these yet unsolved difficulties, while we proceed to press upon them another point which they are stout in asserting but backward in confirming. The question of apostolicity between them and all the nonconforming churches is—whether it consists in identity of sentiment and spirit or in personal succession. Our author, with all the advocates of the new school adopts the lineal descent, as essential to the validity of the ministry. But a lineal descent which cannot be made out, is much the same thing as a genealogical table that shows gaps in the middle; or a chain some of the links of which are missing—very much, indeed, resembling what common sense would call a rope of sand. Amidst the daily and monthly advocates of this now favorite doctrine of the Church, we have not yet found one that has dared to touch the thing in the only efficient way. Though all are loud in their pretensions that they are descended from the apostles, nobody has attempted to prove it. All we could wish is, that they would undertake the task of showing that they are descended from any one of the apostles. This is the thing that should have been first done—but unfortunately for their pretensions it remains unessayed. They are like parties who come into court, as for instance the notorious Earl of Stirling, to prove a title to certain large estates, by the law of inheritance or lineal descent, but, alas, the genealogy proves imperfect, or turns out to be forged, and the pretender makes himself the laughing-stock of the whole kingdom. These very churchmen surely have acuteness enough to perceive, that they cannot proceed a step beyond the Reformation, without authenticating the legitimate apostolicity of the Romish succession; but verily if they do that, they both authenticate the apostolicity of the present Romish clergy, who inherit in the continued line of their own bishops, and they further establish an authority which utterly denounces themselves as heretics. Thus they totally neutralize their own claim, and concede at the same time the pestilent and false one of the Romish church. They may say, 'we admit the apostolicity of Rome as to ordination, 'but we claim a right to repudiate that in the doctrine of Rome

'which we deem corrupt and unscriptural.' Granted that you shall do so—but then observe, you assert thereby your individual and private judgment against the judgment of the universal bishop and *his* universal church. We are content that you should do so —but then we are not content that you should refuse us nonconformists the same right of private judgment. If you have formed your own church upon your own judgments of what is scriptural, and not according to the decisions of Rome, and insist that it is a true Christian church—and even the catholic church, though it is only a church comprising part of the Christians of one nation—then we challenge you either to concede to all churches, based on the same principle of private judgment—the epithet to which yourselves lay claim—of being branches of the catholic church—or else to renounce the principle on which your nonconformity to Rome is founded, confess your dissent to be a schism made in the catholic church, and against the authority of that church, and go back at once to Popery. We confess we can logically find no intermediate ground between these two alternatives. All Protestantism is based on the right of private judgment. The Church of England has no other solid ground, whatever its advocates may pretend. In decrying that, they commit suicide. In claiming it for themselves and denying it to others, they are unreasonable, self-contradictory, and unjust. If they place their apostolicity in official descent, they supersede and stultify their church at a single stroke. If they place their own apostolicity in accordance with apostolic standards, then in principle they clearly sanction, and in practice ought to embrace, all churches that hold and teach the same faith of the gospel. In denying the apostolicity of these churches, they negative their own—for no other claim to apostolicity can ever be substantiated, and certainly never ought to be, but that which consists in the integrity of gospel truth and ordinances.

If these gentlemen demur to our reasoning, and insist upon their descent, we then challenge them to make it out, in any of the lines which ecclesiastical history can supply; and we pledge ourselves, despised nonconformists as we are, to prove that upon their own showing, their apostolical descent has not even the cohesion of a cobweb—it cannot be traced up to any one of the apostles. So their most learned divines have testified over and over again. A man might as well attempt to make out a pedigree that should trace his own lineal descent up to Noah, as an ecclesiastic prove that his ordination has descended to him in a legitimate line of apostolic men. If our churchmen will have it, then let them produce their evidence and substantiate their succession —we are ready at any time to join issue with them upon that question, or if they decline to adduce the proof of the boasted fact, let them abandon the pretence. One or the other they must

soon do, or they will make themselves a mockery both to Papists and Protestants. They appear at the present moment in the ridiculous position of a man who is undermining his own dwelling, and they must not expect that the reflecting portion even of their own community will go with them. If they subscribe to Rome's apostolicity, let them honestly *submit* to it, and at once quit a church which is built upon private judgment. They are traitors to its cause, and, after eating of its bread, are basely lifting up their heel against it. But if they have not heroism enough to abandon their good livings for the sake of their consciences, at least let them cease to boast of that descent from apostolic men, which can only sharpen the edge of sarcasm against their own degeneracy.

The controversy these men have raised, as originating among professed Protestants, is one of the most short-sighted and absurd that has ever been maintained. History affords no parallel. The whole school, which may properly be denominated Oxonian, are committed to a circle of dilemmas, around which they may be chased at the pleasure of either Catholics or Dissenters, without the possibility of defence or escape. It is impossible, if they mean to preserve their character either for sound reasoning or scriptural theology, that they should remain where they are. They must either be expelled out of the camp of Protestants, and driven over to the enemy, or they must surrender and do mental penance before the Protestant churches. We can assure them that we shall not cease to press this argument against them as often as their crude and ill-considered speculations fall into our hands. Under the name of Protestant ministers they are surrendering the citadel itself to the bitterest and stoutest foes of human liberty and of Christian truth, and yet these are the men who are loudly asserting their exclusive right to educate all the people of these realms. Since these volumes have been in our hands, we perceive that Mr. Maurice has put forth another work, in which this doctrine is boldly asserted in the very title-page. And, indeed, we have a sufficient specimen from these volumes of the kind of instruction which, under such tutelage, would be instilled into the youth of the next generation. Assuredly it becomes all the friends of human improvement, all the champions of civil and religious liberty, to observe that, if this band of ecclesiastical brothers should be allowed to carry out their principles, the Protestantism of the so called national church would not be worth a seven years' purchase.

The times are very peculiar, and the state of the Establishment is becoming every day more ominous. The Popish infection is spreading with a rapidity which astounds us. There must be men of ability and learning in the Church who really understand the principles of Protestantism, and who are able to defend

them. Hitherto little has been done by them to stay the plague. And, indeed, for Churchmen it is both a difficult and an embarrassing conflict, repulsive as a civil war, and ominous as a house divided against itself. It is evident that the brunt of the battle both with the open and the concealed papists must be borne by the Dissenters. They are the only body of Christians that can effectively defend Protestantism at the present moment; and it is refreshing to think they can do it with clean hands and weapons of etherial temper—they will do it cordially and devotedly, as men who know at what a price their fathers before them, and themselves since, have bought the truth, and who will never abandon what they have so dearly purchased.

It may be proper, in drawing our article to a close, to observe, that we have brought before our readers but a very small portion of Mr. Maurice's work, though we have made them acquainted with his general theory. We could find ample materials for comment, both in his extraordinary efforts to amalgamate all the conflicting doctrines which are taught in his church into one whole, and in his attempts to persuade his readers that the Church of England enjoys a happy unity. With his eyes open to those irreconcileable diversities of theological opinion which its various teachers maintain, he yet contrives to eulogize it as the very queen of churches, the pattern of Christian unity, and of apostolic truth and purity; though, upon his own showing, it is split into the most hostile factions, which strenuously denounce one another in their writings and preachings, but notwithstanding all, contrive somehow to form a phalanx for the defence of that in which all have a *tender* interest, and for which all cherish a filial affection. It is scarcely within our province to speculate on the mysterious power which keeps this Noah's ark of clean and unclean beasts, birds that fly and reptiles that creep, all in one society, we cannot say harmonious, but nevertheless all under the enchantment of one word—*the Church.* Is it that every one is endowed with that special instinct which made even the animals discover the place of safety, and subdued their mutual antipathies in a time of common danger, while each illustrated the memorable saying, for ought we know derived from this very fact, that self-preservation is the first law of nature? On these matters we will affirm nothing, but leave our readers to their own musings, while, in brief, we state that our author proceeds to derive even his doctrine and scheme of a State from his doctrine and scheme of the Church. Of course he must defend the connexion or alliance, and assuredly he does it, in a line of argument that would have procured him a cardinal's cap at Rome, and will undoubtedly make him an archbishop if he should live to see his principles in the ascendant. The Church is essentially above the state, and prior to it, and priests consequently are above kings and legislators.

As God's vicegerents they are apostolically authorized to rule the whole state of man—to hand him to his education after having regenerated him in baptism—then to train him through life by the doctrine and institutions of the catholic church; and finally, in death, the same high functionaries are to deliver him over to the angels, and land him safely in the kingdom of heaven.

Such is in brief the kingdom of Christ according to the model 'which the Rev. F. Maurice, has seen on the high ground of 'that church polity from which he looks down,' &c. On this subject he has composed these volumes, containing above a thousand pages, in which, we will do him the justice to say, he has displayed great ability, ingenuity, and knowledge; but through the whole of which, he must pardon us for saying, he has shown little regard to apostolic simplicity and purity—scarcely any deference to the inspired authority, and scriptural precedents, and has utterly betrayed the cause of his own church, by following out his own 'idea,' or Coleridge's, to the neglect of the Spirit's mind in the Word.

Art. III. 1. *Cataline; or, The Roman Conspiracy. An Historical Drama, in Five Acts.* By JOHN EDMUND READE, Esq. Author of 'Italy,' and the 'Deluge.' Printed for private circulation. London: Saunders and Otley.

2. *Blanche of Navarre; a Play.* By G. P. R. JAMES, Esq. London: Longman and Co.

3. *The Lords of Ellingham; a Drama.* By HENRY SPICER. London: Frazer.

4. *Earl Harold; a Tragedy, in Five Acts.* London; Frazer.

5. *The Spaniard; or, Relvindez and Elzora, a Tragedy; and the Young Country Widow, a Comedy. With three Letters by Dr. Blair; and Thoughts on the Present State of the British Drama, and what seems calculated to improve it.* By SIMON GRAY, Esq. London: Longman and Co.

6. *The Cathedral Bell; a Tragedy, in Five Acts.* By JACOB JONES, Barrister at Law, Author of 'The Stepmother,' &c. &c. &c. London: Miller.

THE Dramatic Copyright Bill, introduced and obtained by Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, has had the natural consequence of turning the attention of authors to this species of composition. The titles placed at the head of this article furnish practical evidence of the fact. There are numerous other announcements; and there is every prospect that, whether nature will second the

act of the legislature or not, in sending originality and power equal to the temptation, the critical world is in danger of being buried under the coming shower of tragedies and comedies, as the Roman damsel was under the shields of the soldiery. Nay, the announcement of Mr. Simon Gray is utterly appalling. It opens up a source of alarm which we had not before regarded. They are not merely the plays which are likely to be written under the forcing influence of this new state of things, that we are to dread ; but the million of old ones which have been written, and for want of success with the managers, have been thrown into corners and piled in dark closets for the last half century. To what this infliction may amount, we may get an inkling from Mr. Gray's own personal revelation. He gravely assures us, in a preliminary letter to R. G. Clarke, Esq., that he has been at work for fifty years, play-writing, and that he has fabricated and has by him no less than 'twenty-one tragedies, of which eleven 'are historical; twenty-eight comedies; a burlesque tragedy; a 'burlesque comedy; a burlesque romantic drama; and two bur- 'lesque operas'—actually fifty-four plays !—the last of which was finished only a few months ago: so that we may fairly expect that this sturdy veteran, this English Lope de Vegaf, has not done yet, but will turn out at least a drama a year, historical, romantic, or burlesque, as long as he lives. Let any reasonable man imagine then the consequence of this dramatic copyright upon these indefatigable playwrights. Out they will start from their literary workshops, each with a freight of new plays, and whether the theatres will have them or not, the critics must. That is what Mr. Simon Gray, not only sallying forth himself, but calling violently upon all his collaborateurs to do the same, loudly advises. 'Under the protection of Sir Edward Bulwer's 'bill, the dramatists should print their dramas.' And, in good faith, they seem to be doing it, whether at the stirring suggestions of Mr. Gray, or at the suggestions of the act itself, we know not, but we foresee that the effect will be serious enough to those who have to read them. Having, however, boldly looked the danger in the face, and given a note of warning to our contemporaries of the already moving dramatic avalanche, we will take a peep at the task we have selected for the purpose. And first, for the Cataline of Mr. Reade.

The conspiracy of Cataline is a subject of such prominent tragic interest, and one that is brought under the cognizance of every man of education in that early period of life when such circumstances seize forcibly on the imagination, that it has been dramatized repeatedly. Crebillon and Voltaire, our own Ben Jonson, and Dr. Croly, have each written a tragedy of Cataline. It was, therefore, a bold and arduous undertaking, to add another to the

splendid lot. Mr. Reade, indeed, says that his absence from England had prevented his being aware of the existence of the Cataline of Croly, or he should not have written this. We are not sorry that such was the case, or we should have lost the satisfaction of reading one of the most powerful tragedies which has issued from the press for many years. We need not bring into comparison the dramas of Crebillon and Voltaire, for they are constructed on the true French model; nor that of Ben Jonson, which, though full of magnificent passages, and altogether worthy of that stout old writer, is not calculated for the general reader; but we are bound to draw some extent of parallel between the Cataline of Dr. Croly and this of Mr. Reade, falling as they do so near to each other in time. The Cataline of Croly is a masterly and gorgeous drama. It has all his accustomed vigour of style, together with a splendour of scenery and poetic imagery equally inseparable from his character of mind. He is not contented with the actual deeds and personages of this famous conspiracy, full as they are of dramatic material; but introduces Hamilcar, a Numidian prince and pretended necromancer, and Aspasia, a Greek prophetess, equally unknown to the text of Sallust and Cicero; with their midnight incantations and conjurings which, though they may add to the wild grandeur of the piece, contribute nothing to the moral effect. He also makes the brutal Cethegus break prison when taken at the same time with Lentulus, Longinus, and Cassius, and makes him figure to the very last, when he actually had been long dead in his prison. These glaring departures from the facts of so well-known a history, without thereby adding any material advantage to the action of the poem, argue a want of skill in the dramatic artist; and in all these particulars Mr. Reade has greatly the superiority. He has adhered most rigidly to the historical acts and actors of the conspiracy, and has shown that in able hands these are abundantly sufficient. Perhaps in the poem of Julius Cæsar he uses more poetical license than is required, and there too, we think, with less than his usual effect; but, on the other hand, instead of introducing a totally fictitious woman, as Dr. Croly has done, as the revealer of the plot, he has employed the really historical personage Fulvia; and by contrasting her noble nature with the worldly ambition of Cæsar, her lover, has produced the highest interest. Nothing can be more beautiful, more Roman, more truly heroic than the character of Fulvia. There is something very attractive in the sketch of the loves of Julius Cæsar yet a mere youth, and full of ambitious aspirings, with that career of fame which he afterwards won, lying before him in the dim and untrodden future, and that of a lovely and pure-hearted maiden like Fulvia, who is a genuine impersonation of virtue and

generous but unbending principle. Who is not carried by it back to his own youth and the image of some one just so glowing in her feelings, so pure in her heart, so lofty and angelic in her nature? The picture is one of those visions of the past—those sunshiny scenes lying in the heaven of early life, while the heart was uncorrupted, and the feelings unseared by the world, and when love and beauty hovered in seraph shapes and lineaments around him, to which every better nature turns instinctively when he would look up for images of felicity and unstained purity. Fulvia has had intimations that Cæsar is entangled with the conspirators, and charges him with it. He endeavours to ward off her inquiries by pleasant raillery;—she replies:—

> Cæsar is mocking me, but I am patient:
> He may demean himself in his own eyes;
> It is the moody pastime of high minds
> In bitterness of spleen, or discontent.
> Let others dare attempt it, and the man
> Starts up at once, and shows his proper nature.

CÆSAR.

> Aye, thou would'st have me always equable:
> Why, the least virtue that becomes a man
> Is his humanity! his fellow-feeling
> For sympathies familiar with his own.
> Let Cato eat his crust i' the dark: let me
> Feast with a set of hungry rogues around me,
> And hear their shouts—they're honest for the time!
> If I have made them happy, why, I feel
> The wiser, aye, and better man o' the two!
> Nay, if I please thee more, I'll ape the stoic:
> Look wise and solemn, and walk clothed in rags
> Shaming the modesty of nature; grudge
> My sharp-edged bones the wretched aliment
> That keeps my life together; and scorn all
> Whose ribs are fatter than my own! a crust—
> A wretch whose boast is never to have smiled.
> A dry anatomy; still mumbling out
> Beneath a prickly bush of unshorn beard
> Sophisms as base and meagre as his tones!
> Or I'll be Cicero, and scratch my head
> To rouse my wisdom! then in their sharp voice,
> Pipe out the deeds of Grecian heroes; borrow
> Their wits and sell them as my own; then listen
> To my own hired applause.

FULVIA.

Cæsar may run
His wits unreined, his own heart best will tell him
Virtue cannot be lowered by the jester !
The illustrious dwell apart, like stars ;* and shed
One influence down, and make men what they are.
Thou dost deny thyself debasing them :
Breathes there in Rome a more aspiring mind
Than Cæsar's ?—

As Cæsar still endeavours to run beside the mark, she earnestly exclaims—

Oh ! to the honorable heights of fame
There are two paths : the one is crooked and forced
Over impediments and through dark scenes,
And covert ways from which the light recoils :—
The other is broad and open as the day !
The sun lies on it, and the eyes of men
Watch him, the fortunate, who climbs up there
His way rejoicingly ! each step is hailed
By the applause of the world, until
The last is won, when he is mingled with
The Mighty and the Good who went before :
Whose spirits joined and pointed him the way !

She draws in vivid contrast the characters of Pompey and Cataline, and adds—

Oh !
How galling to the noble mind is low
Dissimulation ! how indignantly
It writhes beneath the fetters which it scorns !
Burning to cast them off, yet still withheld
From very shame of having stooped to wear them !
These are the last throbs of expiring virtue,
That hardens then to apathy. Oh, what
A spectacle for love to contemplate !
Cæsar ! make me thy glass—and see thyself :
And whilst thou stand'st irresolute, let love,
The love thou hadst for Fulvia—turn the scale.
Can love exist without respect ? Ah ! no :
Twins of the heart, they are born and die together.

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* By the way, this line treads too closely on the heels of that of Wordsworth on Milton—

'Thy soul was like a star, and dwelt apart.'
—Wordsworth's Poetical Works, vol. iii. p. 140.

CÆSAR.

Thou hast prevailed, —I will disclose thee all.

The character of Fulvia is nobly sustained throughout the tragedy. She obtains full knowledge of the conspiracy, and hastens to apprize Cicero. It is midnight, but she gains admittance to his presence, and when Cicero bids her rest, she exclaims—

Rest! This is no time for *rest!*
Rome is on fire—I say Rome is on fire!
The fire is lit which shall consume, and cast
Her very ashes to the winds! She sleeps
On her past fame—awake her, Cicero!
Her life's in danger—Vengeance stands above her,
The steel is gleaming at her naked heart;
And they will strike—strike home ere thou canst save her!
Hark! as I hurried through the streets, there was
One followed—I—I *felt* the wretch behind me!
I dared not turn to look him in the face.

CICERO.

Thou art distraught; some spectacle thou hast seen
Dost fright thy mind from its propriety.

FULVIA.

I saw the very house where they were met!
'Twas Lecca's, in the Appian way. I looked
Between the doors, and saw them—aye, I say
I *saw* them at their most infernal rites!
They gathered round an altar. On it lay
A sacrifice, and, by the fitful fire,
I saw the lifeless wretch whom they had butchered!
One stood above them all pre-eminent:
O well I knew by the decaying flame
That livid face! distorted as it was
By all the passions that transform the man
Into the demon! In one hand he held
A naked sword; it reeked with human blood!
The other raised a goblet;—it was full
With what I dare not guess:—he raised it high,
And shook his steel above his head, and called them
To pledge themselves with most unheard of oaths,
To swear their country's ruin; and—they drank!
(Cicero supports her from falling.)

CICERO.

Immortal Gods! can Cataline—

FULVIA.

Aye, *he!*—
His name stuck in my throat—I could not speak it.

The scene in the hall of the house of Lecca, where the conspirators are again met at midnight, is finely conceived, and would tell strongly on the stage. Cæsar, thunderstruck at the horrid designs disclosed, when the brutal Cethegus says,

We must fire all the city, and spare none :
Lest we be overpowered in the streets.

exclaims

What ! wouldst thou make a slaughter-house of Rome ?
A scene of indiscriminate butchery ?
Shall rape and murder be let loose ? shall Ate
Ride through our streets unreined ? or, are we Gauls ?
What have our mothers, wives, and daughters done
To be subjected to such horrors ? Romans !
Can we dare call ourselves by that high name ?
No, by the gods ! We have sworn to cleanse the state :
To be her patriots : not common butchers
I am a Roman with a Roman's heart !
And if my country falls will not survive her.
If we're not met for one great purpose ;—if
Oaths solemnly pledged are nothing ;—if our honour
Must be forgot !—if hollow treachery
Sits in our councils ;—then let every man,
Like me, throw down his dagger, and depart !
(Going, Cataline stays him.)

Cethegus rushes upon Cæsar to kill him. Fulvia *interposes, advancing from behind the altar's recess.*

Forbear !

CATALINE.

What form is this that rises from
The statue of the God ?

CRASSUS.

And hath o'erheard—

CETHEGUS.

Thou diest !

(*Fulvia unfolds her mantle.*)

FULVIA.

Strike !

CATALINE.

Hold—hold—a woman !

CÆSAR.

Fulvia !

FULVIA.

Strike !—I have lived too long. Conspiracy !
How poor a thing thou art, when thy armed councils
Are frighted at the voice of one weak woman !
Where is the virtue that should make ye bold ?
I came among ye, guided by the gods,
For *I* too have a duty to perform ;
Point not your swords at me, for I am wound
Up to a pitch of desperate resolution
That turns them into straws ! My life is *here,*
Kill me—but touch not him—I come to claim him :

(Placing her arm within Cæsar's.)

For he holds nought in common with those who
Have sworn their country's downfall ! Fear us not :
The gods have chosen higher instruments
Than me, to save her in her peril—Hark ! (*Thunder.*)
Hark—how they answer from their clouds !—Come, Cæsar.

We think we have sufficiently shown, meagre and mutilated as our extracts necessarily are, that the author of 'Italy' has in this tragedy risen even above his former self. Cataline is full of finely drawn characters, striking scenes, and the most noble sentiments. It has all the classic grace and purity of Ion, with that fiery energy of style in which Ion is wanting. Cataline's desperation, Cethegus's butcher's thirst for blood, the sly cunning and avarice of Crassus, and the glorious intellect, wisdom, and consuming eloquence of Cicero, are all painted in colours of force and enthusiasm deserving of the subject. The speeches are short, pithy, and every way adapted to speaking. The language is not the echo of a past age merely because that age was dramatic, but is the living language of the present, strong as the feeling and fervid as the passions of the day. Mr. Reade has wisely adhered, as closely as the rules of the drama will permit, to the very progress of the historic events, and the language of the different parties as given by Sallust and Cicero. The whole of the grand scene in the Senate, where Cicero embodies in himself the finest image of the consummate statesman, the devoted patriot, and the triumphant orator, to be found on the face of all history, is most admirably given, and brings back the entrancing sense of wonder, ardour, and breathless admiration with which we first read Cicero's own orations against Cataline. We must be pardoned for giving one more extract,—a portion of this scene—

Enter CATALINE.

CÆSAR (*aside to Crassus*).

Resolve sits on his brow: now, if he conquer,
All the patricians join him to a man.

(Cataline takes his seat by Cato, who rises and passes over to the other side.)

CATO.

Let those sit by thee who uphold thee: Cato
Sides with his country and with virtue!

CATALINE.

How
Is this grave Father? ye look coldly on me,
And half distrustfully. Have I done aught
To merit your reproof?—if so advise me.

CICERO (*rising impetuously*).

What! dar'st thou enter in the Senate-house?
Dost thou not blush, atrocious Cataline?
Or ebbs thy blood back to thy frighted heart,
That thou dost look so pale? Darest thou insult
Our patience? Whither does thy madness tend?
Have not the city-guards—the troops drawn out—
The ancient senate—the averted looks
Of all good men—appalled thee? Knowest thou not,
Barefaced assassin!—what all here know, dared
They speak out—thy plot to fire the city?
To slaughter all of us—my life the first—
Worthless; yet not so: for the gods have saved me
To be the worker of thy ruin! *There*—
There sits the man who hath planned out your murders.
His camp's in Italy—his troops are arming
Under your eyes; and yet he lives! Oh! age,
And manners! this the Senate knows: and still
HE LIVES!—*lives* did I say?—He comes among us;
And with his wolfish eye marks out each man
For his particular slaughter! while we think
We've done enough if we avoid his strokes,
And make them straws. I see ye are moved, grave Fathers!
Let him stand forth; and, if he can, dare shame
The heart of falsehood by denying me!

But we must not go on. The whole Senate is thrown into commotion; and Cataline finding every thing go against him, makes a hasty retreat, first throwing off his robes, and showing himself completely armed, and bellowing forth—

> Away! or I will cut ye down like sheep:—
> Look—I am War!—as I throw off these robes,
> And stand forth free, and armed with my good sword!
> So will I hurl on ye the plagues of war!
> So will I cast ye to the dust, ye bondsmen!
> Who cling round and encumber Freedom's limbs.

Mr. G. P. R. James is one of the most prolific and indefatigable writers of the age; but he is at the same time one of the most sterling and soundhearted. A single sentence in one of his recently published works, may indicate sufficiently what are his views of the present morbid craving for the exploits of thieves and murderers; 'I consider it an insult to virtue to make vice 'attractive.' It is upon this principle that the present drama, 'Blanche of Navarre,' is written, and from this it derives not the least of its merits. We are always glad to applaud the sentiments of an honest and conscientious writer, and the pleasure is doubled when the talent displayed is equal to the virtue. Both these recommendations are combined in Blanche of Navarre. It is written with great spirit, great felicity of style, and nobility of sentiment, which warms and animates the heart of the reader as he proceeds. The story is simply this. Philip, king of Navarre, has married Isabel, of Valois, who is just on the point of arriving at his palace with her attendants—the king and his sister, the princess Blanche, have been brought up together, and are strongly attached; Blanche is not only beautiful, but of a thoroughly beautiful and excellent nature; she is full of a noble simplicity and true womanly affection. Isabel arrives, a princely, gay, and fascinating woman, but at the same time ambitious, imperious, and of the most violent passions. In her suite is Francis, Count of Foix, a gay gallant, who prides himself on his favour with the ladies. He offends the Navarrese nobles by the light strain in which he speaks of their favorite princess, is challenged by one of them, and seriously wounded. This, and what he sees further of Blanche, brings him to his senses. By the beauty of her character, and the charms of her conversation, he becomes an altered man. He soon gives proofs of the total change of his sentiments, and seeks to win the affections of Blanche. This is gall and wormwood to Queen Isabel, who is only too much attached to him herself. She instigates the king against Blanche, who is confined to the Castle of Llanora. The Count, however, succeeds in liberating her, and they fly to France, but are overtaken by the Navarrese troops, they fight, Blanche escapes into France, but the Count, uncertain of fate, returns into Navarre, in the very face of his enemies, is taken, and condemned to die for high treason. In the mean time, Blanche, who has heard of his ill fortune, has obtained an escort from the king of France, and with an effectual remonstrance from that monarch, arrives just in time to save his head.

Such is a bare outline of the incidents; but the working of them out, the development of the characters, and the vigour and vivacity of the dialogue, are all worthy of Mr. James's fame. It is not by particular passages that the merit of this drama can be shown, but we may select a passage or two of poetical beauty or heroic sentiment. This is a lively picture of a busy square in a gay city:—

> In my tower
> There is a latticed window, looking forth
> On the great square, where figures to and fro
> Flit in gay garbs, like phantoms in a dream;
> Proud cavaliers, bright women in their veils,
> And archnecked horses striking the dull ground,
> Impetuous fire and proud obedience mingling;
> While ever and anon some sober friar
> Walks slow across, with russet gown, bare feet,
> And eyes that steal a twinkling glance askance
> At the brown girls, who from the Arga's shore,
> Bear up the well-bleached linen; while the beggar,
> Stands by the cross, drinking the mountain air,
> Feeding on sunshine, and content to have
> What God gives freely, scarce importunes man.—p. 37.

The feeling excited by a multitude is here as fine as the sketch of the multitude was graphic.

> The multitude! I love the multitude,
> To gaze upon them in their holiday,
> And think, though fate and fortune are resolved
> I on another stage should move from them,
> There is not one that passes 'neath mine eyes,
> Who has not some affections in his breast—
> Hope, fear, love, sorrow, care, the thoughts of home,
> Kind feelings, aspirations sweet, regrets,
> Ay, noble thoughts, too, and ingenuous pride
> That claims a kindred with my heart, and warm
> In me the drop of Adam's blood that still
> Lingers in veins of nations numberless,
> And makes mankind all brothers.—Here we're well.—p. 55.

The Lords of Ellingham is a tragedy founded on the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Cobham, and others on a charge of high treason, in the reign of James I. We believe the author, Mr. Spicer, is a young man, and this drama, as a first production, does him great honour. It abounds with talent which time and experience may ripen into great power. It everywhere exhibits a highly poetical mind, and a flowing, and often nervous style; but the language wants condensation, and variety of cadence. In going through the play you become sensible of a

monotonous cast of sentences that clogs on the ear. But the most fatal blemish to the work is that of making Edith, the lovely and high-souled wife of Latymer, yield to the scoundrel Laureney, even though it were with the weak hope of saving her husband's life. It is a circumstance which at once sinks the heroine in our estimation, revolts every feeling of our minds, and all sense of poetical justice. Had the author tried the virtue of Edith to the utmost, and made Latymer, her husband, rush in while she yet stood triumphant, even though both he and she had fallen in the affray, how much would the admiration and sympathy of the reader have been raised. Nevertheless, there is a great descriptive power displayed in these very scenes. There is a fearful grandeur in the description of this fallen woman as seen by the dwarf Garagantua through the hall window, amid the base associates of her seducer.

> A banquet board is spread—
> Rich fruit, and luscious wine that lure men's brain
> To most delightful madness. There are met
> The boisterous bully and the rough-tongued squire ;—
> Glib sycophants, and cringing slaves that lack
> The courage to be villains too—but tamed
> And fangless serpents, kept innoxious by
> Some master villain's hand. There is, there is,
> *One woman there*—in crimson robes and gold ;
> Mine eyes devour her beauty, yet can scarce
> Endure its fierceness, and her cheeks' fever seems
> To scorch the white plumes drooping from her brow ;
> Her eyes flashed fearful lustre ! She looks up !
> O God ! mine own are seared !
> * * * *
> They bring a harp—
> ('Tis that which Dudley gave !) Oh, Ethelind !
> What feeling bids them tax that swelling heart
> To make them music ? Look, she puts it by.
> Now rises the tormentor, with soft step
> He steals behind her chair, he whispers words
> Of soothing mockery—makes strange signs—
> He quells her with his fiendish eye ! Ha ! now
> She takes the harp again. Man ! 'tis in vain ;
> She cannot do thy will. With livid cheek
> She turns to him, and murmurs words which call
> The color to his brow. He lifts his hand—
> Great God ! he will not strike her ! he's a man,
> And men are round him ! Cowards, cowards, look !
> Have ye no hearts ? pp. 113—115.

Earl Harold is a tragedy indeed. He is a nobleman who murders his brother and his brother's wife, and attempts the life

of their infant, to seize on their titles and estates, and then is haunted by the ghosts of remorse. There is no want of ability about it, but it is too full of horrors and darkness, and storms and murders for our taste. The admirers of Jack Sheppard may notwithstanding find charms in it.

But what shall we say to Mr. Jacob Jones and his Cathedral Bell. Here is a learned Barrister at Law, who styles himself author of 'the Stepmother,' of 'Longinus, or the fall of Pal-'myra,' of 'Spartacus, or the Roman Gladiator,' tragedies in five acts; of 'the Anglo-Polish Harp,' and other works; and who has whole pages of eulogistic extracts from many of our critical journals, and some of them of high standing, yet who, according to his own account, has been for these twenty years endeavouring in vain to get one of his tragedies produced on the boards of a leading theatre. With such a host of recommendations we dare say he deems it strange that he should not find as much favour at the hands of the managers as another learned gentleman. Without pretending to decide what may be the actual merit of Mr. Jones's other much-lauded performances, we must say that if they at all resemble the one before us, the kindest thing which the critics could have done, would, long ago, have been to recommend him to burn his dramas and give all his energy to his briefs. A greater medley of improbabilities and caricatures of men and women it has not often been our lot to read; but that Mr. Jones may not class us with those 'few 'critics,' who, he says, have attempted to crush him without a sample of his style, we will give a sample.

> 1*st Guard.* Out on your leavings!
> 2*nd Guard.* Cast them to the swine.
> 1*st Veteran.* Pearls, at your service!
> 2*nd Veteran.* Devils drive your kin.
> 1*st Guard.* For such old bones we young ones are held cheap!
> Their gums are toothless. —p. 4.

There are whole pages of such dialogues; even the daughter of the governor of Saragossa scolds her lover at the city gate like a fishwoman.

> *Octavia.* My brother shall be saved. To bed! to bed!
> Lover, forsooth! a dastard, and no man!
> *Ricardos.* In! in!
> *Octavia.* Valour! to bed!
> *Attendant.* Follow, Sir Porcupine, and be our knight!
> *(Hunching up her shoulders.)*
> *Octavia.* If foes pursue us, 'tis his back will fight.
> —pp. 50—1.

We had nearly omitted to mention the dramas of Mr. Simon Gray, and can now only add that they have much merit of an old-fashioned sort; such as would have commanded both tears and laughter half a century ago. There are also many very sensible remarks in his volume on the present state of the drama, and on the means of improving it. We agree with him that great reforms are needed, but we cannot indulge the hope of our theatres ever becoming a school of morals. Were they to be so far purified they would lose the patronage of their present supporters, without obtaining compensatory favor from any other class.

Art. IV. *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D., F.R.S., M.R.A.S., Member of the Society Asiatique of Paris, &c. Compiled by his Widow, with critical Notices of his Chinese works, by Samuel Kidd. And an Appendix containing original Documents.* 2 vols. London: Longman and Co. 1839.

RECENT circumstances have tended to force upon the English nation an acquaintance with the people of China. The enterprise of missionaries had led the way. Gutzlaff and Medhurst were useful pioneers; and Davis has given, in popular form, what was known only to the scholar. The Catholic missionaries in former times; and in latter times, De Guignes and Goguet, Ramusat and Klaproth, had communicated to the savants of the continent, what Sir George Staunton, Mr. Barrow, and Dr. Leyden laid before the wealthy and erudite of England. But except in libraries of the rich, or the halls of colleges, such works were inaccessible to the general reader; while the missionary character of Gutzlaff and Medhurst's writings may have attached to them the *patois* of the conventicle, or the savour of Methodism, in the esteem of the literary world. Biography has now, however, become the coadjutor of history; a sort of common stream in the field of knowledge. The memoirs of one who was the friend and correspondent of Sir G. Staunton, and was well entitled to rank as the Anglo-Chinese Lexicographer, will scarcely fail to give a diffusive interest to the affairs of China, and a desire for an acquaintance with the condition of her people.

We hail every symptom of a growing intercourse, or increasing sympathy, between the nations of the eastern and western hemispheres; yet we must not hastily conclude that our intelligence is correct, or that we are competent to form a just and satisfactory estimate of the character of the Chinese people. It will be necessary to travel among them without retinue, or guards, or official eclat; speaking their language without interpreters, read-

ing their books without glossaries, and mingling in their domestic circles, with all varieties of rank and condition, before we can duly appreciate the character and genius of the people, or their position in the scale of nations. It is not otherwise that we can escape partiality or prejudice, or have a full and fair representation, in our estimate of so great an empire. 'Novelty,' it is said, 'is 'sure either to magnify or diminish the objects with which it is 'associated;' and the sight of strange manners tempts the beholder either to despise them, because they differ from his own, or to regard them as incomparably superior. It is only by repeated investigations and comparisons, that even a patient student of human character will ascertain how far a first sight may have deceived, and how much must be blotted out.

Dr. Morrison, after almost thirty years' experience, and with no inclination to reproach the Chinese, represents them as 'un-'feeling, inhuman, and cruel;' 'dishonoring the seat of justice 'by magisterial commands, to slap a witness's face till the cheek 'swells, the skin breaks and bleeds, or the teeth are knocked out 'of the jaw; and to lay upon the ground an accused person, 'whose guilt is unproved, to be flogged with a bamboo; while 'females are tortured, their fingers and ankles being squeezed 'till they confess.' He speaks of their 'superstition in visiting 'the sick and diseased with cruelty and outrage, as well as neg-'lect; expelling them from their habitation, and excluding mul-'titudes of lepers from the comforts of social intercourse, the 'means of recovery, and the opportunity of working for their 'bread.' 'The religious rites, &c., of the Chinese,' he declares, 'are ridiculous and cumbrous. They have in one street or an-'other, and to one demon or another, perpetually, splendid illu-'minations, music, theatrical performances, in presence of their 'idols; repasts of fruits and wine, and cakes, and fowls, and 'roasted pigs, &c., placed before them, with the burning of can-'dles, small sticks, paper, and fire-works. I have seen them 'prostrate themselves to the full orbed moon, pour out libations 'and presents of fruit to her. The detail would be endless.' He represents their conduct to strangers and visitors from other lands as exhibiting 'the worst features of character, and the lowest 'degree of civilization:' 'the most debasing selfishness.' So remiss in government, as not to 'give the protection of laws, and 'so unjust, as to apply all law and power to ruin an accused 'stranger;' they carry on 'real tyranny and oppression under 'the semblance of justice;' and 'conceal a slow, grinding, and 'galling torture, under the guise of government;' unable to repress robberies, and the excursions of banditti, they insult visitors by styling them to 'their face, barbarians, demons, official liars, 'and plunderers, rude brutes, and foreign devils.' The miserable inefficiency of their police, or their destitution of all civic economy,

often expose the lives and property of their people to destruction; they have exhibited in such times of privation and suffering, 'a character the very opposite of generous and disinterested; 'no aid has been afforded even to natives ruined by fire, selfishness restraining them from united efforts and partial sacrifices; 'but to Europeans burnt out, and left houseless and fasting, none 'of the Hong merchants, who had often experienced their friendship, and had themselves escaped the fire, having houses and 'warehouses of their own still standing, volunteered a night's 'lodging, or a single meal. They were Fan-kwei (foreign devils) 'to whom it was left first to solicit assistance before it should be 'afforded, by the civilized Chinese' (vol. i. pp. 163, 164; vol. ii. pp. 7—39, of the Appendix).

To this people Dr. Morrison was the first Protestant missionary; and in this character was sent forth from British Christians, when there were neither grammars nor lexicons suited to the English scholar, and when only fragments of a manuscript translation of the New Testament existed in the language of China. The youngest son of James Morrison, an industrious, pious, and honest tradesman, who had removed from Dunfermline, his native town, to Northumberland, his birth took place near Morpeth, in January, 1782: but the family went to reside in Newcastle, in 1785, where the early years of young Morrison were spent. The subject of this memoir enjoyed the affectionate instruction of a maternal uncle in the pursuit of elementary learning; and was, by the catechetical exercises of their family pastor, the Rev. J. Hutton, led on in the study of the Scripture. Under the direction of this good man, the pupil exhibited an instance of persevering application, which gave promise of future success. When in his thirteenth year, he repeated one evening the whole of the 119th Psalm, Scottish version. Describing the state of his mind when subdued to the power of divine truth (about fifteen years of age), he makes no display of a presumptuous or self-righteous spirit.

'I was much awakened to a sense of sin, though I cannot recollect any particular circumstance which led to it, unless it were that at that time I grew somewhat loose and profane; and more than once being drawn aside by wicked company (even at that early time of life), I became intoxicated. Reflection upon my conduct became a source of much uneasiness to me, and I was brought to a serious concern about my soul. I felt the dread of eternal damnation. The fear of death compassed me about, and I was led to cry mightily to God, that he would pardon my sin, that he would grant me an interest in the Saviour, and that he would renew me in the spirit of my mind. Sin became a burden. It was then that I experienced a change of life, and I trust a change of heart too. I broke off from my former careless companions, and gave myself to reading, to meditation, and to prayer. It pleased God to reveal his Son in me, and at that time I

experienced much of 'the kindness of youth, and the love of espousals;' and though the first flash of affection wore off, I trust my love to, and knowledge of the Saviour, have increased.' Vol. i. p. 53.

The early years of Robert Morrison were not passed in idleness or affluence. He wrought as his father's apprentice,—when his hours of labor were often from six o'clock in the morning till eight at night. But even then he eagerly snatched hours before as well as after the time spent in daily work, for reading, meditation, and prayer. To secure a larger portion of quiet in his retirement, his bed was removed to the workshop, where he often pursued his studies till one or two o'clock in the morning. It is one of the latest associations recorded of his pious and tender mind, how much delight he thus enjoyed. With what genuine pleasure he seems to refer to this scene in one of his last letters:

'For the fond recollections of our childhood do not depend upon the superiority of the place in which it was spent; nor even the circumstances of affluence or poverty. It is the time of life that gives the charm; whether riding on a five-bar gate or in a royal carriage. The happiest abode (so far as *house* goes) was my father's workshop, swept clean by my own hands of a Saturday evening, and dedicated to prayer and meditation on the Sunday. There was my bed, and there was my study. So I dare say my beloved son Robert,' &c. Vol. ii. p. 523.

To add to his facilities for growing in knowledge, he contrived throughout the day, while his hands were busied in the labours of this life, to feed his mind by placing open before him the Bible, or some other book. His hours of recreation, which were not devoted to visits of mercy among the sick or ignorant, were spent in a little garden, which he had consecrated to study, and devout communion. While he diligently occupied the hours of the sacred day in religious exercises, he gladly embraced seasons of Christian fellowship, on week evenings, with others who were like-minded: their place of resort was his father's workshop. By a journal which he has left, we can mark the first cravings of his mind for knowledge. 'I have adopted,' he writes, 'a number of studies—botany, and some other things; I do not 'know but it would be better to study my Bible.' And again, 'Much profit is to be had from reading the Scriptures at my 'work. O Lord, incline my heart to thy testimonies!' Owen's Life, Romaine's Sermons, Henry's Exposition, Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Marshall on Sanctification, Hervey's works, and the Evangelical Magazine, were the frequent companions of his retirement.

'Friday, June 19, 1801. This day I entered with Mr. Laidler to learn Latin. I paid ten shillings and sixpence, the entrance money, and

am to pay one guinea per quarter. I know not what may be the end; God only knows. It is my desire, if he please to spare me in the world, to serve the gospel of Christ as he shall give opportunity. O Lord my God, my whole hope is in thee, and in thee alone. Lord, be merciful to me a sinner, through Christ my Saviour; and grant thy blessing with this attempt, if it please thee. Amen.'

His biographer observes—

'It is plain from this extract, that he now seriously contemplated the work of the ministry; and from what he subsequently stated, his eye was directed to the missionary service. He knew not how it was to be brought about, nor whether the object would ever be gained; but his heart was set upon it, and he gave himself to this course of study as a preliminary and preparatory step. The expense was to be saved out of his earnings; his manual labor, therefore, could not be diminished. Accordingly, he still went to work at six o'clock in the morning, and continued until the same hour, and not unfrequently to a later one in the evening. He attended Mr. Laidler between the hours of nine and ten in the morning, and redeemed from sleep the time that was necessary for carrying on his studies. His very meals were so arranged, as to afford opportunity for study. As might be expected, his proficiency corresponded with his ardor and perseverance. His love of learning was great, and no difficulties could discourage him; but the love of souls was his grand motive.' Vol. i. p. 20, 21.

His tutor perceived the character of the pupil, and encouraged his desire for the ministry. Difficulties however for a while interposed. After the death of his mother, who loved him so ardently as to be unable to anticipate his removal to a distant place, and to whom he was most fondly attached, he felt released from restraint, and cherished more ardently his desire for occupation in the work of the ministry. The following is his record for September 25, 1802.

'This day I wrote to ——, desiring to know something respecting the Hoxton Academy. What shall I say on this day now closing? O Lord, pardon my sins, and make me thine in that day when thou makest up thy jewels; in that day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ. 'Have faith in Jehovah with thy whole mind, but lean not to thine own understanding.' 'In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he will direct thy paths,' &c.'

On the 10th of January, 1803, the third day after his admission to the Academy, now styled Highbury College, he thus writes his pious breathings—

'I lament my coldness in spiritual things, and as, O heavenly Father, I have made an entrance on this work, namely, a design of

preaching Christ to poor fallen sinners, and thou by thy good providence hast been pleased to ordain it thus, I desire to leave all things, that I may now devote my time and talents to this blessed work. I pray that I may be sensible of my own weakness, and fully aware of the necessity of thy presence and the teaching of thine Holy Spirit. O give me insight and discernment into the deceitfulness of my own heart; and impress upon mine own mind a feeling sense of the infinite weight and importance of those things which thou hast been pleased to reveal in thy blessed word. O may my heart tremble at thy word; and do thou make me fully sensible,—make me to know and to feel in my own mind a lively and affecting sense of thy goodness and of thy love, O God my Saviour. O God my Saviour, if I should ever venture—if ever I should be honored to open my mouth to speak forth thine 'unsearchable riches,' make me to know and apprehend thy worth in some measure. And, oh! may I be able to show to my poor fellow sinners those things which thou mayest be pleased to show unto me. O enkindle within me an ardent love of souls. Enable me to do all things for the elect's sakes, that they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory. O Lord, I humbly desire, if thou seest meet to spare me, and to preserve me, to peruse and to meditate on thy word throughout. Lord, I desire to submit all my pursuits unto thee. Be with me for good, I humbly entreat thee. Amen.'—Vol. i. pp. 33, 34, 50, 51.

We have extracted these passages both to develop the character of Dr. Morrison's piety; the fervour of which continued throughout his whole career rather to increase than abate; and also to evince the basis of his future eminence and success as a scholar and as a missionary. The secret of his application, of his unswerving fidelity, his tenacity of purpose, and crowning triumphs in the achievement of his plans will be found in his devotedness to God, and his simple and disinterested consecration to the cause of Christ among the heathen. The work before us is replete with convincing proofs of holy and fervent zeal, of enlightened and spiritual enthusiasm, of prayerful and humble diligence in his great work, whether as a student of a pagan language, as a lexicographer of the most difficult of human tongues, as a translator of the sacred oracles, or as a preacher of the everlasting gospel of Jesus Christ. From some cause, we cannot tell what, we had been wont to contemplate Dr. Morrison, at a distance, as reserved, of a haughty carriage, and censorious disposition. That his isolated position in the field of missions, his solitary and often resisted intercourse with the jealous and haughty Chinese, and his connexion with a dominant and arrogating monopoly, the East India Company, would have engendered within him a characteristic hauteur and a punctilious observance of etiquette, might have been deemed not unlikely; while a naturally independent and ingenuous mind, and his ability to act without being burdensome

to the religious bodies with which he co-operated, might give his communications the aspect and tone of a counsellor rather than of a dependant, of an equal rather than of a servant, and warrant him in a 'parting memorial,' to give cautions, and to speak not as one who held men's persons in admiration because of advantage; as a faithful frend and monitor rather than as a parasitical flatterer, or one who would prophecy smooth things. Yet we think none will peruse this affectionate record of his worth and labors without deriving the most favorable impression of Dr. Morrison's excellency, humility, and Christian integrity. The widow of the deceased has succeeded in developing her husband's character by a copious use of his own manuscripts. From his journals, and letters, and missionary documents, she has made him his own biographer. We have been admitted into the privacy of his heart; the confidential whisperings of his soul, in communion with God; and the ardent longings of his affection toward his kindred in correspondence or in diaries. These have, without violating propriety, been made the medium of our intercourse, and we have had all the familiarity of a privileged person till we can truly say, our intimacy has produced the most sincere friendship, unfeigned admiration, and a love to the man as a Christian, and to his work as the cause of God and truth.

The memoir presents voluminous materials chronologically arranged and connected by judicious and just observations. A severe critic would require greater condensation and less repetition; would reject not a few unimportant papers, and express only the substance of many others; and would have desired more information from the Chinese Interpreter and Secretary to the British Factory at Canton, concerning the inhabitants, the religion, the manners and political relations of the people, of China. Yet we have the highest satisfaction in commending the work, and applauding the affectionate solicitude which pervades it. The essay of Professor Kidd is the production of a thorough Chinese scholar, an able critic, and a discriminating judge. His description of the language and varied contents of Dr. Morrison's dictionary, his illustrations of the spirit and style of his Biblical translations, and his philosophical observations on the symbols of the Chinese, are of the greatest value. They lead us only to regret that a Christian linguist of such talents and attainments should have been unfitted by his too zealous discharge of missionary and collegiate duties at Malacca, for a longer residence among the multitudes of Chinese, to whom his labours would have been of the greatest utility. Had the lives and co-operation of such men as Morrison, Milne, and Kidd, been prolonged, what might we not have anticipated in the work and service of the gospel among the people of China! At least so would short-sighted man think and say—but God giveth none account of his

ways, while his thoughts are not as our thoughts, nor his ways as our ways; nevertheless we may rest assured that he is righteous, and will ultimately justify himself. From this digression we return.

Dr. M. exerted himself not only as a student, in which character Dr. Payne represents him as 'laboring literally night and day,' that he might overtake his senior fellow students, but he also eagerly sought, and soon found opportunities to pursue his favorite work of visiting the sick poor. The future missionary preached his first sermon in St. Luke's workhouse, and in reference to it at a subsequent period he said, 'I remember shedding, in secret, tears of joy, when with 'feelings of deep responsibility I was sent for the first time to 'preach concerning Jesus to the poor people in Luke's work-'house.' In similar engagements he found continued pleasure while he remained in England. But another sphere was gradually unfolding to the vision and aspirations of the student, and he committed his way to God in fervent prayer.

The workings of such a mind at a crisis like this, when clearly defined, are fitted both to instruct and please. Speaking of the time when the inclination was first cherished, and which afterwards acquired such strength that he said 'I am afraid I should 'weep for the omission when about to die, should I shun the 'work,' he states in a letter to Dr. Waugh,

'It was then I formed the design of engaging as a missionary. I can scarcely call it a design; it was only a wish—an ardent desire. I indulged it though I saw no probability of ever having it fulfilled. I was then in an obscure situation, nearly three hundred miles from town, and had no one to encourage nor second me. For a long time I thought of it; the crying necessity for missionaries dwelt upon my mind; I prayed to the Lord to dispose me to that which was well pleasing in his sight, and, if agreeable to his will, to fulfil the desires of my heart. I conceived that nothing was to be done without learning; I therefore saved a little money from what my father gave me, to pay a teacher of Latin, which I learned in the mornings before six o'clock, and in the evenings after seven or eight.'

After his admission to Hoxton as a student, the intensity of his desire to become a messenger to the heathen increased.

'This was the burden of my prayer. I avowed this design to my friends. I knew nothing of a missionary academy. Since I came here I have had my thoughts less or more set upon the same subject: I hope it is of the Lord. I am stating these things, sir, not as if I were striving to gain a point, but as matters of fact, that you and the gentlemen of the committee, may be better able to judge in this matter. I have at Hoxton prayed sometimes about it, conversed with a confidential fellow student on it, and often written to my friends in the country of it. The keenness with which I have followed my studies and other causes, have often deadened my soul much to spiritual

things; but when brought to my right mind again, the same ardent desire has returned to engage in this particular work. My affections are rarely so much carried out on the subject as formerly. I have lately thought of it, as it is likely I shall do when about to die. I conceive that my heart would then reproach me were I not to act as I now do. I am afraid I should sin were I to keep back. I do not consider it as good and laudable only, but as my duty.'—Ib. p. 54.

We do not wonder that the Directors should have accepted his proffered services; or that when they had resolved to commence a mission to China, Dr. Bogue, his tutor, should have contemplated Morrison's appointment with fondness. But we admire the providence of God which overruled his own predilections. He writes to one of his friends, 'I have had some thoughts 'of going into the interior of Africa, to Timbuctoo.' He had indulged the idea of associating himself with Mungo Park, and forming an English settlement among the people of that neglected continent; but wisely he concluded—'I give up my concerns to 'the Lord. I hope he will open a door of useful missionary 'labor in some part of the world, and give me souls for my hire.' The Directors of the London Missionary Society adopted a resolution proposed by Joseph Hardcastle, Esq., and seconded by Joseph Reyner, Esq., to undertake a mission to China, with this specific object, 'to acquire the Chinese language and translate 'the sacred Scriptures.' For this purpose their agents were to go to China, and, if permitted, to remain quietly to acquire a knowledge of the language, and then proceed to the work of translation. Mr. Morrison was at once appointed—another gentleman was to have become his associate, but this arrangement failed. It was Morrison's 'own deliberate conviction that his 'destination to China was in answer to prayer, for his expressed 'desire was, that God would station him in that part of the mis-'sionary field where the difficulties were the greatest, and to all 'human appearance insurmountable. In this appointment he 'most cordially acquiesced, and from that time until the day of 'his death he had but one ruling object—the conversion of China 'to the faith of Jesus. Every thing he thought, and said, and 'did, henceforward tended, directly or indirectly, to the same 'end: and to this every personal gratification and advantage was 'cheerfully subordinated.' His attention was at once and with singular perseverance directed to the acquisition of the Chinese language. A native of China was found in London: he possessed some education, but was of a proud and domineering character, obstinate, jealous, and averse from speaking on the things of God. His assistance was, however, secured, and Morrison obtained from Yong-Sam-Tak his first insight into the Chinese language. With patient submission to the caprices, and hu-

mouring, as far as he could, even the superstitions of the instructor, the scholar learned to write the characters on a plate of tin: and when he had acquired the mode of writing Chinese, and a degree of familiarity with the literary symbols, he commenced the transcription of a Chinese MS. which had been deposited in the British Museum, containing 'a Harmony of the Gospels, the 'Acts of the Apostles, and all the Pauline Epistles, except that 'to the Hebrews.' He also copied a MS. Latin and Chinese Dictionary, which was lent to him by the Royal Society. By indefatigable diligence he accomplished both these tasks in a few months. Referring to these patient efforts preparatory for his future work, Dr. Milne, a competent judge, says, 'what was 'acquired of the language proved afterwards of very trifling 'utility. The Dictionary and the Harmony were more useful. 'These were originally the work of some of the Romish mission-'aries in China. By what individuals or at what time, these 'works were compiled, has not been ascertained, but providence 'preserved them to be useful, and the just merit of their authors 'will doubtless one day be reckoned to them.'

Two circumstances are recorded by the biographer illustrative of Morrison's character and resources. One occurred in the British Museum, and the other in a merchant's counting-house at New York. Mr. Butterworth related the former.

'It is now many years ago, that in visiting the library of the British Museum, I freqently saw a young man who appeared to be deeply occupied in his studies. The book he was reading was in a language and character totally unknown to me. My curiosity was awakened, and apologizing to him for the liberty I was taking, I ventured to ask what was the language that engaged so much of his attention? 'The Chinese,' he modestly replied. 'And do you understand the language?' I said. 'I am trying to understand it,' he added, 'but it is attended with singular difficulty.' 'And what may be your object in studying a language so proverbially difficult of attainment, and considered to be even insuperable to European talent and industry?' 'I can scarcely define my motives,' he remarked, 'all that I know is, that my mind is powerfully wrought upon by some strong and indescribable impulse, and if the language be capable of being surmounted by human zeal and perseverance, I mean to make the experiment. What may be the result time only can develop: I have as yet no determinate object in contemplation beyond the acquisition of the language itself.'

—Vol. ii. p. 279.

The American scene was of a different nature.

''I cannot forget,' writes a friend of Morrison, 'the air of suppressed ridicule which lurked on the merchant's features, and in his speech and manner towards Morrison, whom he appeared to pity as a deluded enthusiast, while he could not but secretly respect his self-

denial, devotion, courage, and enterprize. When all business matters were arranged, he turned about from his desk, and, with a sardonic grin, addressing Morrison (whose countenance was a book wherein men might read strange things), said, 'And so, Mr. Morrison, you really expect that you will make an impression on the idolatry of the great Chinese empire!' 'No, Sir,' said Morrison, with more than his usual sternness, 'I expect God will.' We soon left the man of money, and descending to the wharf, took our last farewell of the future apostle of the Chinese, as he stepped into the stern sheets of a boat which was to carry him to the ship which lay off in the bay. He said little; he moved less; his imposing figure and solemn countenance were motionless as a statue; his mind was evidently full, too full for speech: his thoughts were with God, and he seemed regardless of all around him.'—Vol. i. pp. 136, 137.

British Christianity was so destitute of political influence till the year 1813, so paralytic in the senate and in chartered monopolies, and so dreaded in our colonies and foreign possessions, that the missionary societies could not send out their agents to India or China, except by the route of America. As Americans, or subjects of continental monarchs only, could English missionaries obtain a residence among the heathen millions in the east. No doubt this restriction operated beneficially, by an overruling Prodence, on our American fellow Christians; but it remains a historical stigma on the reputation of British rulers. Mr. Morrison was thus compelled to sail in an American vessel, after a long and dangerous passage to New York. The incidents recorded in his journal or letters during these voyages work up our sympathy and interest in this devoted man. They were also calculated still farther to prepare him for his critical situation, and the frequently perplexing position which he should occupy, as the *first Protestant* missionary to China. Exposed to shipwreck, destruction by fire, the perils of mutiny and piracy, and pursued by privateers; besides being shut up for two hundred days within the narrow limits of a ship's quarters, with men of various and uncongenial minds, Morrison had much to try his spirit, to show himself his own heart and character, and familiarise his thoughts with the peculiarities of his fellow men.

The following extracts from letters to Mr. Hardcastle will show the state of his mind when entering upon his labors among the Chinese.

'By the good hand of God upon me, I am at length brought to the place whither your prayers and wishes have followed me. In 113 days from the time of leaving the coast of America, the ship *Trident* anchored in Macao Roads. In the Indian Ocean we experienced very heavy gales of wind. But the Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea.' He brought

us safely through. I have detailed in a diary the circumstances of the passage, and will forward it to Mr. Burder. Last Friday evening I went on shore at Macao, and unexpectedly found there Sir George S. Staunton, and also Mr. Chalmers. I waited on the latter next morning, and presented to him Mr. Cowie's letter of introduction. Mr. Chalmers said he wished me success with all his soul, 'but,' added he, 'the people of England have no idea of the difficulty of residing here, or of obtaining masters to teach.' He then mentioned the circumstance so generally known, that the Chinese are prohibited from teaching the language, and that under the penalty of death. However he at last said, that he would converse with Mr. Roberts, chief of the English Factory, and also with Sir George. I then waited on Sir George (Staunton), and presented Sir Joseph Banks's letter. Sir George spoke likewise of the difficulty of the attempt; reminded me that the Company forbade any person to stay but on account of trade, but promised that he would do what was in his power. The residence at Macao is especially difficult, owing to the jealousy of the Romish bishop and priests.'

Again:—

'With respect to my continuance, which has hitherto been considered as almost impracticable, I have this to mention. I was about six weeks here before the English Company came up to Canton from Macao. In that time I wrote down to Sir George Staunton and to Mr. Chalmers. Sir George, since his arrival at Canton, has introduced me to Mr. Roberts, who received me kindly, and politely invited me to dine with the gentlemen of the Factory. I still continue as an American. The utmost caution is requisite in making any public intimation of these things. . . . With respect to the language, I have been improving the time of my residence, in picking up the vulgar tongue, in which I am able, in common things, to talk to my boy, who has been my instructor; but he being from the country, has given me a very coarse pronunciation. The polite people of Canton say they cannot understand the country people, and the crowd of Cooles (laborers) who are about. But I think it is affectation. There is a great difficulty that now occurs to me. Neither the Mandarin tongue, nor fine writing, is understood by the great bulk of the people. The number of poor people is immense; and the poor must have the gospel preached to them. Sir George Staunton proposes to introduce me to Abel Yun, a Roman Catholic Chinese from Peking as an instructor. Abel, at present, does business for the missionaries, and has some oversight of the Christians in the city and suburbs of Canton, who according to Le Seensang, amount to about 3000. All that he will be able to teach will be the pronunciation of the Mandarin tongue, which is common to the province where he was born. The son of Le Seensang will, I believe, aid me in the Canton dialect and the character. He also is a professing Christian.' 'I am translating the Latin-Chinese Dictionary which I brought out with me, adding the characters that occur in Kang-he's Tsze-teen, or Chinese Dictionary.

My copy, and perhaps all those in Europe, contains only the words which are found in an old Chinese Dictionary in fourteen volumes compiled by Tartars, and which is now in disuse. The new Dictionary which I mention above, is in thirty-two volumes, and contains all the Chinese characters.' 'Farewell, dear sir; cease not to regard the lamentable situation of the millions of Chinese unacquainted with our Lord Jesus. Continue to feel for them—to pray in their behalf—to spend and be spent in their service, O British Christians. From China, will those ready to perish saved by your instrumentality, rise up to bless you.'

Ten days later, in a postscript to the same letter, he added:—

'I cannot refrain from inserting, that I have now the assistance of Chinese christians of the Romish church. They are much more ready to communicate what they do know, than any of the heathen that I have seen. Yong-Sam is polite and respectful, coming sometimes to have letters on business, which he attempts to write corrected; but he does not show any disposition to communicate a single sentence of the Chinese. I do not formally ask him to do it. There are two Chinese who I hope will be useful to me; at present, however, they are not so. The name of one is Le Seensang. He possesses considerable knowledge of the Chinese, writes an excellent hand, and having obtained one degree as a man of letters, is not so afraid as some of the tradespeople are. The other person, Abel Yun, was sent to me by Sir George Staunton. Abel is here the agent of the missionaries of Peking, a native of Shan-si, where the Mandarin language is generally spoken. A great part of his life (he is now about thirty years of age) has been spent with the missionaries at Peking. They have taught him the Latin language, which he speaks fluently. He came to me to-day, accompanied by another christian. Being the Lord's day I could not receive instruction from him. The Vulgate translation of the Scriptures was lying on my table. On his looking at it, we entered into conversation respecting its contents. I turned to the fourth commandment, in Exodus, and to the closing verse of the lviiith chapter of Isaiah. He read them, explained them to his Chinese friend, and, if I understood him rightly, said he had hitherto erred respecting the Sabbath,' &c. —Vol. i. p. 157—168.

His success in acquiring the language is testified by his voluminous labours, by scholars of the greatest celebrity, and by the gentlemen of the Factory in literary and official communications. The members of the Select Committee at Canton, who may be represented as the Company's local government, declared that Dr. Morrison had held his situation in their establishment with eminent advantage to the interests of the Company, and expressed the strong sense which they entertained of the importance of his services, and of the perfect satisfaction which they had derived from his abilities and general deportment during his

residence in the country, and his service of sixteen years. Sir George Staunton pointed out to Lord Napier that the most satisfactory circumstance connected with his new position as British representative at Canton, was the assurance of having the able assistance of Dr. Morrison. And Lord Glenelg, on the part of the Government, told Charles Majoribanks, Esq., that they 'would be too anxious to avail themselves of Dr. Morrison's 'services,' not to do all they could to secure them.

On proceeding to China, Dr. Morrison was empowered to draw on the funds of the Society for his support; but as soon as he was enabled, and he eagerly prepared himself for this end, he relieved the society of his support, and repayed the liberality of the Christian community, by a generous consecration of his own substance to the cause to which he had dedicated himself. His exertions for the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, and the Singapore Institution, are not to be placed merely in the light of liberal sacrifices to the cause of benevolence, when he devoted several thousand pounds for their consolidation and support. In these proceedings he evinced the views of an enlightened mind; and his readiness to sustain such measures as his judgment approved, in the work of christian missions to heathen lands. He wished to exalt and dignify the character of the missionary, and to render his labours and sacrifices efficient for their object.

Dr. Morrison's opinions on this subject deserve serious consideration.

'My opinions,' he says, 'are greatly in favour of a missionary community, consisting not only of preachers, but also of men having much leisure to write Christian books; of catechists, schoolmasters, and schoolmistresses: and perhaps it would be well to have some brethren to attend only to secular management, under the direction of the seniors of the community. At present in every station we are too few to do well the many things we have to do. A missionary to China, whose duty it is to preach, and teach, and write, requires at first, and indeed always, considerable leisure to devote to these objects, to give himself to prayer and to the ministry of the word. It should never be forgotten that the study of the pagan languages—their literature, opinions, prejudices, &c., requires much time; and whilst the acquisition of these is necessary to a moral teacher, they do not instruct him in any thing truly valuable *per se*. Now if in addition to these pagan studies, the daily management of the detail of occurrences in a missionary establishment, and the conducting of an extensive correspondence, be imposed on an individual, his time and strength will be inadequate. Something must be neglected, or he will wear away with services too heavy for him. Therefore missionaries—ministers of religion in foreign lands—require christian brethren to assist them, who will preserve unity of design and operation. With such tempers and principles, there are many pious persons in

the United Kingdom who would be of incalculable value in a missionary establishment, by attending daily to the secular occurrences, which they could manage as well as the minister himself. When missionaries went to itinerate, those persons at home could be confided in to preserve order; in case of temporary sickness, prevent affairs going wrong; and in case of death, would be a sort of *locum tenentes* till supplies came. . . . . From thence (the missionary head quarters) the young men could go to itinerate and explore new regions, which duties might occupy a few months, or a year, or two or three years; and when the itinerant laborer returned, another could go forth for a while. The missionary community should consist of persons of both sexes, possessing different qualifications, and places, and duties in it. To assist the pagan females to understand the doctrines of the gospel, christian females are essential; but missionaries' wives, who are mothers as soon as they arrive in heathen lands, are seldom in sufficient health, nor have sufficient leisure, to qualify themselves. Pious young women to acquire the pagan language, and teach girls and grown women would be very useful. The itinerant brethren above alluded to, could be accompanied by serious natives who had been educated in the college; and thus would be united the understanding and firmness of the European christian, with the facility of expression and perception of prejudices, objections, &c., of the natives. Whilst I humbly submit these considerations to you, I by no means forget that the Lord hath said 'cursed is he that trusteth in man,' instead of trusting in God, 'whose eyes run to and fro through the whole earth, to show himself strong in behalf of those whose hearts are perfect,' or complete in their dependence on him. Heaven's sun and showers the husbandman must have; still he ought to study the best mode of culture.'—Vol. ii. p. 219—221.

The energy with which Dr. Morrison applied himself as a Chinese student, the unshrinking toil with which he endured the drudgery, and the perseverance with which he submitted to sacrifices and privations called for by his peculiar position and object, are above all praise. He conformed to Chinese customs, and became all things to the people among whom he was placed; he fed in the manner and on the diet of the Chinese; he clothed himself in their mode of attire, and shut himself up in seclusion or confined himself as a prisoner in a cellar, that he might be permitted fully to learn the language, or be able to disarm their prejudices. His well-meant efforts were indeed illusory and disapproved by his more mature judgment, yet they show with what zeal he pursued the one object of his life. When he wore the Chinese pigtail, and suffered his nails to grow like birds' claws; when he eat his food with chop-sticks, and confined himself to Chinese intercourse, he evinced a resolution which would be daunted by no difficulties, which no failures could subdue. He was equal to the Herculean task he had undertaken, and he accomplished it beyond his most sanguine expectations.

The analysis of his literary labors by professor Kidd, does full justice to the indefatigable assiduity, talent, and success which distinguished his progress, and will sustain the reputation of this first Chinese scholar. A Dictionary of six quarto volumes, laying open the mysteries, the government, character, and literature of that jealous and boastful empire, and serving as a key to every future scholar who may wish to explore the language, required no ordinary patience and resolution in one who at first dared not openly employ a teacher of the strange language, or an assistant in the compilations which were necessary to render the work complete. Dr. Morrison became a Chinese linguist in the most comprehensive sense—he spoke the language with the facility of a native, and wrote it with the purity of their best scholars. His Grammar and other works would have sufficed to rank him foremost in the list of philologists; but his translations of the Sacred Record have sunk the reputation of all his other subordinate works. He lived to see these completed, and the Inspired volumes in extensive circulation among the people.

In 1807 Dr. Morrison arrived at Canton. The progress of his labors brought within one view, will enable the reader to judge of his zealous application. He was regarded by the East India Company's Chinese authorities, as competent to act as their translator and interpreter in 1809. He had finished his Grammar during 1811; but, though adopted by the Company's servants, and ordered for publication by the Bengal government, it was not printed (at the Serampore Mission Press) till 1815. In the year which followed the completion of his Grammar, he finished a volume of Dialogues, as elementary to a study of Chinese. In the same year (1812) his Dictionary was so far advanced that the Factory at Canton recommended the Directors of the Company to publish it at their cost; soon after which a printer was sent from England to Macao to conduct the printing of the work: the symbolical alphabet, and colloquial parts of which were completed after fourteen years continued application. The translation of the sacred volume occupied his unwearied attention; and parts were printed from time to time as he could revise the portions found in MS. before he left England, or as he accomplished original translations of other sections. He completed his translation of Genesis in 1814, and the whole Bible was translated between him and Dr. Milne in 1820; but the printing was completed only in the year 1824. The first instance of professed conversion occurred in 1814. Dr. Milne had joined Morrison in 1812, and was able to continue only for a few months at Canton. Malacca was chosen as a station in 1814, and Milne agreed to make it the head quarters of the Ultra Ganges Mission, in co-operation with Dr. Morrison. The missionary efforts of Morrison, his translation of the Scriptures, and the circulation of some

religious tracts, excited the fear of the East India Company—they therefore ordered their Factory servants to dismiss him from their employment. His aid, however, was so valued by the local authorities, that they postponed, and ultimately disobeyed, this order. This led him to think more deliberately of the facilities of Malacca, and to propose that it should be rendered a collegiate establishment. The object contemplated was carried into effect between 1818 and 1820. Dr. Morrison gave £6,500 to secure its foundation, and used his influence so as to procure £100 annually from the government, as well as private contributions for its maintenance. The Earl of Amherst was sent as ambassador from the Prince Regent in 1816, to the Emperor of China; when Dr. Morrison was required to accompany the embassy, and wrote a graphic description of the affair. In the year 1823, he joined with Sir Stamford Raffles in founding the Singapore Institution, to which he became a liberal donor; the object, however, was not realized, and the proposed junction with it of the Malacca Anglo-Chinese College did not occur. In the following year he embarked for England, and exerted himself with great zeal to secure co-operation for the Anglo-Chinese Mission. The Language Institution was commenced, and he gave lectures on Chinese within its walls. He had proposed that his library of more than 2,000 Chinese works should have enriched this philological establishment. Its failure frustrated his plans; and the library is consequently now deposited in London University College.

Dr. Morrison bore up under the pressure of his numerous engagements as a lexicographer, interpreter, translator, and missionary, without much apparent decay of natural strength. But he suffered many domestic trials; his first wife was often an invalid, in severe affliction, and after a protracted stay in Britain was cut off within a few months of her return to China; besides which he lost several children. His second wife, whom he married during his visit to England, survives him; but was compelled to return to England, and was far distant from him when he most needed her consolation—he died without hearing of her arrival in her native land. A strong and generous affection, a cordial and reciprocal esteem subsisted between Morrison and Milne, and the death of the latter was long mourned by his elder colleague. Morrison, with a noble generosity, adopted one of Milne's sons as his own. Dr. Morrison's eldest son has succeeded his father in the service of the government, and we should hope will deem it his honour and duty to tread in the steps of 'the first Protestant missionary to China.' Other members of the same family remain as objects of Christian sympathy for the friends of missions.

Dr. Morrison had repeatedly encountered the hostile and

monopolizing spirit of a church establishment even on the shores of China. The Portuguese hierarchy at Macao opposed him, and were so far successful as to obtain an interdict against his employment of the press. The intolerance of Anglican episcopacy prevented him from regularly officiating among the servants of the Factory; while we have seen the Company taking alarm at his circulation of the word of eternal life. He continued, however, to receive all that came unto him in his own hired house. He labored and prayed for the instruction and conversion of a small congregation of Chinese who waited upon his ministry. Several of these, there is reason to believe, were savingly turned to the true God; and some of them were employed as heralds of gospel truth to their countrymen. Morrison sought to enlarge and confirm their views of Divine revelation, and to qualify them to instruct others in those doctrines by which they had themselves been made wise unto salvation. He had begun, at an early period of his career, a work in the form of 'Notes on the Holy Scripture,' to secure domestic instruction to such as had not the privilege of oral or pulpit ministrations. With increasing interest and great zeal he continued to compose these 'Notes' as means of improvement, that they might be a legacy to the church in China. He completed his 'Domestic Instructor' in four volumes, and gave £200 for its publication.

'He continued, as usual, his public English service on the Sabbath mornings (including in it parts of the Church of England prayers); and knowing that many of the foreign residents and visitors spent the evening of that day in what are called innocent recreations, he made several attempts, in this, as well as in past seasons, to induce them to spend an hour in a more rational and profitable manner, by giving an evening lecture; there being service only once a day at the Episcopal chapel. Strangers to Dr. Morrison's habits, who occasionally attended these devotional exercises, were surprised at the mental and bodily fatigue he seemed capable of enduring; especially upon finding the English service was immediately succeeded by one for the natives; this was intimated by the sound of voices, singing the praises of God—a devotional exercise in which he took peculiar delight, and which he never omitted, although he often had to complain of not being assisted in it by his congregation.'

The intervals were spent as a father of a family would wish to employ his hours of recreation, with his children. The following domestic portraiture is extremely pleasing, and has been drawn with graphic simplicity.

'His usual resort was a retired terrace in the front of his residence, beyond which lay the Bay of Macao, encircled by barren hills · the

terrace was shaded by beautiful flowering shrubs, and bordered with European plants and flowers. Here generally accompanied by the whole of his family, the little ones on his knees, or according to Asiatic custom, sitting on mats spread on the grass, with their attendants of various nations, Chinese, Portuguese, and Caffres, and a favorite Newfoundland dog invariably making one of the group, might be seen the beloved subject of this narrative, whose presence diffused general happiness throughout that favored circle. Often, while viewing with benignant complacency the interesting scene thus feebly depicted, he would express the pleasure it afforded him, and his grateful sense of the mercies and blessings he enjoyed; yet reflecting on the uncertain tenure by which all earthly good is held, he would frequently add, 'but I rejoice with trembling.' Such simple pleasures as those by which he was surrounded, Dr. Morrison enjoyed in a high degree; yet his taste for them was never gratified at the expense of more serious duties; therefore sacred music, conversation, or the contemplation of the beauties of nature, was by him only indulged in occasionally as a relaxation from intense study. Often at the close of a day such as above described, when he must have suffered extreme weariness from five or six hours standing and speaking, his general reply to inquiries —if he did not feel very tired? was, 'Yes, love, tired *in* my work, but not *of* it—I delight in the work.' Although at these seasons the thermometer usually ranged from 86° to 92° in the shade, it is remarkable that Dr. Morrison never experienced on the following day, any of the lassitude or languor which many complain of after long public speaking.

'However, for some time past, Dr. Morrison became sensible of a diminution of strength, accompanied by distressing restlessness in the early part of the night, and towards morning a sensation of weight at the top of the head, which obliged him to rise generally at four o'clock; but as he retained his usual appearance of health, and continued to write and study without seeming to suffer much inconvenience during the day, these symptoms were attributed to the effect of incessant mental labor without sufficient bodily exercise to counteract it; and it was not till the summer advanced, and the heat became intense, that any serious cause for alarm was manifested; but then loss of appetite, with pain in his right side and great prostration of strength, indicated the necessity, which before Dr. Morrison would not admit, for obtaining medical advice; and Mr. Colledge, the senior surgeon of the establishment, was therefore consulted.'— Vol. ii. pp. 433—436.

The treatment adopted afforded temporary relief, but his symptoms were misapprehended, and he received advice as for a liver complaint. His family sailed for England while he was yet an invalid, but as it was hoped convalescent. The following is one of the last memoranda of his journal.

'Canton, July 25 (1834). On Wednesday morning I embarked at Macao with Lord Napier and others, on board the 'Andromache,' Captain Chads; and this morning about three o'clock I arrived at

Canton, in Captain Niesh's boat. My feeble state of health, the heat of the weather, and a headache into the bargain, made the journey extremely uncomfortable. To-day I have been very low. I thought I must give up the king's service from entire inability to bear the fatigue of it in Canton. God help me, my dear love. I will do nothing rashly. But in walking through the hot sun to-day from this house to the Company's, where Lord Napier is, I was like to drop in the streets, and have been groaning on my couch ever since—being now past eight in the evening. Oh, that I may have cheering accounts from you soon! Good night, my beloved wife! Oh! my beloved children! God be with you all!'—Vol. ii. p. 528.

Dr. Morrison had written in his journal on his voyage homeward, December 7th, 1823, 'I have some misgivings or apprehensions, that I may not live to return, and be buried in China.' God was better to him than his fears. He was spared to return and labour; and now the closing scene was to fulfil his desires. On the 30th of July he was no longer able to record his own expressions. His son with great feeling and tenderness watched by the bedside; and when the last moment of suffering had passed, recounted the circumstances attending the dissolution of a beloved father.

'Friday, 1st of August,' the bereaved youth thus writes, 'Lord have mercy upon us. Be thou a supporter and helper to us! Let us not repine or murmur; but rather rejoice that the dear, dear sufferer was removed from the evil to come, that he has found rest in Thee! The night was now advanced—so also was the night of affliction. He was in the dark valley of the shadow of death,—but he was about to emerge into the unspeakable brightness of heavenly glory, in the presence of God and our Saviour. The exhausted body now rapidly sank: cold and pale was that cheek, which till then had retained the appearance of health. I can say no more—it is as a dream—but mortal shall put on immortality,' &c.

We shall close our extracts by one other brief portion—the testimony of the Rev. Edwin Stevens, of the manner in which Dr. Morrison was called away to his reward.

'Our departed friend fell suddenly from our sight. In the afternoon of his death I was with him some time; and though weak he could walk into another room, talk feebly, and unite in supplicating the Divine mercy. He said that he thought his life was in danger: but I did not, and I think he did not, anticipate so *speedy* a change. I sat down by him, and he repeated many passages of Scripture, which he revolved in his mind continually 'I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.' 'We have a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens;' and such like. He then prayed aloud for all of us, if he should be taken away; that 'God would be merciful to Eliza and the dear children, and bless them with his protection and guardian care.' He

prayed that the Lord would sustain him, and forsake him not in his feebleness. He prayed for the Chinese mission—that grace and peace might rest upon all the laborers. And having said these things, he laid down to rest. He was to have a sick certificate, and I was to go down with him to Macao; but how affecting! that night he was released from sickness and suffering, and we went with him to Macao indeed; but it was only his dead body that went, for God had taken the spirit. We buried him beside his former wife; there will the Lord's beloved sleep till the day of resurrection. Dear John M. was with us, and felt the supporting hand of his father's God in all these trying scenes.'

It may seem to some of our readers, that rather than a critical analysis of the work under review, we have presented an abridgment of Dr. Morrison's biography; and, instead of strictures on the style and workmanship of the author, we have been drawn out in a celebration of the virtues and achievements of the first Protestant missionary to China. We confess we have been influenced by a desire to pay a tribute to the exalted worth and distinguished and consecrated talents of Dr. Morrison, more than to provide an elaborate essay on missions, or the claims of the heathen. It has been our aim to develop the character and progress of a faithful missionary rather than to measure his attainments by the standard of other men; or compare his eminent and successful labors with the efforts of other illustrious ornaments of the church. Dr. Morrison, as distinguished by the grace of God, has been our subject, without any desire to magnify his name at the expense of his early colleague, or to disparage the great talents and versatile abilities of Dr. Marshman, who seems to have been regarded as his rival in the beginning of their devoted and honored course. There is room for them all to shine in the brightness of the kingdom; and in the glorious circuit in which they are made to revolve, as separate stars for ever and ever, they have sphere enough without marring their harmony or disturbing their order. They have now no unholy ambition, no jarring interests, or jealous rivalry, if ever such infirmities encompassed them here. Nor have they any controversy about that language in which the Song of Moses and the Lamb should be sung, or those distinctions by which his sanctified ones shall be known as redeemed out of every kindred, and nation, and people, and tongue. They fear not how large will be the several shares of glory, honor, and immortality, which their blessed God will assign them, when he shall come in the glory of his holy angels. They knew in whom they had believed, and, as they were persuaded so has it been proved, that he was able to keep that which they had committed unto him until the great day. And as in their Father's house there are many mansions, and they each one

meet with his Lord; so in the church upon earth and in the thrones, which may be set for them who have suffered for the word of God and the witness of Jesus, there will be found places for them all, to live and reign with Him who shall sit on his throne King of kings and Lord of lords.

Art. V. 1. *Reports from Commissioners of Inquiry into the Ecclesiastical Courts of England and Wales.* 1832.

2. *Report of an Interview between the Committee of the Church-Rate Abolition Society and Viscount Melbourne.* 1839.

THE Minister has announced the intention of government to bring in a bill *for the abolition of the civil jurisdiction of Courts Ecclesiastical.* The country will rejoice to see the execution of this tardy act of retributive justice, by which the hands shall be broken off from Dagon, and the axe and the fetters that hung in his court shall be fused together, and beaten into a pruning hook. The Ecclesiastical Courts have been a disgrace to us as a protestant state; and have been a sarcasm upon the British constitution. A bench filled by ignorant judges, men necessarily ignorant of the laws—rendered by their profession sycophants and dependants, and what is worse, active partizans;—a bar without qualification; a court, the jurisdiction of which is defined by no general law; Englishmen tried, condemned, and imprisoned by process of these courts without a jury! From the reign of Charles II. (to ascend no higher) to the incarceration of Thorogood, cases of the most flagrant wrong and barefaced power, have occurred in connection with these odious tribunals, and few will refuse to join in a pæan over their fall.

But however we may be gratified by the abolition of the '*civil*' jurisdiction of these courts, the abolition of 'civil' jurisdiction only ought not, and indeed cannot satisfy the country. What has occurred since the publication of the Report of the Commissioners in 1832, to prove the utility of Ecclesiastical Courts? Without entering at length into a question on which the public mind is happily so fully made up, we must for a moment invite back attention to the Report of the above year.

Strictly speaking, the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts is in every case a *civil* jurisdiction; but it looks as if an attempt were to be made *to retain part of their jurisdiction;* else why not say at once, and unequivocally, that it was intended to bring in a bill to *abolish* them, or all of them, with the exception of the two provincial courts? Their jurisdiction at present comprehends

testamentary causes; *matrimonial* causes for separation and for nullity of marriage; suits for tithes; church-rates; seats and faculties; criminal suits *pro salute* anima, embracing offences committed by the clergy themselves — such as neglect of duty, immoral conduct, *advancing doctrines not conformable to the articles*, &c., suffering dilapidations and the like; also by laymen — such as brawling, laying violent hands, and other such irreverent conduct in the church or churchyard, neglecting to repair ecclesiastical buildings, incest, incontinence, defamation, &c. Now which of these are 'civil' and which are not? Who is to define this most equivocal of all non-univocal words? Churchmen will declare that the making of a will is a religious act; and *therefore* they have a right to tax widows and orphans; and by the same illicit process of ecclesiastical logic, every other branch of jurisdiction is *un-civilized* and brought into the church category. It must be recollected that these Ecclesiastical Courts consist of three different kinds:—

1. Three hundred Courts peculiar.
2. The Diocesan Courts.
3. The two provincial Courts.

These peculiar courts, in many cases presided over by parson-judges, appointed and removable by the lord of the manor, are burlesques upon justice:—does the minister contemplate sparing them? Will he hesitate in crushing them? Are they to be only re-constructed and deprived of their 'civil' jurisdiction? The thing is ludicrous; and the notion must be scouted by parliament. If any of the Exeter school demand why we object to the continuance of their ecclesiastical authority; we reply, because they are utterly incompetent to perform the ends of justice. The Commissioners declare that 'the jurisdiction to be exercised 'in these different courts is not defined by any general law. It 'is often (they add) extremely difficult to ascertain over what 'description of causes the jurisdiction of any particular court 'operates.' The Lord Chancellor during the debate on the Church Discipline Bill, on the 4th of June last, thus described the Courts peculiar:—

'The only power that now existed for correcting the offences of the clergy resided in the ecclesiastical courts, and what did their Lordships think was the nature of those courts? He spoke not of the courts of the Archbishop, for they were well known, nor yet of the courts of the Bishops, because those were also known; but perhaps their Lordships were not aware that besides these principal courts there were nearly 300 other ecclesiastical courts, all of them having jurisdiction for the trial of ecclesiastical offences, the great difficulty consisting in defining what that jurisdiction was. *These minor courts were wholly incompetent for the duties they had to discharge; the*

officers were in many instances deputies, at a salary of ten guineas a year, men of no experience or learning, of little or no knowledge of the principles of the law they were called upon to administer: and yet the inquiries instituted before them might involve, not merely the fortune and worldly interests of clergymen, but their name and character. The average number of the causes that came before these courts in a year, did not give more than one-half cause to each court, so that there was no opportunity of obtaining the advantage of experience and practice; and, at the same time, from the multitude of the modes of appeal that existed, there were caused the greatest delay, expense, and vexation.'

And then, just fancy a man of piety and learning summoned before 'the court,' seated at an oak table in the blue parlour of 'the Rose and Crown,' the head, because the only public house in the village or the manor, to give an account of his doctrine, and to answer to the charge of having preached tenets contrary to the articles, homilies, &c.; is this seemly?

But the Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners must be regarded as conclusive on this part of the case. 'We think,' they observe at page 22, 'that *the whole jurisdiction* of these 'peculiar, both contentious and voluntary, should be ABOLISHED; 'and we are induced to come to this conclusion by the following 'among other reasons:—

'With respect to the *contentious* jurisdiction, it is wholly impossible that justice can be administered efficiently, and with satisfaction to the public. In the majority of the peculiar courts, and perhaps in all, there neither are, nor can be, efficient and experienced judges, officers, advocates, or practitioners. The emoluments are too small, and the number of causes too few, to insure these requisites for the due administration of justice. Consequently no confidence is reposed in these tribunals; and delay arises, and expense is incurred, in applying for letters of request, or in resorting to other means of escaping the jurisdiction. In some cases too, the grievance is enhanced by the multiplication of appeals.

'With regard to *testamentary* cases, the inconvenience is, perhaps, the greatest. There cannot be expected, and, in fact, there are not to be found, safe places of custody for the wills to be deposited in the registries; and thereby the most important titles to real and personal estate may be endangered. In admitting testamentary papers to probate in common form, according to the existing state of the law, an accurate knowledge of the rules which ought to govern the practice is very essential; but where the opportunities of acquiring experience are few, such accuracy cannot be attained. In cases where it is necessary to make searches, the multiplication of courts for the probate of wills, of course greatly increases the trouble and expense. On the question of *bona notabilia*, many difficulties result from these searches, and sometimes more serious injury.

'It would be easy to set forth many other reasons, inducing us to suggest the entire abolition of these jurisdictions; but as we are not aware of any one benefit which would result from their continuance, we conceive that the circumstances already stated will suffice. We therefore propose that the peculiar jurisdiction should be abolished.'

So much for number 1, the *Courts Peculiar*. Let us now turn to number 2, or the *Diocesan Courts*. Are these courts merely to be deprived of the power of persecuting? Is part of their jurisdiction to be preserved? Again we must refer those who are favourable to a discriminating law, abolishing the 'civil' jurisdiction, and retaining their spiritual or ecclesiastical power, to the deliberate recommendations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners;* '*In the course of our inquiry we became convinced of the impracticability of having* JUDGES DULY QUALIFIED WITH A COMPETENT BAR *and skilful practitioners* to '*administer in the diocesan courts the testamentary and matrimonial laws which involve matters of such very high importance to the parties litigant, and to the public. The* RETURNS *which have been obtained from the diocesan registries show that the annual amount of business, and the emoluments of the judges and other officers, and of the practitioners in these courts,* MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE IN THE GREATER NUMBER OF THE DIOCESES, THAT EFFICIENT COURTS CAN BE MAINTAINED.'

The Commissioners dismiss the Diocesan Courts by recommending the entire transfer of the *contentious* jurisdiction (i.e. the power to judge and determine differences between contending parties) possessed by them, to the provincial courts; and no one can fairly peruse the statements just quoted, and the facts with which the report abounds, without feeling satisfied that it would be an act of folly and unjust not to abolish these mock tribunals. All attempts to patch them up, must be unsatisfactory and idle: no man putteth a piece of new cloth unto an old garment, for thereby the rent is made worse. Without entering further into the *questio vexata* of church discipline, or discussing the propriety of narrowing still more the jurisdiction of the courts of York and Canterbury, we conclude by protesting against any thing short of the *extirpation* of the diocesan and peculiar courts, joined with the abolition of the civil jurisdiction of the provincial courts. If they are not abolished, like the staff of a mi-

* The followiug individuals composed the Commission: the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Durham, Lincoln, St. Asaph, and Exeter, Lord Tenterden, Sir William Draper, Lord Wynyard, Sir. N. C. Tindal, Sir W. A. Alexander, Sir John Nicoll, Sir C. Robinson, Sir Herbert Jenner, Sir C. E. Carrington, and Stephen Lushington, and Cuttar Ferguson, Esqrs.; the deliberate opinion of such a body carry, in this case, peculiar weight.

litia, their powers can be enlarged at any particular exigency; and the breath of a Tory ministry can in a moment resuscitate them, to enter afresh, like an awakened giant, into the field against truth and liberty!

It is not to be expected that these relics of superstition and hierarchical tyranny will be surrendered without a struggle. They are too german to the system from which they sprang to be readily relinquished by its supporters. But their doom is sealed and cannot be much longer delayed. Denounced by the wise and considerate of all parties, branded with an infamous parentage, pregnant with evil but impotent for good, they stand out an anomalous and hateful institution, abhorrent to English freedom, and an insult to the christian faith. It remains to be seen what the government and parliament will do; but we must not trust to the supposed friendliness or professed intentions of either. Too implicit confidence has been the error and the crime of Dissenters in past days. Unaccustomed to the language of conciliation and respect from men in power, it is not to be marvelled at if they have suffered themselves to be ensnared by the good opinions and respectful treatment—so far at least as words are concerned—with which they have recently been entertained. Nor are we disposed to place all this to the account of mere hypocrisy, or even of political finesse. Some of our contemporaries, whose zeal far exceeds their charity and wisdom, may do so, but we cannot. It partakes, in our judgment, neither of candour nor of sagacity, and is adapted to irritate auxiliaries, rather than to combine and stimulate friends. We are not so forgetful of the past as to be unmindful of the services rendered to our cause—the cause of religious liberty, and therefore of christian truth—by some members of her majesty's present government. Those services were rendered at a time, and with a promptitude and zeal which bespoke their sincerity, and entail on us a debt of lasting gratitude.

But while we make this admission in all frankness and sincerity, we are at the same time concerned—deeply, growingly concerned—to admonish the Dissenters of Great Britain, against that easy credence and implicit trust of men in office, which, as recently exhibited, has gone far to render us a laughing-stock to our neighbours. Under God, we must trust ourselves and ourselves only. We must take our cause into our own hands, and with all the energy of men deeply versed in their principles and resolved on their vindication, must stand out open, unmasked, and fearless; having no reserve, and seeking no counsel from the world. So long as we trust our cause to politicians—no matter

whether whig, radical, or tory—that cause will be betrayed and tampered with; will be patronized one day, and looked upon with coldness the next. Our course is simple, and requires only an honest mind to be pursued successfully. Where aid is proffered, let it be thankfully received; but it is at the peril of our fidelity to enter into any compromise,—to be parties to any treaty, implied or expressed, whereby principle may be surrendered to expediency, and the moral power of our communities be diverted from its legitimate occupation to the achievement of petty triumphs. The 'practical grievance' ground, long held by the metropolitan leaders of dissent, is in our solemn judgment an erroneous, short-sighted, and treacherous position. It is a surrender—not intentional, we well know, but still practically a surrender, of the high and holy ground of religious obligation, the duty owed to God and his truth, for the promotion of our personal comfort and social respectability. In the one struggle, self is lost in the purity and heavenly-mindedness of the object sought; in the other, it is the very God of our idolatry, under whose banner we fight, and to whose glory all our successes mainly tend.

The course to be adopted in future does not admit of a moment's doubt, and the sooner we address ourselves to it the better. Our principles must be clearly unfolded, their legitimate applications and tendencies must be pointed out. We must address ourselves to the judgment and conscience of the nation; and in the spirit of our holy faith, must summon the religious of all parties to do justice to the insulted name and supremacy of their Lord. There is a power in such an appeal as this, before which spiritual wickednesses in high places, must fall prostrate. It will carry with it the beneficent aspect of a religious enterprize; and though opposed by prejudice and denounced by interested partizanship, will ultimately disabuse the judgment of this great empire, and effect another Reformation more scriptural, and far more complete, than that which our fathers wrought in days of old.

Our opponents are preparing the way of our triumph by the illustrations they supply of the temper and tendency of their system. A few years back, and their ecclesiastical courts may have been represented as innocuous though unseemly institutions. But they cannot be so now. The sleeping tiger has sprung from his lair, and his bloodthirstiness is as great as ever. The system is the same it always was, and there are not wanting men —we say it in the fullest confidence in the truth of our declaration—who possess the will to work it with all the murderous energy it displayed during the palmy days of the Stuarts. If any doubt our statement, let them look to Chelmsford jail. Oh, ye bishops and dignitaries of the parliament-made church, and ye especially among her members who profess the spirit of the meek

and lowly Jesus, what can ye mean, when we hear you prate about your Church being 'the most tolerant church in christen-'dom.' Tolerant, indeed; then what does the incarceration—the long and wearisome incarceration—of John Thorogood mean? He believes your system to be unscriptural, your altars to be polluted, and his conscience tells him he must not be actively concurrent in their support. Admit that he may be wrong in this, still such are his convictions, and as an honest man he acts accordingly. This is his only crime, and how do ye meet it? Shame upon ye, Protestants! lasting, burning shame! Discard the name ye bear, or open the doors of his prison-house, and let the captive go free. The very papists hiss, and smile contemptuously upon you. Rome invites you to her bosom, and hopes to find in your rampant bigotry materials more fitted to her purpose than her own communion supplies.

The claims of John Thorogood on the friends of religious liberty cannot be overrated. This is simple truth, and it is due to the victim of priestly intolerance to state it. If those claims have been neglected in any quarter, whence sympathy and kind feeling were especially to be expected—and we confess our suspicions that such has been the case—yet the future may remedy in good part the past, and teach our enemies that whatever oversights have been committed, and temporary misunderstandings have arisen, we are nevertheless one in heart and purpose. To have neglected a duty is bad, to persist in and to justify such neglect is tenfold worse.

Art. VI. *Guy's Hospital Reports.* Edited by George H. Barlow, M.A. and L.M., Trin. Coll. Cam., and James P. Babington, M.A., Trin. Coll. Cam. *October*, 1839. *Art. Mr. Towne's Observations on the Incubated Egg.* London: Highley.

A GROWING interest in scientific researches is one of the features of the present times. The knowledge which is accumulated from this source is no longer the exclusive property of a profession. Chemistry, so replete with wonders, is cultivated by others beside the medical profession. Her opulent treasures, while collaterally they multiply the agencies of the healing art, are the source of wealth to the merchant, of fascination to the studious inquirer, and of numerous delights to society at large. The kindred sciences of anatomy and physiology present attractions also to the general reader. The cumbrous and forbidding phraseology which surrounds them affords but a feeble barrier against intruders, and

when carried into the wider department of inquiry which the animal kingdom supplies, the phenomena they reveal constitute an assemblage of designs, illustrating the adaptation of means to ends, and emphatically announcing the power, wisdom, and beneficence of the Creator. It is here the contemplative mind delights to repose. Avoiding the mazes of speculation, it enters a world of realities, every one of which bears the impress of the divine hand; and amidst the scene of wonders which are unveiled, none would be more amazing, than that the investigator himself should return with his mind unawed, unrefined, unimproved.

To watch the development of the chick under incubation has long been a favorite pursuit among scientific naturalists; and an array of eminent men, during a long series of years, might be cited as having lent their talents to elucidate the process. The subject, indeed, is inviting. It is the only means, within reach, where the formative process can accurately be noticed, and from the domestic habits of the hen, and the facility with which eggs can be procured, experiments may be repeated and conclusions tested, without restriction. It is, too, free from the revolting method of injuring the mother, while it embraces all that can be desired for close, extended, and conclusive observation. We had, indeed, reason to believe that the field had already been well-trodden—that the structures, harmonious actions, and relations of this beautiful microcosm had been displayed, and that only occasional and isolated additions were left for future investigators. It appears, however, that in this we have been deceived, for our attention has been directed to some observations by Mr. Towne, of Guy's Hospital, in which the author propounds several opinions utterly at variance with those ordinarily entertained on the subject.

It would be foreign to our purpose, and incompatible with our limits, minutely to describe the various changes which attend the evolution of the chick. An account of them, with illustrative engravings, may be seen in the fourth volume of Sir Everard Home's works, or as copied from him, in a much more accessible form, in the volume on the Domestic Habits of Birds, published in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge. Our object at present will be just so far to sketch the process as to render it intelligible to our readers; and by condensing the results of previous experimenters and reviewing the observations of Mr. Towne, impartially to seek out the truth.

The time required for the complete formation of the chick is twenty-one days. Commencing as a small spherical speck on the surface of the yolk, it gradually enlarges, and variations are appreciable on each successive day. The yolk, being specifically lighter than the white or albumen, has a tendency to rise to the part which is uppermost, whilst by some small ligamentous bands termed the chalazes or poles, it is permitted to revolve on its

axis, and its motion upwards is restrained within certain defined limits. We shall have occasion to recur to this mechanism so admirably adapted to secure that position of the germ which is most favorable for its receiving the nutrient warmth of the mother, at the same time preventing its tender structures from being bruised by rough contact with the shell or lining membranes. The form of the cicatricula, or rudiment of the future chick, changes from a spherical to a more longitudinal shape, and the progress of its organization is seen by a blood-vessel coming out from either side of it, branching into numerous smaller vessels, which unite at their termination, forming a marginal boundary on the covering of the yolk. The chick is the centre of this network of vessels, and as the embryo increases so do these vessels multiply, covering daily a larger space until they nearly pervade the membrane of the yolk. It appears from a beautiful experiment of Mr. Towne's, that at the first formation of these vessels, and probably before them, each branch is accompanied by a vessel carrying yolk into the body of the chick, which no doubt supplies the pabulum for its sustenance and growth. Between the third and fourth day a remarkable change is visible in the contents of the shell. The yolk suddenly becomes flattened, and a portion of the white or albumen is found to have penetrated the yolk bag. At about the same period a vascular membrane, termed by Sir E. Home, the vesicle, has so far become developed as to have passed from the body of the chick to the lining membrane of the shell. The increase of this membrane is proportioned to the growth of the embryo. It continues to enlarge over the surface of the membrane of the shell, which towards the end of incubation it entirely surrounds, thus forming an external covering to the yolk. This vesicle, or chorion, is full of blood-vessels—a system of arteries and veins—carrying livid red blood from the body of the chick, and returning it a bright red colour, fitted for the elimination of the structures of the chick. If an egg be opened between the twelfth and thirteenth day of incubation, this membrane will be prominently apparent; the pulses of the numerous blood-vessels will be seen propelling their contents, and presenting to the eye of the observer so animating and interesting a sight as to have been declared by Blumenbach to be the most beautiful spectacle in the organic creation. The progressive evolution of the chick is evinced by the development of its several organs. At about the sixth day its bare wings and legs are fully seen; the eyes are large and prominent, the brain and bill are clearly distinguished, and its organization is going on to completion. A few days additional growth discovers the wings and body covered with short feathers; and that which a week or ten days before was but an amorphous mass, is now furnished with shape, proportion, and organic life. About the fifteenth

day the yolk-bag begins to be taken up into the abdomen of the chick. The albumen has now disappeared from admixture with the yolk, and in this state, towards the completion of the chick's residence in the shell, it is found to have been gradually received into the chick's abdomen. We may here mention, that there is a small reservoir of air, called the folliculus aeris, enclosed between two membranes at the larger end of the shell, which increases in the progress of incubation. At the nineteenth day the vocal organs come into play, consequently respiration is established; the large blood-vessels which connect the chick with the chorion—any one of which if left open would prove fatal to the embryo—begin to be sealed and shrink, and every thing is combining to aid the chick in breaking its shell, and emerging into independent existence. The preparations necessary for completing this purpose are very remarkable. The package of the chick is so arranged, that while the body and appendages are enclosed in the smallest possible space, there is yet a passage left free in the long axis of the chick's head, to allow sufficient impetus to be gained by the recession of the head and neck, as to collect force enough by repeated blows, to break the shell and make its escape. The head itself is confined between the hip on one side and the wing on the other, which passes over the head as represented by Mr. Towne, in just contradiction of Sir E. Home's engraving. By this means any lateral movement of the head is prevented, and the instinctive blows of the chick are directed to one spot, and not diffused and enfeebled as would be the result were its power of motion in this direction unrestrained. The tip of the upper mandible is supplied with a thick, hardened, horny point expressly for the purpose of breaking the shell, as it drops off after the chick has gained its liberty.

In preparing, at the request of the Treasurer of Guy's Hospital, a series of models to illustrate the changes in the hen's egg during incubation, Mr. Towne thought he had little else to do than to fix on some standard work, say Sir Everard Home's, and follow the author; or, as Mr. T. expresses it, 'place myself under his (Sir 'E. Home's) guidance, follow his track, and arrive at his results. 'I soon found (adds Mr. T.) that either I must consent implicitly 'to adopt the opinions of others, or determine to look and judge 'for myself.' And the results of this unshackled investigation are embodied in the paper which we now propose to consider.

We find that the first position, in the order of his observations that Mr. Towne has attacked, is the prevailing theory of the decarbonization of the blood. The chorion, as we have mentioned, is developed immediately beneath the lining membranes of the shell, in order, as was universally supposed, that the blood should be decarbonized by the air penetrating the porous shell, and that the folliculus aeris was a provisionary arrangement for the inter-

val of time before the chorion had sufficiently grown. This theory has had the sanction of time, authority, analogy, concurrent testimony, and the confirmation of experiment. Mr. Towne first entertained a doubt of the correctness of the theory from observing that the lining membrane of the shell became uniformly thicker as incubation advanced, thus opposing a greater obstacle to the accession of air to the chorion, where it was evidently most needed. Frequent observation placed this fact beyond doubt, which Mr. Towne, with praiseworthy zeal, ascertained to exist also in the eggs of the linnet, sparrow, blackbird, moorhen, partridge, turkey, duck, and goose. The experiment on which the theory rested was, that the death of the chick followed on rendering the shell impervious to air by a coat of varnish.

'Now it seemed to me (says Mr. T.), that unless a perfectly innocent varnish had been employed, this was not a satisfactory experiment, inasmuch as admitting the shell to be pervious to air, so would it certainly be to any smell which might attach to a substance thus employed.' 'I then determined to repeat the experiment in my own way.'

The experiment consisted in varnishing a number of fresh eggs with successive coats of thickened albumen, until the shells were 'completely lackered.' They were then enveloped with four coverings of paper cut like the sections of an orange, well soaked in albumen, and so critically adjusted as to 'bring the middle of 'each section opposite the joining in the previous coating.' 'The 'whole formed a covering so thick and horny that I felt con-'vinced it was entirely impermeable.' These eggs were submitted to incubation on the 18th of April, and one of them was opened on each day between the 4th and 10th inclusive, and 'the 'chicks had gone through all their changes without interruption.' The venous and arterial circulation was beautifully seen at the eleventh and twelve and a half days, under the same circumstances, and one egg that was opened on the nineteenth day, exhibited a proportionate maturity. No process had been suspended, and 'the chick was living and vigorous, and evinced a 'strong disposition to make its escape from the shell.'

Mr. Towne, sensible of the extreme importance of disturbing the prevailing opinion on insufficient evidence, submitted it to a still more rigorous test, adding an extra coat of paper to the four in the other experiment, and then 'three coats of oil-paint com-'posed of white-lead, with a large portion of sugar of lead as a 'drier; this I did with the double intention of offering an addi-'tional obstruction to the air, and also to prove whether the 'paper was or was not entirely sufficient for the purpose: con-

'cluding that if it were not, the fume from so noxious an applica-
'tion must inevitably prevent the progress of incubation. All
'this, however, had no effect. I opened the egg at twelve and a
'half days, and found that no interruption had occurred, the venous
'and arterial circulation being perfectly natural.'

We have thus given the outline of the experiments from which Mr. Towne has drawn the inference, that the blood circulating in the chorion is not decarbonized by air derived from without through the shell. The deduction is certainly most startling; but we are at a loss to see how it can be evaded. We have ourselves carefully inspected the artificial coverings which surrounded the eggs, and after the most critical examination we could give, were left without doubt of their impermeability. The experiments, however, ought to be repeated in all the various ways which ingenuity can devise, and if with a similar result—which we fully anticipate—Mr. Towne's conclusion must be acknowledged. We know the pertinacity with which scientific men oftentimes reject innovations on old established opinions, and the sort of churlish refractoriness with which they hold off from admitting truth to be contained in novelties. That sort of hesitation which a wise caution requires is merged into obstinate incredulity, and a host of quibbles, shifts, and prevarications are summoned up to protect what is virtually a fixed determination, though it be dignified by the title of philosophical doubt, obstructing the ingress of truth, tricking the judgment, and perpetuating error.

In the present case Mr. Towne has other difficulties to encounter, He has apparently crushed a fondly cherished notion, but has not supplied a new one. The 'principle of vitality' to which he has referred is necessarily vague, and very unlike the plain, practical, home-thrusting inferences which his well authenticated observations induce. We are disposed to think that this interesting subject of inquiry is again reduced to its first elements, and however great the temptation may be to speculate and raise dim conjectures concerning it, yet steady and laborious search alone can hope successfully to surmount the difficulties which surround it. We may feel reluctant to give up that in which we confided as a sure result of scientific knowledge, but to oppose the dictates of our judgment because we cannot make up the loss, is to league ourselves with the practical promoters of 'philosophy falsely so called.' It may unsettle our views, wound our vanity, and mock our discernment to be thus schooled, to begin the lessons we thought we had learnt; but he who has matriculated as a disciple of science, and after the manner of her most illustrious founder, is 'as a little 'child picking up pebbles on the vast shore of truth,' will often be thus disappointed, and will find 'the occasional non-plus of his 'reason affords a fairer scope and opportunity for the exercise of his 'industry and faith.' 'Certain it is,' says Lord Bacon, 'whether

'it be believed or no, that the most excellent of metals, gold, is 'of all others the most pliant, and most enduring to be wrought; 'so of all living and breathing substances the perfectest (man) is 'the most susceptible of improvement, impression, and alteration.' We wish a little more of this ductility were possessed by the class of philosophers we have been reproaching.

We have noticed already that at the larger extremity of the egg there is a reservoir or bag of air, termed the folliculus aeris. During the first days of incubation it is very small, but increases as this process advances. The chamber in which the air is enclosed was said to be formed by the separation of the two laminæ of the lining membrane of the shell (the membrana albuminis); or rather to speak more accurately, the inner lamina, which closely adheres to its fellow throughout the shell, abruptly diverges at the greater extremity in a transverse direction, leaving the outer lamina to pass over the remainder of the shell. In this way a small portion of the interior of the egg-shell is isolated which is the containing cavity of the air. In the course of Mr. Towne's dissections of the egg, he was led to regard this description as erroneous. He noticed that the lining membrane of the shell underwent considerable changes during incubation, and that these changes 'were so uniform in their character that there generally 'needed no surer guide as to how far the process of incubation 'was proceeding successfully.' The transverse septum, however, forming the floor of the folliculus aeris, did not participate in these changes, but remained thin and semi-transparent throughout the period. This was a sufficient presumption against the identity of the two; and upon inserting a blow-pipe in the larger extremity of the shell, the whole of this membrane was raised by inflation. It was thus demonstrated to be a distinct membrane, unconnected with the membrane of the shell, the two layers of which remained in close approximation with each other, and in intimate adhesion to the shell. Mr. Towne has termed this the 'inner lining membrane,' which he says, 'is thin and delicate, 'and differs from the membrana albuminis in remaining almost 'unchanged during incubation. As this process, however, ad-'vances, it separates from it to a considerable extent, and its use 'appears to be to hold the contents of the egg in suspension 'within the shell, and thus protect the chick from being bruised, 'which might otherwise occur when the egg was subjected to 'motion.'

In assenting to the accuracy of this description of Mr. Towne's, we assure our readers that we have tested his experiments for ourselves, and that what we advance is consequently the result of ocular demonstration. The function which Mr. T. has assigned to the inner lining membrane, is, we think, correct; and we regard it as beautifully adapted for acting as a natural hammock

for the chick—swinging along with its movements, and protecting it from injurious collision with the shell.

But what is the use of the folliculus aeris? Why should a portion of the shell be set apart for containing air, and for what purpose is this air to be appropriated? So indisputable a fact as the existence of the folliculus, which the most cursory inspection of any egg will demonstrate, was sure to have some function awarded to it whether real or imaginary. The first speculation concerning its purpose proved satisfactory, and no dissentient voice had been raised to disturb the settled repose in which the question had sunk, until Mr. Towne agitated it again and disputed its correctness. We will adduce the current notice respecting it, from the writings of Sir Everard Home. When describing the changes visible in the contents of the shell at the 10th day of incubation (vol. iii. p. 434), he says, 'the contents 'of the egg having been much diminished, during the formation of the embryo, the void space had gradually been filled 'with a gas. This was examined by Mr. Hatchett, and found 'to be atmospheric air, deposited at the great end of the egg, '*between the lares of the membrane lining the shell.* Even before 'incubation has begun, there is always a small portion of air in 'this place, which undoubtedly is rarified by the heat of the 'mother, and employed *in aerating the blood, from the time it* '*first acquires a red colour, till it is superseded in that office by* '*the external air through the shell acting on the blood in the vessels* '*of the vesicular membrane (chorion) with which it is lined.*' In a paper published by Dr. Paris, in the tenth volume of the Linnæan Transactions, when speaking of the folliculus aeris, he tells us, 'That its most essential use is to oxygenate the blood, 'in my opinion, there can be no doubt.'

Our author, however, has been led to a different conclusion. The eggs which had been rendered impervious to air for the prosecution of the experiments on the decarbonization of the blood, were examined by him with a view to ascertain whether the air had escaped from the cell and been appropriated to the chick; arguing that—

'If at any time the air contained within this space were early required, it would be when all supply from without had been prevented. It was evident, however, on careful examination that, in these covered eggs, the membrane which forms the internal parietes of the folliculus aeris had remained unruptured, and consequently that the air it contained had not been used in the way described.'

We think, too, that there is a want of congruity in the anatomical relation of the germ and the folliculus aeris in the first days of incubation, when alone, be it remembered, the air is

said to be required—which would defeat this alleged purpose. On examining the egg before the chorion is formed, the germ will be seen to maintain nearly a central position, with relation to the two extremities, and that there is a thick covering of albumen, and a considerable space intervening between it and the folliculus aeris. How the air from the folliculus could reach the chick or its marginal arteries to aerate them, without the rupture of the membrane, we are at a loss to imagine! Upon these grounds it appears to us that the induction may reasonably be drawn, that the function of the folliculus aeris does not consist in its supplying air to the first-formed blood vessels of the chick.

Mr. Towne has invested the folliculus aeris with a different function, which was first suggested to him when observing the period at which it became ruptured.

'I found that this had not occurred on the eighteenth day, and that up to this time the chick had not the power of using its vocal organs; but on the nineteenth day, so soon as the forceps were introduced, it uttered a loud note of distress, and in this egg there was a large rupture of the folliculus aeris. I believe therefore (says Mr. T.) that the air which is contained within the egg is not rendered available for decarbonizing the blood until the nineteenth day.'

Mr. T. appends some considerations derived from the condition of the chick at the nineteenth day of incubation, which harmonise so well with the escape of air from the folliculus aeris, and appear so beautifully adapted to fulfil the requisite indications, that we entertain no doubt of their being the designed purpose—the true function in short of this little pneumatic apparatus. At this period it will be noticed the chick is within two days of leaving the shell. But before this important process can be accomplished, various changes must take place. The bonds of union between the chick and its calcareous covering are to be severed; the provision for its support as an imprisoned thing is gradually to give way to its approaching liberty, and to effect this purpose, it must be endowed with increased physical power. Perhaps the most prominent of these changes is to secure the obliteration of the large vessels which ramify on the chorion, and play so important an office in its organization. Their function in this respect must be superseded, and the power of respiration which the chick enjoys becomes the efficient substitute. The vessels shrink and shrivel from this time, and at the expiration of the twenty-first day, they become detached from the chick's abdomen, and their remains are left in the shell when the chick has quitted it. It is obvious too that the distension of the lungs by air, is the occasion of the muscular power and vigour, so urgently required when the shell has to be broken.

It is somewhat singular too, that Mr. Towne's views on this

subject, are not in the least degree invalidated from any of the *facts* which had previously been demonstrated. The progressive enlargement of the folliculus aeris to the nineteenth day, while it must disconcert the upholders of Sir Everard Home's opinions, is strikingly auspicious to Mr. Towne's. The former, indeed, have to reconcile the glaring discrepancy of the provision being small when the demand is greatest—a sort of error into which a political economist may fall, but nature never does—while the latter finds a just correspondence between the two. Dr. Paris also has recorded some experiments on the analysis of the air contained in the folliculus which we subjoin.

'Twenty-one hens' eggs, newly laid, when punctured at the obtuse extremity, yielded only one cubic inch of pure atmospherical air, when subjected to the eudiometric test of Dr. Priestley.

'Two eggs after twenty days' incubation, were opened under the surface of water, from which one cubic inch of gas was collected. This I discovered to be atmospheric air, contaminated however with a small portion of carbonic acid.'

We need scarcely comment on the inference from these experiments. According to Mr. Towne's opinions nothing but 'pure atmospheric air' could be expected in newly-laid eggs, and nothing but respired air, or in other words 'air contaminated with a small portion of carbonic acid' on the twentieth day of incubation.

We much regret that Mr. Towne has not availed himself of analytical chemistry, in determining the changes, if any, which the gas in the folliculus aeris undergoes in different periods of incubation. Dr. Paris's experiments are far from conclusive, as they do not embrace the intervening period between the first and the twentieth day of incubation. Besides, we are not without our anticipations that a faithful and cautious analysis of this sort, will reveal some novel results. An a priori reasoning on the facts we have detailed, rather shake our belief in the existence of *pure* atmospherical air, as being the gas contained in the folliculus. When the air was excluded by Mr. Towne, we find that on the nineteenth day, every process had been going on in its natural order. We find, also, that the membrana albuminis presents the same obstacle to the ingress of air to the folliculus as it does to the chorion. Whence then is it derived, and what are its constituents? That it is a respirable gas we have little doubt, but that it should not be pure atmospherical air, we have presumptive proof from a fact related by Dr. Paris. It is well known that if the larger extremity of the egg be punctured, even by the smallest needle, every process of organization is at once arrested, and the germ invariably dies. Now the puncture itself can do little or no injury to the chick, but

it allows an opening for atmospheric air, the deleterious properties of which are exerted on the embryo in occasioning its death. Could this be the case if atmospheric air naturally resided within the folliculus aeris? We trust that this will shortly be investigated.

There is yet another portion of our subject of great interest to be discussed. We refer to the nature and function of the chalazæ, and the admixture of the albumen with the yolk. The position of the yolk, and consequently of the cicatricula, is intimately associated with these points; and if we mistake not, there is no part of the subject more generally interesting. Among our early observations, we remarked the necessity for the germ always occupying that situation in the shell which should facilitate the reception of heat from the fowl's breast, and accordingly it is invariably found at the surface of the yolk, beneath the highest portion of the shell. The egg may be laid down after repeated changes of posture, and the germ will still retain this site. There are some few circumstances which combine to effect this purpose. The yolk is specifically lighter than the surrounding albumen, and consequently has a direct tendency to rise to the surface. The chalazæ are attached to the membrane of the yolk, but not in the central axis of this globe. On the contrary, they divide it into unequal sections, by being connected with the membrane below the centre, and the germ is developed on the surface of the larger portion, which is necessarily the highest. The chalazæ have been said to be attached at their other extremity to the white, permitting the yolk to revolve on its axis. Indeed much has been vaguely and imperfectly written about them, and we are told by Sir Charles Bell, that their action had not been properly understood, until he undertook to explain them. In the second volume of Paley's Theology, illustrated by Lord Brougham and himself, after noticing that the axis of the chalazæ was below the centre of the yolk-bag, he adds that--

'Each of these bodies is connected with the white, and attached at a point to the yolk; the yolk being, as it were, anchored to these two points, and the attachments being below the centre, and the yolk being lighter than the surrounding white, it revolves like a buoy; and the cicatricula containing the embryo is thus kept always uppermost.'

There is an illustrative engraving accompanying this description, and after carefully comparing them, we do not hesitate to declare the whole to be a strange compound of truth and fiction, which will shortly, we expect, be made to appear.

Mr. Towne describes the chalazæ, as 'two dense, tough bodies, 'each of them is strongly attached to the yolk-bag. They then

'pass through the white, and are connected with the inner lining 'membrane at each end of the egg. These bodies contain a 'spiral filament.' There is a coloured plate accompanying this description of Mr. Towne's.

We find these authors at variance about the attachment of the chalazæ; Sir C. Bell, connecting them with the white, and Mr. Towne with the inner lining membrane; and on inspecting the plates of each, to discover the appearance of these bodies, an ignorant person would, we feel sure, be bewildered at the difference. That each of these should have been drawn from nature appears to us most extraordinary; and we are led irresistibly to the conviction, that if the one be a likeness, the other is a caricature, and a gross departure from correct delineation. We have in vain looked for the numerous anchorings of Sir C. Bell, and have clearly detected the chalazæ of Mr. Towne. If the one be fitted to execute its assigned purpose, the other assuredly is not; and as the office is simple, clear, and uniformly agreed upon, it affords a fair standard whereby to compare the correctness of the respective descriptions. We have said that the chalazæ permit the revolution of the yolk on its axis, so as to allow the larger section of it always to be uppermost. For this purpose a clear space is necessary, and the mechanism which allows the existence of the cicatricula in the highest point on one side, must accommodate itself to permit a similar position on the opposite, else it would obviously defeat the designed intention. On examining Sir Charles Bell's diagram, we cannot comprehend how his anchors are to allow one complete rotation. They are made to run in various directions, in a downward and transverse course, fully securing the yolk in one position, but directly obstructing its revolution. Before the larger section of the yolk can reverse its position, when the egg is turned, all these anchors must be destroyed, and by some magical process be generated on the opposite side, to secure and fix the yolk in its newly-acquired position. On turning to Mr. Towne's drawing, we find no such difficulty. By the attachment of the chalazæ to the inner lining membrane, there are two fixed points on which the globe of the yolk can rotate, and the spiral filament surrounded by thickened albumen, is by its greater specific gravity always inclined to the lowest point, serving another purpose which Mr. Towne has announced to be an additional fact.

'The position of the yolk,' says Mr. Towne, is said to depend, first, on the attachment of the chalazæ; and next on its being specifically lighter than the white; but if this were all, the yolk would rise to the surface, and bring the germ in contact with the inner lining membrane, thus rendering it liable to injury during the rotary motion of the yolk.

'These bodies (the chalazæ) contain a spiral filament, the elasticity of which is so justly proportioned to the force by which the yolk is borne up, as to restrain it at a given point, and allow sufficient space between the yolk and the inner lining membrane, for the white to lubricate the surface of the yolk, and thus protect the germ from injury.'

Sir C. Bell's engraving accurately pourtrays this thin layer of albumen over the germ, but he does not attempt to account for it. His chalazæ, too, correspond with this restraint on the buoyancy of the yolk, but he appears never to have contemplated a similar restraint under a reversed state of the yolk-bag.

We have mentioned that between the third and fourth day of incubation, the yolk appears flattened, and the albumen begins to be mixed with it. This is a settled fact, but the cause has long been disputed; and unless Mr. Towne has succeeded in explaining it, it still remains a questio vexata. Dr. Prout, in an elaborate paper in the Philosophical Transactions, proves the difference in the constitution of the white, which he found impregnated with foreign matter derived from the yolk, and which he termed modified albumen. Dr. Prout very honestly declares that it is left for some future inquirer satisfactorily to elucidate the manner in which this union takes place. Leveille made the chalazæ into absorbent vessels, to conduct the white into the yolk-bag,—a gratuitous piece of imagination. The Germans, who, we believe, have led the prevailing theory, ascribed it to the principle of endosmosis, a phenomenon first observed by Dutrochet. By this process two fluids of different specific gravity, acquire the power of commingling through an intervening septum of membrane or other substance. Several objections might be brought against this very ingenious and plausible explanation, which, however, we forbear to mention, as we are confident Mr. Towne's demonstrations on this point will for the future, perfectly supersede and exclude it.

Mr. Towne quotes Sir E. Home's explanation of the cause of this communication, which is to the effect that a slit is made by the escape of the vesicle (chorion) from the internal opening, which leaves a free channel for the ingress of the albumen. 'I 'confess from the first,' he says, 'this description appeared to me 'unsatisfactory; for admitting the existence of such a slit, I am 'at a loss to understand how the white, which is the heavier, and 'consequently always occupying the lowest part, should pass 'through it; and again, if this point be ceded, surely the same 'slit which admitted of its passing into the yolk-bag, would, on 'the egg being turned, also allow it to pass out, and then there 'would be an admixture of yolk and albumen external to the 'yolk-bag, a circumstance which never happens.' This slit was one of Sir Everard Home's day-dreams, having no real existence

—one which was bunglingly suggested to account for a phenomenon, about which he was perfectly ignorant. Sir E. Home was prone to imagine when he ought to have been observing, and his evil genius did not forsake him in this instance. He has not, however, given form or figure to his dream—a sort of maturity in the art of philosophical delusion which his plates and letterpress occasionally exemplify.

We cannot persuade ourselves to abridge Mr. Towne's account of this process, every portion of which we have since verified. He first noticed the sudden change in the yolk between the third and fourth day.

'It had lost its rounded form, become very pale, and was perfectly flat.' 'I was thus induced to direct my attention to the changes occurring about this period, and on turning out the contents of an egg that had been submitted to sixty-nine hours incubation, I found on the lower part of the yolk, or that opposite the embryo, a white line, describing a circle nearly the size of a half-penny; and on proceeding with the investigation remarked that as incubation advanced, the yelk-bag within this circle became clouded, attenuated, and wrinkled. By carefully watching and examining a great many eggs, I at last found one where the yolk-bag was ruptured within this circle; the white, however, in this egg had not passed through the opening, nor had the yolk lost its form.

'I have already stated,' continues Mr. T., 'that there is constantly until late in the process of incubation, a portion of thick whtie adhering to the lower part of the yolk-bag. I carefully dissected this off in a goose-egg of fifteen days, when a great part of the contents of the yolk-bag immediately escaped. I could now discover that there was a natural opening in it, larger than a shilling, and this was skirted by a vessel in which the other vessels of the yolk-bag terminated, rendering the boundary of the opening so strong that I could readily introduce my finger and withdraw it; which I did repeatedly without its giving way.'

The same phenomena were discernible in a hen's egg.

'From all this I infer,' says Mr. T., 'that between the third and fourth days of incubation a rupture takes place in the membranes of the yolk, at that part opposite to the embryo, through which the thin white passes, and immediately mixes with the yolk, while the thick white sinks to the bottom, becomes more dense, and securely seals the opening: this may be seen in all its stages. At first the opening is large, and there is then a proportionate quantity of thick white, by which it is plugged. It next becomes surrounded by a vessel which contracts, thus reducing the size of the opening; and as it does so, the thick white is received within the yolk-bag until, in the hen's egg at the thirteenth or fourteenth day, the white has nearly all passed into

the yolk-bag, the opening has entirely closed, and a very small portion of slimy matter is all that remains external.'

By referring to the colored plate accompanying this description, our readers will readily form a distinct conception of this remarkable process; and a little careful manipulation in the dissection of a goose or hen's egg will reveal to them the far more interesting sight of its actual state. The gradual diminution of this opening by the contraction of the marginal vessel may be followed out, and the plug of thick albumen may be withdrawn, leaving this opening with its edge clear and distinct.

But Mr. Towne has assigned another function to this thick white. We have already dwelt upon the mechanism by which the germ is kept at the upper part of the egg, which we found admirably suited for the purpose, during the first days of incubation. But when the white becomes mixed with the yolk, the character and relative position of the several parts are altered, and 'so far as the buoyancy of the yolk, the attachment of the 'chalazæ, and the spiral filament are concerned, it seems to me,' says Mr. Towne, 'that the embryo might sink to the bottom; 'yet after this period the chick is still found at the upper part of 'the egg.' How, then, is it retained there? Mr. Towne says, 'May not the condensed albumen, to which I have alluded, sink 'to the bottom by its own gravity, and thus cause the embryo, 'which is exactly opposite, to rise to the highest point?'

We are much surprised that our author has not enlarged on this section of his paper. The interrogatory we have just quoted is all the account we hear of this function—one which our own observation has assured us to be correct. No sooner is one process destroyed, than nature ever fruitful in expedients though frugal in means, contrives another out of the ruins of the old; and while the change she designs is securely carried on, she appropriates the very source of the annihilation of the former mechanism, to create a new provision which shall fully supersede it. It is thus that, when the yolk-bag is so altered by the admixture of the albumen as to render the chalazæ of no further avail, the thick white is always fixed at the lower portion of the shell; and by retaining this position in every movement and rotation of the egg, it effectively keeps the little chick in the upper part of the shell. Coupling these two discoveries of Mr. Towne's together, we regard them as among the most interesting of modern physiology. Nor do they lose any of their worth from the very modest and unpretending way in which they are recounted. He has cleared many obscure points on this subject, and has developed many new ones; and, as we have shown, has succeeded in elucidating that which had hitherto baffled the observation of many eminent men; but we never hear the tone of exultation,

none of the triumphant Archimedes cry of ευρηκα—ευρηκα. We rather doubt whether he has protected himself sufficiently against the encroachments of those who watch their opportunity to filch away the researches of others. Certainly he has not so enlarged them, in their obvious bearings, as to prevent an easy and fruitful harvest for any whose slothful nature would induce them to prey upon their confines, and gain the second-hand reputation of being discoverers. There is an ambition very rife among the professors of science, to purchase fame and reputation with other gold than industry and research—an ambition which often leads to immature views and incorrect facts, and entails and perpetuates error. We have seen something of this in the contributors to the natural history of the hen's egg; and had not Mr. Towne determined at the outset to take nothing as proved, we should probably still have been the supporters of Sir E. Home's erroneous opinions. We hardly know to what motives we ought to refer a dereliction from strict fidelity in describing the results of scientific investigations. Wilful misrepresentation we would fain believe, but rarely pollutes a scientific character. It may probably with more justice be ascribed to a proneness to be influenced by preconceived notions, so that things and appearances which are revealed to the senses are distorted and made to square with them. The imagination is thus pressed into service, and becomes the obsequious and ready abettor of the mind's bias, and hence it is that small bands are multiplied, elongated, and directed, when the prevailing idea is, that a yolk *ought* to be anchored down; and a small slit or an absorbent vessel are fancifully suggested to *accommodate* the admixture of two fluids. Personal vanity too must have its incense; and its cravings are not satiated until it can appropriate the titles of author or discoverer. An ambition for posthumous distinction, too, might be cited as an incentive to authorship; and the restless agitating impulse to do something leads oftentimes prematurely to productions in which recounted facts need the authenticity of long and laborious investigation, and, consequently, science the tribute of ultimate and irrevocable data. The *non omnis moriar* is the high aim of such persons, a sort of transition estate between earth and heaven, one which if administered to in the true spirit of philosophy will ensure its full reward, but if secured at the expense of faith and honesty—though the flaws and errors be well concealed —will quickly go the *facilis descensus,* reaping ignominy and reproach.

We cannot take leave of Mr. Towne without strongly urging him to pursue the subject more fully. We feel quite sure that he has yet much remaining which will enrich our present knowledge of the changes in the incubated egg and a future number of the Guy's Hospital Reports. Nor should we be discharging our

duty or our inclination were we not favorably to notice the colored plates appended to the paper. We hardly recollect to have seen any more faithfully and admirably executed, and which so clearly illustrate the subjects of the text.

Art. VII. *The History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India; comprising the Districts of Behar, Shahabad, Bhagulpoor, Goruckpoor, Dinajepoor, Puraniya, Ronggopoor, and Assam, in relation to their Geology, Mineralogy, Botany, Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, Fine Arts, Population, Religion, Education, Statistics, &c. Surveyed under the Orders of the Supreme Government, and Collated from the Original Documents at the E. I. House, with the Permission of the Honorable Court of Directors.* By Montgomery Martin, Author of the 'History of the British Colonies,' &c. In Three Volumes. London: Allen and Co.

THE time must be near at hand when the interests of that vast province of the British empire whose population is at least five times that of the British isles, and more than a hundred and twenty times that of our West India colonies, will stand revealed to the awakened attention of the public in this country in all their magnitude and importance. Hitherto, of the awful responsibility which the possession of India involves, not only do our statesmen and legislators appear to be insensible, but no adequate idea is generally entertained even by the philanthropic and religious portion of the community. How is this? The explanation is, we think, not difficult. First, India is regarded as a *possession*, not as a part of the empire; not as a colony. The number of British settlers is at present very inconsiderable, and few indeed emigrate to India with the intention of making it their adopted country and home. Then the natives are further removed from our sympathies than even the negroes or aborigines of our colonies, because the latter, at least to a considerable extent, are brought under moral cultivation, are as it were domesticated, Christianized, and speak our language. Once more, a certain degree of information is requisite in order to waken curiosity; and scarcely enough is known about India by the generality of persons, to lead them to feel interest in extending their knowledge. In fact, we believe that ignorance, absolute and discreditable ignorance, is the chief cause of the prevailing indifference to a subject which, when fairly appreciated and steadily contemplated, oppresses the mind with its vastness of extent and incalculable importance. And this ignorance, extending as it does

even to those who have the direction of public opinion, and exercise a powerful control over our public affairs, will sooner or later cost us dear.

A bare catalogue of the publications relating to India would, it is true, form a volume; but few of these give us any insight into the actual condition of the country and its population, and their sale, we suspect, is for the most part very limited. We know this to be the case with some of the most valuable works that have appeared. The present volumes form a large accession to our information; and we cannot but express our satisfaction that their multifarious contents have at length been suffered to see the light. The statistical survey which it comprises, was executed under the orders of the Bengal Government, dated Sept., 1807, by Dr. F. Buchanan, and occupied seven years. It was then brought to a close, after an expenditure of about £30,000, and when only a portion of the territories under the government of the Bengal Presidency had been investigated. The materials collected, and the observations made, were forwarded to the home authorities in 1816, and were suffered to remain in the East India House for twenty years. At length, on completing the Marquess of Wellesley's Despatches, Mr. Montgomery Martin asked and obtained permission to examine the manuscripts connected with this survey.

'That examination,' he says, 'convinced me that a judicious selection from the documents and information would be extremely valuable, by placing before the British public a minute and official description of the condition of the mass of the people; while it would also tend to promote such further inquiries in India as will, I trust, enable us ere long to obtain a complete insight into the resources of that vast and fertile country, and into the social state of the millions of our fellow subjects by whom it is inhabited. Nothing that I saw in India, or that I ever read, presents so descriptive a portraiture of the natives of Hindostan as these official documents exhibit, and which I confidently trust will tend to excite the minds of the wise and good to co-operate in procuring from the parliament of the empire, that mercantile reciprocity of which so much has been heard with reference to foreign nations, but none at all with regard to our own possessions in India. . . . Were the hundred millions of British subjects in India converted into a *consuming* population, what a market would be presented for British capital, skill, and industry!'

Whatever may be thought of Mr. Martin's opinions on Indian affairs, (and perhaps it would have been as well if he had not introduced them into the preface to a work of this description,) the public of Britain and of India are under no small obligations to him for the labor bestowed upon the editing of Dr. Buchanan's voluminous reports. Mr. Martin deserves the credit of

being one of the most industrious and indefatigable literary workmen of the day; and we have no desire to disparage the value of his present performance; yet we must regret that he has confined his editorial labors to the simple process of selection and abridgement (which might, indeed, have been carried much further), and that he has shrunk from the 'difficult task' of offering any analysis of the facts contained in these volumes, or even reducing their contents to a table of matters or index. As it is, we very much fear that the undigested mass of materials will be consulted only for the data they may furnish to future compilers: by the generality of persons the work will be found scarcely readable. It would have been, we admit, an herculean labor properly to arrange, compress, and edit such a work; and to deal competently with the multifarious matters brought into the survey would have demanded an acquaintance with the history, literature, and languages of India that is possessed by few.

Within the last thirty years, the unwearied labor and high scholarship that have been employed in investigating the extant remains of Indian philosophy and mythology, have reduced to the shape of consistent knowledge the vague speculations that were entertained upon these subjects by the first pioneers in the untrodden field of Asiatic research. Much of the hearsay information scattered through these volumes with regard to the tenets, superstitions, customs, and traditions of the Hindoos, would have been of considerable value if collated with the results of the learned investigations prosecuted with such unwearied industry and brilliant success, by our Colebrookes and Wilsons, our Tods and Erskines, and a long array of Asiatic scholars. For instance, the account of the Sikhs (vol. i. p. 211), given on the authority of a fakir of Patna, is very defective and inaccurate, and the writer admits that he had not seen the account published in the Asiatic Researches. At vol. ii. p. 498, we find them referred to as more numerous in Bahar than any other Hindoo sect, which must be wholly erroneous. The account of the Jain sect is not less imperfect and confused; and we meet with many statements utterly unintelligible. For instance: 'The greater part at least of the 'Tantras which contain the forms of worship of Vishnoo and his 'avatars, although supposed to have been composed by Siva, are 'believed to have been divulged by Narada to *Gautama.*'—vol. i. p. 189. Chronology and common sense are alike violated in this absurd statement. The author appears to have had no distinct knowledge of the sacred books he so often refers to, or of the infamous character of the modern *Tantras.* Sometimes we find him correcting himself thus: 'In some of the accounts which 'I have formerly given, I have to a certain degree been mistaken 'in calling the Ramawats followers of Ramanuj,' &c.—p. 201. The mistake and its correction are alike trivial, but the original

statement appears the most accurate. The account of the Rajpoot tribes (p. 507), would be quite unintelligible but for the commentary supplied by Major Tod. We find the learned reveries of Major Wilford repeatedly referred to, although Dr. Buchanan appears not wholly unaware of the unsafe character of his authority; and at vol. ii. p. 113, we find him controverting some of the Major's romantic statements respecting his favorite *Magas.* 'The extreme difficulty of coming to any fixed or 'rational opinion concerning the transactions of a people who 'have no history,' is assigned as an apology for having, in the account of Dinajpoor, supposed the original seat of the *Gaur* Brahmins to have been in the *west* of India, instead of Bengal. It is scarcely correct, however, to speak of the Hindoos as having no history. The Cashmirian annals go back to a remote period, and are of unquestioned authenticity; and all accounts agree in making the Brahmans to have entered India from the north-west, as a foreign colony who had previously established themselves in Cashmir. The perplexing variations in orthography in these volumes are attributable, we presume, to the obscurity of MSS. In vol. iii. we have *Yovon* for *Yavan; Tontros* for *Tantras; Siva* is written *Sib;* and his goddess, *Parvati, Parboti,* &c. The Brahmaputra, generally called Burrampooter, will hardly be recognized under the form of *Brohmoputro.* It is obvious how much this carelessness tends to increase the difficulty of extracting information from the crude memoranda here presented to us. In fact, as to the historical matter contained in these reports, and the greater part of the observations upon the Hindoo sects, no loss would have been sustained, had the bulk of the volumes been reduced by the whole space which they occupy. The statistical, topographical, and agricultural details form the only valuable portion.

As a specimen of the miscellaneous information, we give an account of an instance of crocodile-worship, which carries us back to the days when the inhabitants of rival cities on the Nile waged exterminating war against each other in the name of their bestial divinities. In Africa this would be called Fetish-worship.

'The only place of Moslem worship is the Durgah of a saint, which is the property of a Fakir who has a small endowment. This monument is placed on the side of a tank, which, from its greatest length being from north to south, is a Hindu work. The chief celebrity of the place arises from its being inhabited by a crocodile, who is considered as the same with the saint; and he is accompanied by a smaller, which is supposed to be the saint's wife. On the 1st of Vaisakh about 5000 people of all sects assemble to make offerings to these monsters, which are then so glutted with kids and fowls that the multitude surround them without danger. At other times the supplies are casual; and sometimes the animals become so voracious, that they

occasionally carry away young buffaloes which come for drink. This year, as a man was attempting to drive out a young buffalo that had imprudently gone into the water, he was carried down and devoured. The natives, far from being irritated at this, believed that the unfortunate man had been a dreadful sinner, and that his death was performed by the saint merely as a punishment. Were twenty accidents of the kind to happen, they would consider it as highly improper to give the sacred animals any molestation. I went to view them in company with a Brahman of very considerable endowments, and by far the best informed person in the vicinity. I took with me a kid, the cries of which I was told would bring out the crocodiles. As I found the saint and his wife extended on the shore, where, notwithstanding the multitude, they lay very quietly, and as the kid made a most lamentable noise, I was moved to compassion, and directed it to be removed. This not only disappointed the multitude, but the Brahman said that such a proceeding was very unlucky, and that the neglect shown to the saint might afterwards produce very bad consequences. The claims of the kid, however, seemed most urgent, and the people appeared to be satisfied by my observing, that I alone could suffer from the neglect, as the piety of their intentions was indubitable.

'The Hindus here seem to be more than usually indifferent concerning the objects which they worship; and several places, recently and avowedly built by mere men, attract as much notice as in other parts would be given to those of which the foundation had been accompanied by events that in some countries would be considered as extraordinary.'—Vol. iii. pp. 59, 60.

In reference to the slavery which still exists in Bengal, we meet with the following important statement.

'It must be observed, that the same terms Golam and Gulmi, or Launda Laundi are given to male and female domestics, who are actually slaves, have been purchased, and are sometimes sold. Under the term Laundi, however, are often comprehended persons of a very different description; and, had a Moslem chief the means of procuring a Circassian beauty, she would come under this denomination. As it is, the high Moslems sometimes purchase a pretty child, with whom necessity induces her parents to part. She is carefully shut up with his wife, on whom she attends; but as she grows up, she often attracts the regards of her master, becomes a mother, and although she never acquires the rank nor dignity of a spouse, she often receives more of the chief's attention than falls to the lot of her mistress, and obtains a separate establishment. Every thing concerning the women of such persons being veiled in the most profound mystery, no estimate could be procured of their number; but this is a luxury in which almost every Muhammedan of fortune is supposed to indulge as far as he can afford.

'Common domestic slaves are not only called Golam and Launda, but in some parts they are called Nufur. While in others this term and Dhinggar are exclusively given to slaves employed in agriculture,

in contradistinction to Khawas or Bahaiya, the name given to domestic male slaves, or Sudin the name given to females. In other places again Khawas is given indifferently to slaves employed in agriculture or as domestics, and another distinction of more importance arises. Those who belong to Zemindars and receive lands for a subsistence, are called Khawas, while those who belong to inferior persons, and are allowed a house, food, and raiment, are called Sehana; but none of these terms are applied in different parts with any uniformity; the words are taken in one sense in one purgunah, and in a contrary or at least different sense in the next. This, indeed, is a circumstance that deserves the most serious and careful consideration from every person who manages the affairs of India, especially from those who form the laws by which it is to be governed. We almost everywhere find the same terms employed in the customs, finance, and government of the people; and superficial observers have done infinite harm by representing the people, as everywhere guided by the same laws and customs. Now I will confidently assert, that many of the terms expressive of points of the most essential consequence in the customs, finance, and government of the people are taken in meanings essentially different not only in different remote provinces, but even in neighbouring districts, divisions, and estates. The use, therefore, of any such terms in a general legislative view, without a most accurate definition of the sense in which it is to be taken, may prove in some cases highly prejudicial, while with a proper definition the regulation might have proved universally beneficial. This, indeed, cannot be too often inculcated, especially on the people of Europe, who have often been misled by specious writers, generally extremely shallow. The manners, indeed, of the different nations and people in India differ as widely as those of Europe, even including from Lapland to Paris.

'Farther, as India has almost constantly been undergoing a rapid succession of dynasties governing very different portions of country, and as the princes of these have been little guided by any other maxim except their temporary convenience, and have very generally entrusted even the legislative power to very inferior officers, each acting on discordant principles, so an astonishing and most perplexing variety of local regulations and interpretations of the same phrases have arisen. Although I have long been convinced of the circumstance, and endeavour constantly to guard against it, yet I confess that I often fail, and that I have not succeeded in distinguishing these classes of slaves with proper accuracy, so that the statements of the proportion of each class in several of the divisions are taken merely from my own conjecture, having been completely deceived by the use of the same words in opposite, or at least very different meanings. The heads Nos. 12, 13, and 14 in the Appendix, contain all the male adult slaves reported to belong to the district, and these may be nearly a fourth of the whole persons, young and old, in that condition; but as I am very uncertain what proportion is really employed in agriculture; and what as domestics, I shall under this head give an account of the whole.

'Those of one class (see Appendix) are chiefly domestics, although

they are sometimes employed to tend cattle, to dig, to build houses, or in such kinds of labor. These live entirely in their master's houses, but are always allowed to marry. Their children are slaves, and their women act as domestic servants. So far as I can learn, they are in general tolerably well treated, and fare as well as the ordinary class of servants, whose state however in this country is not very enviable, and has no sort of resemblance to the pampered condition of a European servant in India, and still infinitely less to that of the luxurious domestics of England. They have, however, wherewithal to stay the cravings of appetite for food, and the comfort of marriage, without the care of providing for a family. These are not numerous, and chiefly belong to Muhammedans. A grown man costs about from 15rs. to 20rs.

'The next class (see Appendix) belongs chiefly to Hindus of rank, who either have small free estates, or rent lands, and in the cultivation of these such slaves are chiefly employed, although some are also employed as domestics. The whole that I would consider as belonging to this class, are such as are allowed a separate hut, and small garden for themselves and families where they receive an allowance of grain and coarse cloth for a subsistence. The men work constantly for their master, and the women whenever their children do not require their attention, are either permitted to work on their own account, or if required to work for their master, they and the children are fed and clothed entirely at his expense. The children, so soon as they are able to tend cattle, are taken to their master's house, where they are fed and clothed until married. The allowance usually given annually to a slave, is a piece of coarse cloth, and about 985lbs. (15 *mans*, 64 s. w. a ser) of grain. His wife's labour, and his garden must furnish every other article of expense. A lad of 16 years of age sells for from 12 to 20rs. A girl at 8 or 10 years, when she is usually married, sells from 5 to 15rs. In most parts, man and wife, provided they belong to the same master, are not usually sold separate, nor is it the custom to separate children from their parents, until they are marriageable. But in others they are sold in whatever manner the master pleases, and there the price rises considerably higher. Very various customs prevail respecting their marriages. If a master has no slave girl of an age proper to give in marriage to one of his own boys that has arrived at the age of puberty, he endeavors to purchase one; but in many cases no master is willing to sell. The two masters sometimes agree, and having allowed the parties to marry, the master of the boy is entitled to one half of the male children, and the master of the girl to the other half, with all the females. In other cases the master of the girl at the marriage, takes 2rs. from the master of the boy. The male children are as before divided equally; but the master of the boy gets 2rs. for every female child when she becomes marriageable. In both cases the female slave continues to live with her master, who, if he requires her work, feeds and clothes her and the children, until they are marriageable, and at any rate gives them a hut; but in general the male slave passes the night with his wife, gives her part of the allowance which he receives from his master, and she works for whatever

else she may require. These contracts can therefore only be entered into between neighbours. In some places it is not usual for free persons to marry with slaves; but in other places it is not uncommon. When a free man marries a slave girl, he is called Chutiya Golam (*cunno servus*), and works for her master on the same terms as a slave, but he cannot be sold. His male children are in some places free; but are called Garhas, and are looked upon as of lower birth than persons of the same caste, both of whose parents were free. In other places the male children are slaves, and the female children in all cases are reduced to that state. A man sometimes gives his slave in marriage to a free girl, paying her father 2rs. In this case all the male children are slaves; but the females are free, only when each of them is married; either her relations or bridegroom must pay 2rs. to the father's master. The woman lives with her kindred, and works on their account, receiving the husband's allowance from his master. In some places it was said by the masters, that the slaves did more work than hired servants, and were better fed; but near Dinuya, where they are by far most numerous, it is alleged that they will do no labor without the constant fear of the rod, which appears to me the most credible account. They frequently run away, and going to a little distance, hire themselves out as servants, which shows that their former state was not enviable. Servants being exceedingly scarce, few masters are supposed to be honest enough to refuse hiring a runaway slave; indeed many will deny, that there is any moral turpitude in protecting a fellow creature who has escaped from that state of degradation.

'There are, however, in this district many slaves (see Appendix), whose condition is very different. These belong mostly to the great landlords, and each family receives a farm free of rent, and sufficiently large for its comfortable subsistence. This the family cultivates with its own hands, or by means of those who take a share; and when required, the men attend their lords, sometimes on grand occasions to swell out his numerous train; but usually either as domestics or as confidential persons, to whom he can safely entrust the superintendence of his affairs. Their families live on their farms, only perhaps one woman or two in a hundred may be required to be in attendance on her lady. Such persons are in fact by far the easiest class of laboring people in the district, and of course never attempt to run away, and are in general very faithful to their masters, who, although at a vast expense of land in maintaining them, very seldom sell them; but they possess the power, which operates strongly in rendering these slaves careful in the performance of their master's commands, and regardless of its nature. Their marriages are liable to the same varieties with those of other slaves.'—Ib. pp. 121—125.

There is an Appendix to the volume; but it contains nothing answering to the references. Surely, this is very careless editing.

In the desultory notices relating to Assam, we find the following statement.

'Every man who has a farm must, in general, work it himself; for laborers, as I have said, cannot be procured either for a share of the crop or for money. The only assistance that can be procured, is that of slaves, and a good many are employed by persons who have influence sufficient to secure a property so tangible, and these are chiefly men dedicated to religion, who have lands free of rent.

'All the domestics are slaves, and they are pretty numerous, every man of rank having several. The slaves are procured from among the necessitous, who mortgage themselves, in the same manner as in the eastern divisions of Ronggopoor. Some are exported. About 100 of pure caste are annually sold to Bengal. They are mostly children. The girls cost from 12 to 15rs. A Koch boy casts 25rs., a Kolita 50. Slaves of impure tribes are sold to the Garos, and many are said to be sent to Nora, from whence they are probably exported to Ava.'

—Ib. p. 681.

We regret that we cannot speak more highly of the intrinsic merits of this well intended publication. It contains much curious and amusing information, which any one who will take the requisite pains, will find worth extracting from the immense mass of facts and observations collected by the author during his long and laborious survey.

Art. VIII. *British History, Chronologically Arranged; comprehending a Classified Analysis of Events and Occurrences in Church and State,* &c., &c. By JOHN WADE. 8vo. pp. 1160. London: Effingham Wilson.

IF there be one portion of the public press which, more than another, ought to hail the increasing attention that history is beginning to receive, it is that which advocates those enlarged views and liberal principles which tend to the greater happiness of the citizens of the empire.

History, it has been often and correctly said, is Philosophy teaching by example; and we can scarcely conceive of the possibility of any man well performing his duties as a citizen, who is not more or less acquainted with the invaluable lessons which it unambiguously teaches. Especially ought those worthy men who nobly aspire to be useful in their day by urging onward the chariot of reform, study as deeply as they may the historic page. A thousand vain fancies will thereby be prevented; and the men, acquainted with the past, will look upon the present with an eye of intelligence that will penetrate through hollow disguises, and discriminate between the real and the false, the chimerical and the practicable. Improved in intelligence and practical ability,

they will also be better morally prepared for their noble, though it may be silent and unnoticed, course. Truth rejected and scorned, they will learn by high examples to bind more closely about their brows as an ornament of grace; instead of abandoning it amid reproach, they will cherish it the more dearly; an unmanly and time-serving policy they will, with our Eliots, Hampdens, and Miltons, thoroughly abhor,—real losses, and contumely, and hate, they will calmly endure,—while they behold the cloud of witnesses that, amid storms and darkness having sought their country's weal, have gradually upreared the constitution which is the home of freedom. But the work is not perfected: all the builders have not been free from weakness and whim, while not a few have perhaps daubed with untempered mortar; so that there are rotten and unsightly parts, with meretricious and paltry ornaments, to be removed, weak parts to be strengthened, towers of might to be added, and the top-stone to be yet brought forth amid the general shouting. To this consummation, which certainly shall come, many of our readers are looking with an ardent eye; for it they are toiling, though perhaps unseen; while not a few are patiently suffering, as we know, for their advocacy of those cherished principles which, dearer than fortune, reputation, life,—shall ultimately be throned in the hearts of all, and be crowned by general acclamation.

To such of our readers as in city, town, or village, are fighting that battle of reform, civil and religious, which has chiefly to be fought in detail, and in a thousand circles, we would recommend above many things, a yet increased attention to the study of history, while we animate them to be stedfast and immoveable, forasmuch as their labor cannot be in vain.

The work before us will prove of real service; it is valuable, we had almost written indispensable; indeed, to those who have not access to good libraries, it is so, and even to those who have, it will afford information, especially of a statistical nature, which it is not easy to acquire. The book is written on a new and excellent plan; it is not one continuous history, but being chronologically arranged, records facts under the dates of their occurrence. As a specimen of the manner in which the work is written is scarcely possible without extracts more copious than is convenient, we quote from the author's preface an explanation of the design and plan.

'Hitherto, the prevailing character of histories has been biographical. They are the lives of princes, rather than the records of nations. It is Julius Cæsar or Constantine, not the Roman people, or the Greek empire, that fills the page of the annalist. The common histories of England offer few exceptions to the ancient models; and the Edwards, Henries, and Richards, crowd the foreground to the almost

entire exclusion of the other and often more important characters, events, and occurrences, that really make up the body, form, and pressure of the time.

'Next to the sovereign, the most conspicuous figure on the canvass is usually the historian himself, whose opinions and peculiarities are frequently more forcibly displayed than the age he has undertaken to delineate. Aspiring to a higher office than that of simple chronicler of facts, which is his chief vocation, he seeks to embellish, or rather to distort the truth, by beauties of style, by the charms of narrative, by moving and adventurous incidents, by picturesque and contrasted portraits of eminent persons, and by ingenious theories, conjectures, and unravelments of historical obscurities. The legitimate uses of history are thus sacrificed to the ingenuity or vanity of the author, and to the graces and excitements of literature; its authority depreciated, and an agreeable romance rather than faithful record elaborated.

'A *second* evil, from the historian putting himself forward in place of his subject, is in the spirit of partizanship, by which his narrative thereby becomes imbued. This has been the great bane of history. Every epoch, every political, social, and religious transition, and every prominent personage, has advocates and impugners, each of whom, by dexterous representation, suppression, or exaggeration, seeks to maintain a peculiar thesis, according to his connexions, personal temperament, education, early impressions, and associations.

'A *third,* and ordinary defect of history, is the neglect of chronological order. It is only by marshalling in line, as it were, events and occurrences, foreign and domestic, moral and physical, social and intellectual, that the bearing and action of an age can be comprehended. Changes of the seasons, domestic incidents, discoveries and inventions, the births, characters, and deaths of remarkable persons,—all contribute to the drama of life, influence the course of legislation, the policy of government, and the progress of society; and, unless each is explained and brought forward in its due place, proportion, and juncture, the panorama is incomplete, the contemporary scene imperfectly delineated, and the reader's path obscure and perplexed.

'In the plan of the publication now submitted, the aim has been to avoid these defects. Its basis is classification and chronological arrangement. Each reign or historical period is prefaced with an introduction, explanatory of the character of the governing power, or of the prominent features of the time, political, social, or industrial; then follow the events and occurrences, facts and incidents, in chronological order, upon which the introductory view has been founded; and after these, distinct sections, illustrative of legislation, finance, commerce, science, manners, literature, internal improvements, or whatever else has constituted a leading characteristic of the time, and influenced the state of the Commonwealth. The design partakes of the interest as well as something of the arrangement of an ordinary newspaper. There is the leading article; then the occurrences of the day, diversified and illustrated with such incidents, facts, and information, as usually fill the columns of the journalist. The great advantage possessed over such vehicles of intelligence has been in the circum-

stance that, the author's labours mostly referring to transactions long past, information relating to them was more copious and mature; and, having no fixed time for appearing before the public, opportunity was thereby afforded for being more deliberate in commentary, and more correct and condensed in the details.'—PREFACE.

To this are added, Biographical Notices of Eminent Public Characters; Tables of the progress of Taxes, the National Debt, Agriculture, Commerce, Shipping, and Navigation; Accounts of variations in Prices, Wages, and Currency; List of the Public Statutes from Magna Charta, and of the Men of Letters and Science who distinguished each reign; with Accounts of changes in the Manners, Diet, Industrial Pursuits, Amusements, and Costume of the people; with Comparative Statements of Crime at different periods, &c.

The whole is well arranged and ably condensed. The various statistical information considerably enhances the value of the book, which is impartially written; and we feel a pleasure in cordially recommending it.

Brief Notices.

A Manual of Christian Antiquities; particularly during the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Centuries: with an Analysis of the Writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford. 8vo. pp. 832. London: Parker.

On hearing of a new book containing ecclesiastical history or antiquities, it is not mere party spirit which dictates the instant inquiry, To what school the writer belongs. For although the being numbered with a moderate and sober school does not ensure impartiality and accuracy, to be under the influence of an intolerant school ensures the contrary qualities. Mr. Riddle is a clergyman, of the most moderate and candid sentiments, supporting Episcopacy as a highly expedient institution, but regarding English Episcopacy as obviously not identical with, only analogous to, that of the primitive church. He speaks with just disapproval of the claims of those who affect for their own church system a divine sanction, and pleads only for that toleration to the Anglican Episcopacy, which he grants to other churches. In conformity with this excellent foundation, his whole book displays unaffected candor. He exhibits without disguise the state of the early churches, not seeking to hold them up as models, yet keeping quite clear of the spirit of vituperation. He appears entirely to agree with Bp. Newton (although he states it rather in the Bp.'s words than in his own), that the ascetic apostacy predicted in 1 Tim. iv. had received

its accomplishment already in the fourth and fifth centuries. This opinion is also strongly pressed in Mr. Taylor's 'Ancient Christianity.' While, therefore, Mr. Riddle's book is in no sense controversial, being a simple statement of facts, seldom with any comment, we trust it will prove a most valuable antidote against enthusiasm in behalf of the Nicene church.

He professes himself indebted for his materials, mainly to Augusti, and secondly to Siegel; but we understand him to say that the latter writer, though very valuable, has been used with great caution by reason of his neological tendencies. This is a book of *antiquities*, not of *history*; yet his analysis of the writings of all the Ante-Nicene Fathers is more than would be expected from mere archæology. The reader may gain an insight into the work from the following syllabus.

Preface. Four preliminary essays, occupying seventy pages; the third being historical.

Book I. Lives and writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers.

Book II. Of the Church, or General Body of Christians; under their ancient divisions and names.

Book III. On Ministers of the Church—ordinary and extraordinary—Their names, functions, insignia, rank, rights, and privileges—modes of appointment and deposition. On Bishops and Presbyters—On councils—On ordination—On the revenues of the Church, &c.

Book IV. On Christian Worship and Discipline—Public Prayer, Psalmody, Liturgies, Prayers for the Dead—Preaching—Catechising—Secret doctrines—Creeds—Baptism—Confirmation—Sponsors—The Lord's Supper—Penance—Confession—Absolution.

Book V. Festivals—Lord's Day—Saturday or Sabbath—Fasts—Holy Days—Cycles of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

Book VI. History of Church Buildings—their form—position—structure—immunities—ornaments.

Book VII. On Marriage—Annointing of the Sick—Funeral Rites—Agapæ or Love Feasts—Stations—Processions, Pilgrimages—Monachism and Monasteries.

Chronological and Alphabetical Tables—Eight Appendices.

In the present state of English theology it is quite refreshing to find a clergyman lay before the public a learned but plain account of those human ordinances which so many of his order are striving to pass off as of divine obligation. Indeed, his protest in the preface against the evil superstitions which he has to record, will be so much the more forcible to his brethren for its remarkable mildness and tranquillity.

Henry of Guise: or the States of Blois. By G. P. R. James, Esq. Three volumes. London: Longman and Co.

We are not in the habit of frequently noticing works of this class, and the reasons of our not doing so are well known to our readers. It is not that we object to fiction as such, or that we sympathize in the indiscriminate and unintelligent condemnation which some pious people pass, upon the whole range of our lighter literature. Such a course fails to commend itself to our judgment, and though in some instances it

may have withdrawn temptation from the inexperienced, it has served, we are confident, in many other cases to foster mischievous prejudices, and to destroy that respect for parental teaching which is of the last importance to the moral welfare of the young. The loose morality by which the English novel has been ordinarily distinguished is the great and solid objection to this species of composition ; in addition to which, the false views of life it has been employed to broach, and, in connexion with its low literary character, the enervating influence it has been found to exercise over the intellect, have disposed us to exclude it from our editorial oversight, and to discountenance its introduction to our family circles. An attentive observer of the human mind in its earlier and more immature stages, must have noticed the deleterious influences—both intellectual and moral—frequently exerted by this class of publications. Still there is room for discrimination, and we ought not to be deterred from its exercise by mere prejudice or terms of general reproach. Fictitious works occasionally appear free from the more serious, if not from all the objections we have specified, and it is only justice, bare justice, in such cases to notify the fact, and to award to their authors the praise which is their due.

Such we are happy to say is the case with the work now before us, and hence our brief introduction of it to the readers of the Eclectic. 'I consider it,' says Mr. James, when referring to the slight use he has made of Madame de Noirmoutier in the construction of his tale, 'an insult to virtue to endeavour to excite interest for vice.' To this honorable principle he has steadily adhered throughout the work, and it is consequently free from the serious blemishes which disfigure many contemporary publications. The work belongs to the class of historical fictions, and the personages introduced are those which took a prominent part in one of the most memorable periods of French history. The chief interest of the tale is derived from the opposite characters of two brothers, Charles of Montsoreau, Count of Logères, and Gaspar, Marquis of Montsoreau, whose early affection was turned—so far as the latter was concerned—into deadly hatred, by a mutual attachment to Marie de Clairvaut, a niece of the illustrious Duke of Guise. The open manliness and virtuous courage of the former, strongly contrast with the dark subtlety and frenzied passions of the latter: and are ultimately rewarded, notwithstanding the deep scheming of the Abbé de Boisquerin, the early tutor and professed friend of both brothers, by the attainment of the object so faithfully and honorably sought. Though the work throws but little light on the extraordinary moderation evinced by the Duke of Guise on the 12th of May, 1588, when the crown of France was within his grasp, and was refused, yet an interesting and not unimportant object is attained, in familiarising to the English reader a period of French history of which little is generally known, and of rendering more definite our conception of the character and policy of several of the historical personages of the times, such as Henry III., Catherine de Medicis, and René de Villequir, the fiend-like favorite of the monarch. The assassination of Guise which shades the coloring of the narrative, is skilfully combined with the virtuous love and accomplished hopes of Montsoreau and his bride.

Melaia, and other Poems. By Eliza Cook. Tilt: London.

This volume does great credit to its spirited publisher. It is handsomely printed, and embellished by a frontispiece containing what we presume to be a portrait of the authoress, and clever vignettes in steel of great beauty. The poems are chiefly short pieces, many of which have appeared in a weekly newspaper, and seem to be composed on almost every subject which presented itself to the young lady's mind. With the exception of the longest poem, which has a good deal of spirit, the bulk of them are in anapaestic measure, or what has not unaptly been called *wheelbarrow-verse*, and which, once having taken possession of the mind, comes rolling off at any casual suggestion, as glibly and mechanically as the tunes of a barrel-organ. Mrs. Hemans, Mrs. Howitt, and Miss Landon, are the chief muses of Miss Cook's inspiration, indeed, 'Buttercups and Daises,' 'The Song of the Sea-Gulls,' 'The King of the Wind,' with 'Homes of the Dead,' and some others are too palpably little more than imitations. Chiming common-places we can tolerate, but we cannot away with literary poaching. For the rest, those who are fond of fluent verse, embodying many amiable sentiments, and care not for originality, may find much to please them.

The Redeemer. A Poem. By William Howorth, author of 'The Cry of the Poor.' Tilt: London.

Mr. Howorth's poem is in the Spenserean stanza; and is distinguished by the harmony of its versification and the piety of its sentiments. Should it not win much eclat in this age of almost illimitable rhyme, it will still be acceptable to those who reverence the subject.

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1. *The Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England; with a Treatise on the Popular Progress in English History.* By John Forster, of the Inner Temple. Five volumes. London: Longman and Co.
2. *A Treatise on the Popular Progress in English History. Being an Introduction to the Study of the Great Civil War in the Seventeenth Century.* By John Forster, Esq. London: Longman and Co.

Having had occasion frequently to refer to this series of political biographies, it is unnecessary that we should do much more at present, than simply announce the fact of their separate publication. 'A desire having been expressed in many quarters,' says Mr. Forster, 'that this portion of a series of British statesmen originally published in Dr. Lardner's 'Cabinet Cyclopædia' should be given to the world in a distinct form, that desire is here complied with.' We rejoice that it has been so, and shall lose no opportunity of commending the volumes to the good favor and attentive perusal of our readers. 'The biographies they contain are so eventful, that the history of the age itself might well be written in them. For the times, awful as they were.

were not greater than the men. The ideas of both present themselves to us at once, like shadowy and solid giants standing together, and hardly letting us discern which leads the other!' In a knowledge of the character and history of these illustrious men, we possess the knowledge of their times, as well as the secret of those constitutional triumphs by which English liberty was finally established on an enduring basis. The statesmen, whose memory is here embalmed,—our Eliots, Hampdens, Pyms, and Vanes,—were infinitely superior to those of the revolution of 1688, however neglected and dishonored their names may hitherto have been. Happily they are now receiving tardy justice, and to Mr. Forster belongs the distinguished merit of having combined in the illustration of their virtues, a minute and pains-taking research, with a largeness of conception and generous sympathy with their views. His style of composition is well suited to the character of his work, which bears throughout the marks of a masculine understanding, honestly and sympathetically employing itself in a 'labor of love.' The Historical Treatise prefixed to the volumes forms an admirable refutation of the servile theories so zealously advocated by Hume and others. We are glad that it has been published in a separate form, and strongly recommend it, together with the volumes to which it is prefixed, to all our readers. The extensive circulation of such a work, especially among our young men, cannot fail to be productive of the happiest results.

A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language. By Isaac Nordheimer, Doctor in Philosophy of the University of Munich, Professor of Arabic, Syriac, and other Oriental Languages, and acting Professor of Hebrew in the University of the City of New York. Large 8vo. pp. xxiv. and 280. New York and London. 1838.

Dr. Nordheimer has been hitherto known to us chiefly as the author of some valuable papers in the American Biblical Repository, a work to which we lament to say, there is not in this country 'quicquam simile aut secundum.' The volume before us we gratefully receive as a most important contribution to sacred literature; and hope at some not distant period to present our readers with a more extended analysis of its contents, accompanied by a view of the past and present state of Hebrew philology. At this time we must satisfy ourselves with a brief notice, by no means proportionate to its merits, but which may suffice, perhaps, to direct the attention of our readers to it. In a preface of considerable length, Dr. Nordheimer first adverts to the rapid progress made during the last thirty years in the study of the two great families of languages, the Shemetic and Jephetic, or Judo-Germanic: he next proceeds to sketch the leading objects of philological research, and then notices the improvements in Hebrew grammar affected by the labors of Gesenius, and of his bold and ingenious rival, Ewald. He points out with much discrimination and impartiality the merits and defects of these two eminent orientalists, and concludes with a reference to his own undertaking, which he describes as 'the result of an enthu-

siastic study of the Hebrew and its cognate dialects, in addition to much time and labor devoted to the acquisition of a competent knowledge of the principal Judo-European languages.'

Dr. Nordheimer's work bears throughout the marks of genuine scholarship. His illustrations of the affinities of languages are introduced judiciously and without ostentation. The truly scientific method which pervades the volume, imparts the charm of novelty to facts with which we were already familiar. For luminous arrangement and logical consecutiveness, for a constant reference to principles, it far excels any work that we have hitherto seen. The most venerable of languages, interesting to the philologist for its antiquity, and endeared to the Christian scholar by the most solemn and impressive associations, is here presented, not in meagre outline, or as a dry and disjointed skeleton, but as a majestic living reality, worthy of the ministry assigned it by heaven, that of preserving the first memorials of the human race, and of 'giving us an account of the world (to use Bishop Butler's significant expression) in this one simple view, as God's world;' enabling us to hear the strains of penitent or exulting devotion as they first issued from the harp of David, and handing down to the remotest times the destinies of nations, as they were chanted by the prophetic choir, while their lips were yet glowing with the live coal from off the altar.'

To give extracts from this Grammar as a specimen, would be useless; for such is the mutual dependance and coherence of the parts, that the whole must be studied in order to appreciate its beautiful symmetry. While it has claims on the attention of the most advanced scholar, it is, we conceive, admirably adapted to all persons beyond the age of boyhood, who desire to make the acquisition of this language a work of intelligent study, and not of servile acquiescence in apparently arbitrary rules.

An Index of the Hebrew words illustrated, would be a valuable addition. We would also suggest the utility of subjoining the alphabets of the Oriental languages. The volume is printed with great neatness and correctness: the price is fifteen shillings, which compared with that of other similar works published in this country, is by no means extravagant.

Christian Duties in the Various Relations of Life. By the Rev. T. Lewis, Islington. Ward and Co.

The work before us is the production of a man whose influence over his congregation and neighbourhood has, for many years, been of the most salutary kind. He is pre-eminently a working man, and his people are a working people. A volume on Christian duties comes with great propriety from such a source. Calculating only on the effect which it is likely to produce on those who respect and love its author, important benefits may accrue from its publication. The title tells us what to expect in it. The third lecture, addressed to heads of families, shows that they ought to cultivate personal piety, to administer suitable instruction to their households, to maintain wholesome discipline

among them, to conduct them to public worship, to practise devotion with them, to set them a becoming example, and, lastly, to excite them to general usefulness. There are five lectures besides, of which the one to children and servants is particularly valuable, and in all of them there is much important truth, which all classes would do well to weigh. The author has thrown out a few political hints, but though few, they show that the love of independence and an ardent desire for the advancement of society, may co-exist in the same breast with the utmost gentleness and moderation. Instead of making extracts, we shall content ourselves with a cordial recommendation of the volume. After reading it we are neither in the mood for criticism, nor have we any sympathy with men of a stamp we sometimes meet with, who would check the emotions of an auditory while listening to the counsels of venerable piety, by noticing a violation of grammar or the omission of an aspirate. The author himself will, we doubt not, use his pruning-knife in a second edition, and in the mean time we pray that his publication may add materially to that usefulness for which he has so long been honorably distinguished in the church of God.

Titles and Offices of our Lord Jesus Christ: illustrated in a Series of Essays. By Isabella Gray Mylne. Two vols. 12mo. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Son. 1838.

'The design of the following work,' says the preface, 'is to present a simple and scriptural view of the person, character, work, and offices of the Divine Redeemer; to collect from the word of God the varied glories and excellencies of Immanuel.' The comprehensiveness of its plan, and the interesting nature of its subjects, will be understood from an outline of its table of contents. It is divided into seven parts, of which the first contains titles of Deity belonging to the Son in common with the Father and the Holy Ghost; the second, titles peculiar to God the Son in his divine nature; the third, titles descriptive of the incarnation and humiliation of the Son; the fourth, the principal offices, to sustain which the Son became incarnate; the fifth, titles expressive of the relations in which, as man and mediator, the Son stands to the Father; the sixth, titles expressive of the spiritual blessings bestowed by Christ on his people through the covenant of grace; the seventh, additional offices, of a more personal nature, which the Redeemer sustains towards his people.

These are topics of the deepest interest to the Christian; and a book containing, within moderate limits, so great a diversity of subjects relating to the Saviour of men, must be both attractive and useful to the devout mind, if it be executed only with tolerable ability. The work before us makes no great pretensions; aims at no striking originality; but avails itself freely of works which treat on the character of Christ, and is simple and perspicuous in its style. It is not so much adapted to the learned as to the great mass of pious readers, who estimate a book without a thought of a critical kind, according to the amount of benefit they receive from it. To such readers we think

it will prove a valuable closet companion, and repay them for its perusal by assisting their devotion, and increasing their adoration and love of their divine Lord. And we cannot help recommending it also to poor ministers whose libraries are scantily furnished, and to village preachers especially, as containing, in no very extensive compass, a large amount of very valuable matter.

An Elementary Course of Biblical Theology, Translated from the Work of Professors Storr and Flatt, with Additions. By S. S. Schmucker, D.D. Reprinted from the Second American Edition. 1836. London: Ward and Co.

The enterprising publishers of this work are entitled to the grateful acknowledgment of the ministers and theological students of Great Britain, for having presented them at the cheap cost of six shillings, with so neat and handsome a reprint of one of the best German works. It is somewhat mortifying to our selfishness to have obtained recently a copy of the American edition, in two octavo volumes, at a price several times greater than that at which the work is here offered. Nevertheless, we rejoice at the facilities thus afforded to our fellow students in the noblest and best of all sciences, and strongly recommend their immediately procuring a copy of the work. It is printed with great accuracy in a legible type, and will form an invaluable addition to their libraries. Messrs. Storr and Flatt were amongst the most eminent and scriptural theologians of their day. 'They sustained the cause of orthodoxy for upwards of twenty years, and published from time to time the most able replies to the several systems of infidelity which sprung up in Europe. Having been harassed by metaphysical, and speculative, and infidel systems of pretended Christianity, they were taught the absolute necessity of building their faith exclusively on the word of God; and the present work is purely of this biblical character. It is confined to the doctrines which are taught in the sacred volume *totidem verbis.*' Such is the testimony borne by the learned translator, and to its general correctness we fully assent.

The Imperial Classics. The Chronicles of Enquerrand De Monstrelet. Johnes's Translation. A New Edition, with Notes and Illustrations. Parts I.—VII. London: W. Smith.

In our notice of Froissart's Chronicles in November last, we announced the commencement of the publication of this work, and now recur to it, simply to report progress, and to keep it before our readers. It is brought out in the same convenient form and elegant style, as its predecessor, and will be eagerly sought after by all who are interested in the graphic sketchings, and life-like portraitures, of the fathers of modern history. We trust that the enterprising publisher will meet with due encouragement from the public, and shall be happy to contribute our utmost to this end.

An Historical and Descriptive Account of British America; comprising Canada, Upper and Lower, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, the Bermudas, and the Fur Countries. To which is added a Full Detail of the Principles and best Modes of Emigration. By Hugh Murray, F.R.S.E. With Illustrations of the Natural History by James Wilson, F.R.S.E., R. K. Greville, LL.D., and Professor Traill. Six Maps by Wright, and Ten Engravings by Jackson. Three volumes. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

These volumes form part of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, and are admirably adapted to sustain the well earned reputation of that work. Their execution is such as the talent engaged in their preparation would have led us to expect. The utmost diligence, combined with considerable skill and multifarious information, is apparent in every page, and has left little to be effected by subsequent writers. In the present state of British America such volumes are invaluable.

The Pilgrim's Progress: in Two Parts. By John Bunyan. With Original Notes by the Rev. Thomas Scott. Eighth Edition. London: L. and G. Seeley. 1840.

Another elegant edition of a work which cannot be too widely circulated, or too frequently read. The Illustrations are numerous and appropriate, and the whole 'getting up' of the volume, is highly creditable to the publishers. The Notes of the late estimable Thomas Scott are a valuable addition to the work.

Extracts from Holy Writ, and Various Authors, intended as Helps to Meditation and Prayer, principally for Soldiers and Seamen. By Captain Sir Nesbit J. Willoughby. London: T. H. Cox.

This volume is printed by its benevolent compiler for gratuitous circulation, and must carry with it the best wishes and earnest prayers of every Christian mind. The extracts, which are given without systematic arrangement, are well adapted to the pious purpose for which they have been selected, and may be beneficially circulated among all classes.

The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul; illustrated in a Course of Serious and Practical Addresses. By Philip Doddridge, D.D. With an Introductory Essay by John Foster.

Private Thoughts on Religion, and Other Subjects Connected with it. By the Rev. Thomas Adam. With an Introductory Essay by Daniel Wilson, D.D. Glasgow: W. Collins.

We need say nothing more in commendation of these works, than that the first is published at eighteen-pence, and the second at tenpence. Such a fact would have astonished our fathers, and may well

elicit our gratitude. Throughout the whole range of English theological literature, we are acquainted with no treatise which displays a profounder insight into our nature, a more thorough acquaintance with the various forms of religious conviction, or a deeper and more penetrating sympathy with the wants and perplexities of the human heart, than Mr. Foster's Introduction to Doddridge's work. We earnestly commend it to the thoughtful and repeated perusal of our young friends.

Memoirs of Felix Neff, John F. Oberlin, and Bernard Overberg. Translated from the German by Mrs. Sydney Williams. Bristol: Wright and Albright.

These three memoirs, collected in one volume, and published at the low price of eighteen-pence, will be welcomed by a large class of readers.

NOTE TO ARTICLE V., DECEMBER, 1839.

We have received a letter from the author of 'Jethro,' directing our attention to the following sentence in the advertisement of the Congregational Union, offering the two prizes of which our respected correspondent obtained the first. 'While all other religious and literary qualities of the essays will receive due attention in deciding on their respective merits, especial regard will be paid, in awarding the prizes, to the PRACTICAL PLANS they may set forth, as practical results are especially contemplated in the whole procedure.' From this announcement 'you will find,' says our correspondent, 'that 'practical plans' receive all the emphasis that *small caps* can impart, and are announced as constituting that on which the adjudication will wholly turn. On this principle wholly 'Jethro' was written, and on this principle it was honored with the first place.' There is force undoubtedly in this defence, and we frankly acknowledge that, if the suggestion of the Union had been present to our minds at the time, we should have worded one or two of our sentences somewhat differently. Without affecting the judgment we might have passed on the intrinsic qualities of the two publications, it would undoubtedly have moulded the expression of our opinion, on their comparative merits as viewed in relation to their proposed design. We trust this explanation will be satisfactory to our esteemed correspondent, than whom we scarcely know a man more honorably distinguished by a catholic spirit and an unwearied consecration to the ministry of the gospel. May his various labors be eminently blessed to the enlargement and sanctification of the church of Christ!

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Chartism. By Thomas Carlyle.

Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reign of the Stuarts, including the Protectorate. By John Heneage Jesse. 2 vols.

Visits to Remarkable Places: Old Halls, Battle Fields, and Scenes illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry. By W. Howitt.

The Catholic Spirit of True Religion.

Observations on the Financial Position and Credit of such of the States of the North American Union as have contracted Public Debts. By Alexander Trotter, Esq.

Holiday Exercises: or Familiar Conversations on Mind and Matter. By Samuel Blair.

Grecian Stories. By Maria Hack.

The Temperance Emigrants; a Drama descriptive of the Difficulties and Encouragements incident to Temperance Societies and General Temperance Life. By John Dunlop, Esq.

The Union Harmonist, a Selection of Sacred Music, consisting of Original and Standard Pieces, Anthems, &c. Suitable for use in Sunday Schools, Congregations, and Musical Societies. Arranged by Mr. T. Clark, Canterbury.

The Life and Opinions of the Rev. W. Milne, D.D., Missionary to China. By Robert Philip.

A Biblical and Theological Dictionary. For Bible Classes, Sunday School Teachers, &c. By Samuel Green.

The Shield of Dissent; or Dissent in its bearings on Legislature, with Strictures on Dr. Brown's Work on Tribute. By Edward Swaine.

Millenarianism Incompatible with our Lord's Sacerdotal Office: a Letter to the Rev. Edward Bickersteth. By George Hodgson.

Advice to Mothers on the Management of their Offspring. By Pye Henry Chavasse.

The Theory of Horticulture, or an Attempt to Explain the Principal Operations of Gardening upon Physiological Principles. By Dr. Lindley.

Othareil: and other Poems. By Thomas Aird.

Narrative of the Revival of Religion at Kilsyth, Cambuslang, and other Places in 1742. By the Rev. James Rose, A.M. With an Introductory Essay by the Rev. R. Buchanan.

Letters of the late John Love, D.D., Minister of Anderston, Glasgow.

Fragments from the Study of a Pastor. By Gardiner Spring, D.D.

Glimpses of the Old World, or Excursions on the Continent and in Great Britain. By the Rev. John A. Clark, Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia. 2 vols. 12mo.

An Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School and the other Parochial Institutions for Education Established in that City in 1812, &c. By John Wood. Fifth Edition.

Memoirs of Thomas Cranfield. By his Son.

The Pagan's Altar and Jehovah's Temple. An Essay to excite Renewed Interest in Public Worship, in our Common Christianity, &c. By R. Weaver.

Dr. Goldsmith's Abridgment of the History of England, with a Continuation to the Accession of Queen Victoria, &c., for the use of Schools and Private Students. By Robert Simpson.

The History of Scotland to the Accession of Queen Victoria, &c., &c. By Robert Simpson.

The Drama of a Life. By John Edmund Reade, Esq.

The New Bubble Burst! or the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession Exploded; in a Dialogue between Alfred Weston and William Colvill.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR MARCH, 1840.

Art. I. *Two Lectures on Education.* By GEORGE COMB. Edinburgh.

2. (*Art.* 5. *Third Vol. of Central Society of Education.*) *What are the Advantages of a Study of Antiquity at the present time?* By GEORGE LONG, Esq.

3. *On the Introduction of the Natural Sciences into general Education.* A Lecture by HENRY MALDEN, M.A., Professor of Greek in Univ. Coll., London. London: Taylor and Walton.

EDUCATION is a thing which concerns every body, and therefore, by a common fallacy, every body thinks he understands it, and thinks his own opinion on it as good as any one's else. Hence multitudes of persons, who have never made this subject their actual *study*, yet consider themselves at liberty to write (that is, to instruct the public) on it. Now, on the subject of gunnery, or dancing, or shooting, or military tactics, this is not the case; every one is not concerned in these, as he is in education; and hence it is not every one who has, or even thinks he has, an opinion on them. Education, however, is a thing which every one is in some way or other connected with or interested in; and every person, therefore, who has thought a little more than others about it, though he may never have *done* any thing at all in it practically, regards himself as competent to teach teachers how to teach, and to instruct instructors in the modes of instruction. But in education, as in religion, practice is as necessary as study; as Cicero says, '*non satis est habere* virtutem, quasi artem aliquam, nisi '*utare*.' Act and you will learn. All preachment apart from practice, is mere *vox et praeterea nihil*, worth nothing. Those,

therefore, who have had no actual experience in teaching, must, when attacking old and established methods, and proposing new ones, be regarded as visionaries and theorists,—well intentioned, no doubt, but at the same time weak and ill-advised; they may lay down principles, concoct plans, prophecy results, and jump to conclusions in their studies, which they never would have imagined in the atmosphere of the school-room: they may in their chair by the fireside entertain dreams of rapid improvement and unheard of acquirements, which the actual daily routine of class instruction would soon have dissipated: they may pleasantly draw out schemes for teaching the whole circle of the sciences—schemes *for teaching* BOYS *what few* MEN *know*, and half of which, when men, they would not care to remember, if they could,—schemes, which would never have entered into the head of an actual, working grammar schoolmaster. Persons of this description have not sprung up of late for the first time. The ancients had their educational visionaries, as well as ourselves; and with them frequently, as with us, the way has been led by men of the highest intellect, who, however, have lacked the one thing needful, the actual school experience. In one word, they have not been schoolmasters. Great men who have been schoolmasters (for any length of time), have seldom been educational visionaries; but great men who have not been schoolmasters, and yet have written decidedly on education, drawing out plans of their own, and proposing alterations in the present methods, have frequently been visionaries on that subject, owing sometimes to constitutional peculiarities and antipathies, and sometimes to personal quarrel, and sometimes to the exercise of mere imagination, excited by the largeness and extent of the subject, but unguided by the unerring rudder of experience.

It is melancholy to find the great Milton writing like an empiric on the subject of education. His letter to Hartlib is a signal instance of the inefficiency of mere speculation to the construction all at once of a good, practical, working system, especially where the material to work on is mind, and not matter; it is a monstrous notion that boys of ten and twelve should be able to understand the authors and subjects which were there proposed to be taught, and were said to be taught by Mr. John Milton. Imagine the lads in his academy in Aldersgate Street, who had scarcely ever seen an acre of ploughed land or a field of oats, ploughing through Columella and Varro de Re Rustica, while the great poet sat expatiating on the beauties of the country and the loveliness of nature, to boys, who ought to have been writing exercises on the rules of syntax, or drumming over the still earlier stages of the nouns, adjectives, and verbs. But while Milton's letter to Hartlib, so lamentably demonstrates the speculative absurdities of the author, how does his great poem by its side

give the lie to his assertions, and proclaim the superior value of a sound and thorough classical education. It is a curious fact too, mentioned by Vincent, and we will give it in his own words, that 'we know *nothing* of Milton's success as a schoolmaster, for '*not a name of all his pupils is upon record;* but we do know 'that the brightest luminaries of the age issued from the school of 'Busby.'

In all the writings of the educational visionaries, we find pretty nearly the same trains of thought, and we may trace them home to the same fallacious and sophistical notions. It will *generally* be found that the writers in question take low views of education, as a mere preparation for business; although some, like Milton, regard it as a sort of process for making men angels, giving specious statements of its perfectibility, and warm anticipations of an era of ideal excellence. We propose in this paper to make some remarks on the principal fallacies which lead persons to form mistaken opinions of education as it is, and of education as it should be.

First Fallacy. It is considered that education (as such, not knowledge, or science, but the art of educating) is in its infancy, and that results of which we can now hardly conceive may be expected from its more perfected development.

This notion is of course entertained only by persons who are not teachers, or have had but little experience in teaching; and therefore it might safely be dismissed as summarily as any of the numerous quack-specifics with whose pretended virtues ignorant people are deceived; we say it *might* be so dismissed, if it were not, that a notion seems almost to be entertained, though it may never have been brought out in words, that persons who are *not* teachers are the best judges of teaching, as a person who looks on at a game of chess often sees good moves which escape the eye of the player. The comparison is to a certain extent admissible; but after all, the looker-on might not play the *whole* game so well as the one who seems to him to make such oversights. So persons who look on upon the great work of education, may sometimes see things which escape the notice of the actual teacher, and *suggestions*, as of a patient to his physician, would be well received. But when persons wholly ignorant of the practice of education presume to dictate, or wish to dictate, to those whose *business* it is to educate, and who have had long experience in educating, they are certainly acting as they would hardly act even to their carpenter or bricklayer. If such a person had work to be done by a carpenter, and he were to propose a different way of doing it from that which the carpenter was going to adopt, and the carpenter replied, I have tried that, Sir, and it did not answer; or I have known that to be tried and it did not succeed; would he persist in his own notion, or give in to the carpen-

ter? If he had common sense, there is no doubt which he would do.

The advocates of the perfectibility of man and of education, are, we conceive, chiefly of two classes—either persons who are hostile to christianity, and look to education as the almighty instrument of the renovation of the world; or persons who are religiously disposed, possibly deeply imbued with the religious spirit, of benevolent feelings and somewhat enthusiastic temperament, who from *ignorance* of what has been, what is, and what in the nature of things must be, are led to entertain fancies which never can be facts, and hopes that never can be realized. It is a very curious fact, and it shows how extremes sometimes meet, that these two parties, though opposed in religious views, yet agree in their educational principles, admire one another's writings, and look upon one another as cooperating in the same work.*

But wherein does the fallacy which we have mentioned above mainly lie?

It lies, we conceive, in this; in confounding education with mere instruction; in applying to morals, principles which are applicable only to intellectuals, and in imagining that the march of intellect is the march of education. Now, education, after all, has more to do with *mores*, morals, habits, with the habits of thought and action, than with mental acquirements. And unless we look at education from this point of view, we shall constantly err. It follows of course that in *teachers* also, or *educators*, to keep the cognate term, the moral *qualities* are above the intellectual *attainments*, the habits above the knowledge. A persevering teacher will make a persevering pupil, a slovenly teacher will make a slovenly pupil; and we may say in most cases, in the words of the old proverb, slightly altered 'like master, like boy.'

Well, in morals, in habits, it is not in the *power* of one generation to start where the preceding left off. If it were, the arguments of the perfectionists would hold. But every man, and, therefore, to a certain extent every generation, has to go through the same course. All are projected from the same level, and must still run the same career with about the same power, the same weakness, the same temptations, and the same difficulties. Each individual has to begin again for himself, and although he has the advantage of the transmitted experience of his predecessors, he still has to go over the very same moral ground as they did, and to re-acquire the very same experience as they. Thus, for example, when we have been describing on any occasion what

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* What is to be thought of a work on the 'Education of the Feelings,' from one who discards all religious *belief*?

we ourselves have felt under particular circumstances, we find at length that we have only been amplifying and commenting on some *old* proverb, in which the very same results were condensed. But for all that, the next generation will go through the same course, and will re-discover for themselves the same truths and findings as the present and the past. In intellectuals advances may be made: one man may stand on the shoulders of another, and see farther and know more. But in morals, and it is *chiefly* with morals (i. e., habits, character), as before stated, that education is concerned, it is not knowledge or sight that is wanted, but practice of what is known and seen. The same nature will ever reproduce the same feelings; and, as far as education is concerned, the same feelings will develop themselves in the same sequences of events, hope and fear, joy and sorrow, success and failure, virtue and vice, tyranny and rebellion, justice and wrong, all forms of hatred, and all forms of love. No training ever made a dove an eagle.

Now it is obvious that a schoolmaster two hundred years ago might have, and it is a fact, that many had, as high and competent qualifications for their profession, as any of the present day, or whom there is any reason to expect at any future day. It is true that they were ignorant of many facts in science and language, which later research has discovered, but what then? Did this diminish their power of making their pupils, like themselves, high-principled, punctual, persevering, resolute, firm? Did this, in fact, diminish their capability of forming a thoroughly great and good character? It is true their pupils were wholly unacquainted with discoveries which may now be put forth in an evening lecture to the lads of a common day-school. But were they less *able* to acquire any thing they wished to acquire? Had they less of that persevering fag without which there will never be any sound, accurate, or effective scholarship? Were they less acute, of less retentive memory, of inferior imagination, worse principled, less subordinate, less respectful? Let us not be misunderstood: we are not saying that these fresh discoveries in science ought not to be known (which would be absurd), or that they diminish the power of those who know them (which would also be absurd): what we say is this, that seeing that masters formerly produced as great characters, as great scholars, as great poets, as great divines, as great statesmen, as honorable merchants, as beneficent and benevolent noblemen as any do now, it may be concluded that the advances of science have *less* to do with the real and paramount objects of education than the system of discipline, the course of training, what we may call, the *gymnastik* of schools, which, not being dependent on any new discoveries of science or inventions of art, were as well understood by some of our forefathers as they can be by ourselves. And it may be concluded also, that no great

improvement in the grand results of *education* is to be looked for from the mere march of intellect or the mere advances of science.

Second Fallacy. It is considered to be a great waste of time for boys to spend several years in learning Latin and Greek, reading authors, writing exercises, and committing to memory, &c., when they will have no *call* for such knowledge in their future life, in business.

In reply to this there are several things which might be urged: such as, that boys *will* have calls for the knowledge they have acquired in learning Latin and Greek: or that there is no knowing how their tastes or circumstances may change, and that, therefore, it is presumptuous for us to say that they *will not* have any need for such knowledge, even though we now see no prospect of it. There is justice in both remarks, and they might satisfy some, especially those who were prepared for them, and antecedently well disposed to receive them. But on others they would produce no effect whatever; first, because you could not convince them that there *would* be any call for the knowledge in question: and if there was no call in actual shop or exchange business, it would be in vain that you would urge any other call, such as the constant demand in polite conversation for the treasures of literature, old and new; it would be in vain that you would state the marked and painful inferiority felt by what may be called non-Latin men in company with men of refined and cultivated minds, unless perchance a low and balatronic comicality shall have eaten out all higher tastes; we say, it would be in vain to urge any incidental or collateral, social or civil, benefits resulting from the knowledge under remark, because the pounds-shillings-and-pence man, the mere counter-and-till, or the mere counting-house-and-market man, has no sympathy with any thing of the kind, and you might as well argue to a stone wall. Secondly, you could not convince the objector that the boy's circumstances were likely to change, so as to give him any occasion for knowledge of such a kind. Indeed, he would consider it rather a drawback to him than otherwise. Such being the case, we conceive there is only one way of meeting the fallacy we are noticing, namely, by allowing that the knowledge acquired by a study of Latin and Greek *may* never be of any *actual* service or use in after life to the pupil, and yet maintaining, in spite of this, that the same course should be pursued, that boys ought still to be disciplined by the study of the classical languages, though they never should touch or look into a classical book after leaving school, though, when they have *done with* their Greek and Latin books (as boys talk), they may sell them for a song to the first second-hand bookseller they come to. This we maintain in its broadest form; and until people see this, they will have no clear

idea of what they are about in having their sons taught Latin and Greek. We are advancing no novelty: the best writers on education have maintained the same. Education is not, or ought not to be, the preparation for this or that business, but *the training of the mind and the forming of sound habits of thinking and acting;* which cannot be done by teaching first the thing to which all is to be ultimately *applied*, so well as by teaching something external and remote first, and then *coming* to the subject which more nearly concerns us. An example will illustrate our meaning. An experienced schoolmaster once, on receiving a new pupil, asked the father of the boy whether he wished him to be taught *book-keeping* (having heard that foolish wish expressed by many persons). 'No;' replied the parent. 'I don't care 'about that. He'll learn more of book-keeping in my counting-'house *in a week* than he could learn in a school-room in *three* '*months.*' 'That is the opinion I have always expressed,' rejoined the master. And all schoolmasters who are worthy of the name would probably feel the same, if they were not sometimes swayed by the dwaldrums and conundrums of ill-informed clients.

Latin and Greek are taught to boys at school not because they are to talk Latin or to write Greek letters to their friends, nor yet *because* (though it may be the case that) they are intended for one of the learned professions; but to *discipline* their minds, to gymnaze their intellects in hardy and robust exercises, to give them retentiveness of memory and promptness of recollection, accuracy of thought, diligence, perseverance, the *love* of work, or at any rate the *habit* of work, for the sake of *conquering the difficulties* of the work: for without this there can be no success. A system which presents no difficulties, is not a training system; it is a system of humoring, not of counteracting, lazy and ungenerous propensities; it is a system which, carried out to its legitimate extent, would destroy the root of all that is *yet* noble in our nature and still nobler in the aspirations to better it; it is a system which, till of late, it was never attempted gravely to defend; still less to urge as exclusively rational. A system of teaching which professes to rid learning of *all* difficulties, *does* rid it of half its charms: labor ipse voluptas. Is life all play? all game? Then why should education be? If we would have hard-working men, we must have hard-working boys. 'The child is father of 'the man.' We contend, then, that the *labor* of learning Latin and Greek, so far from being an objection to it, is one of its main recommendations. The classical languages are to be studied, not because they are *entertaining* merely, or amusing merely, but because they present difficulties, which *must* be overcome, and which there is a *way* of overcoming. The Latin grammar is to be learnt by heart, not because it is as amusing as the Arabian

Nights, but because in learning it the boy is *compelled* to work at something which he would not work at for *mere pleasure*, or mere entertainment; in fact, because it is laborious, and because, by exercising, it strengthens the powers of the mind.

This part of the subject has been so ably illustrated by Professor Malden in his Lecture, the title of which stands at the head of this article, that we cannot forbear giving his remarks in his own words.

'Nothing is more common than to find parents regardless and insensible of the growing intelligence of their children, and complaining that they do not learn at school those practical processes which are to subserve the routine of their future profession. If the education of the body were the matter in question instead of the education of the mind, the absurdity of this conduct would be abundantly manifest. Put the case of a boy of a weakly constitution and effeminate habits; and suppose that family connexions and interest make it seem desirable that he should enter the army, and that he is committed to the care of some one,—an old soldier, if you like—who professes to prepare him for his military career. At the end of four or five years, when he ought to obtain his commission, his father may think it right to inquire into his fitness for his profession. 'Have you studied tactics?' 'No, Sir.' 'Have you studied gunnery?' 'No, Sir.' 'Are you perfect in the last instructions issued from the Horse Guards for the manœuvres of cavalry?' 'I have never seen them, Sir.' 'Have you learnt the broadsword exercise?' 'No.' 'Can you put a company of infantry through their drill?' 'No.' 'Have you practised platoon firing?' 'No.' 'Can you even fix a bayonet in a musket?' 'I have never tried, Sir.' After such an examination, we may suppose the father expostulating indignantly with the veteran under whose care his son had been placed. The latter might reply: 'Sir, when you entrusted your son to my training, he was weak and sickly: he had little appetite, and was fastidious in his eating; he could bear no exposure to the weather: he could not walk two miles without fatigue: he was incapable of any severer exercise: he was unwilling, and, indeed, unable, to join in the athletic sports of boys of his age. Now, he is in perfect health, and wants and wishes for no indulgence: he can make a hearty dinner on any wholesome food, or go without it, if need be: he will get wet through, and care nothing about it: he can walk twelve or fifteen miles a-day: he can ride: he can swim: he can skate: he can play a game of cricket, and enjoy it: though he has not learnt the broadsword exercise, he fences well: though he has never handled a soldier's musket, he is an excellent shot with a fowling-piece: he has a firm foot, a quick eye, and a steady hand: he is a very pretty draughtsman; he is eager to enter his profession, and you may take my word for it, Sir, he will make a brave and active officer.'

'Such a defence, I think, would be conclusive. So it is with mental training. Mental health, and vigor, and activity, are a sufficient vindication of the discipline by which they are produced, although the

acquirements necessary for a business or a profession may have been delayed in the cultivation of them. There is no profession, no station in life, in which a love of intellectual exertion, a habit of attention, a retentive memory, a quick discernment, a comprehensive capacity, clearness of views, and soundness of judgment, a knowledge of the use of knowledge, that habit of mind, in short, which by experience and reflection gathers wisdom, is not far more valuable than any amount of mere knowledge.'

The fallacy, however, which we have been discussing, is founded mainly upon another, which must be considered separately.

Third Fallacy. It is considered that teaching Latin and Greek is teaching words merely, and not things; which, it is contended, is inverting the order of nature, of propriety, and of use.

This is stated in so many words by Pestalozzi and his disciples, by George Comb and the Scotch phrenologico-educational school, and is dwelt on by Mr. Wyse in his work on 'Education Reform.' It is not a new conceit; it was the favorite maxim at the time of the French Revolution, and the leaven has spread to Germany, as well as to our own country. The Polytechnic schools were to teach things, and not words only; and the Real-schulen of Germany profess a similar object. Men had *formerly* been taught to think that the young should be accustomed from early years to a familiarity with virtuous and heroic thoughts, with stirring histories, and ennobling poesy: our forefathers, good people, had, in their simplicity, imagined that the praise of integrity and justice, the condemnation of meanness and vice, the study of the sublime and beautiful in language inseparable from the sublime and beautiful in thought, the narrations of the deeds of war and the arts of peace, the struggles of human passion, the alternations of power, generosity towards the vanquished, the feeling never wholly extinct of a Power holding the smaller circles of human change in subordination to a grander cycle comprehending all time, these they conceived to be the proper objects of youthful study. They thought that man was the proper study of man: man in all his mental and moral developments, especially the nobler and more dignified. They considered that an oration of Demosthenes or the Æneid of Virgil was a better school for training the mind in than a treatise on pneumatics or a catechism of farriery. They imagined that history, and oratory, and poetry, would cultivate the mind, and discipline it for virtuous and noble acts better than all the diagrams of Euclid. The contemplation of men with their hopes and fears, business and pleasure, greatness and littleness, they thought more effectual in educating men than any of the sciences, even geometry, with its circles and its radii, its angles and its squares. Not

that they disparaged geometry or any other of the sciences, they valued them too highly to put them in an unnatural position, or to assign to them an office which they knew they were unable to perform. The great Barrow,* whose inexhaustible eloquence never flows in a richer stream than when he is extolling the mathematics, himself no less illustrious as a scholar than he was as a mathematician, never dreamed of science supplanting literature; each had its proper functions, and its appropriate vocation, and he would not have sanctioned an interference of the claims of the one with those of the other.

But we are wandering from the fallacy which we have proposed to consider. What is meant by teaching words and not things? An example given by Mr. Comb in his first lecture (p. 19) will sufficiently explain what is intended. Mr. Comb conceives that it would be more useful to teach a boy the points of a horse than to teach him that the Latin of 'horse' is *equus*, the Greek ἵππος, the German *pferd*, the French *cheval*, and so on. The one would be what he calls *real* knowledge, the other merely verbal knowledge. Now, this we wholly and entirely deny. We contend that to the majority of boys, to nine boys out of ten, teaching the points of a horse and the various uses of the limbs, and muscles, &c., would be little else than teaching *words*, words denoting in many cases things with which they are not familiar, mere hard names. Of course, if no new words were given, the boy would learn nothing. It would be no use to tell him a horse has four legs, a tail, two eyes, two ears, &c.; he can see this as well as we can; this would be what they call an object lesson; and to a boy who is not an idiot, an object lesson is either mere waste of time in frivolous questions and frivolous answers, or the communication of certain hard names. But to return to Mr. Comb's horse. We deny that it would be at all a good discipline for a boy's *mind* to teach him the points of a horse: and we maintain that it is an excellent discipline to make him learn the declension of *equus*, and decline other words like it. We maintain that it is a far more useful exercise for a boy to read and work out the meaning of a Latin sentence, and to form another sentence by rules deduced from that, imitating, and, therefore, necessarily closely observing, the peculiarities of construction, and thus building up a period of good sense and good grammar: we maintain that this is a far more useful exercise than to be telling the colour of this animal or the height of that, the name of this mineral or that plant,—more useful than to be distributing the weeds and plants of the back-garden into endogens and exogens,

* Educated at the Grammar School of Felsted in Essex, before he went to Cambridge.

cotyledons and dicotyledons, or to be discussing tertiary strata and primitive rocks, alluvial and diluvial deposits, or the fossils of the ecthyosaurus and the Plesiosaurus. But there are some who would not introduce many of the sciences formally, but would give familiar lessons on the most familiar objects which come before us, such as glass, india-rubber, coal, bricks, shells, &c. And such lessons are called object lessons. But what does all that is taught in such lessons amount to but *mere observation?* And who, that has eyes, has any *difficulty* in observing what he wants to observe? No one would be simple enough to *teach* a boy of ten that a table has legs, or that india-rubber is elastic, or that he cannot see through a brick wall; and why? Because he *must* have learnt this of himself, by the unavoidable observation of every day life. And yet there are people who would actually have the precious hours of school instruction frittered away in such rubbish as this. Object-lessons is the term commonly employed to *describe* them, or rather to *conceal* their intrinsically empty and vapid nature. 'It should ever be re-'membered,' says the learned Dr. Vicesimus Knox, 'that a 'great part of things around us, glaring *objects* of the senses *ob-'trude themselves* on the mind spontaneously; and that it is '*ridiculous* to include such things in a course of education. Man, 'like the animals around him, learns by the use of his eyes only, 'an infinite number of things not to be found in books, because 'they are *obvious on intuition.*' Yet some educational zealots would fain have rejected the classics, and all institution in language for this wretched drivelling, this apology for work, in teacher and scholar. Pestalozzi and a host of successors in his wake, have raised a hue and cry in favor of this sort of instruction. We can only say we never saw a class of boys of the most moderate abilities who would not have thought their object lessons beneath contempt. One remark, however, should be made on the mode of investing the lessons with something like an appearance of information. The most difficult terms are used to describe the most common properties of the most common objects, —terms, denoting, *things* indeed, which they understood long ago, but terms which they cannot now understand without much explanation. So that in fact, in such lessons they are not learning things; the things they knew before; but they are learning the meaning of a set of hard, crabbed words which they never saw before, and which they might as well not learn.

Whereas in language they learn things. The words are the things. They treat the words *as* things. They strip them of their terminations, they add prefixes, they add suffixes, they decline them, they conjugate, compare, make them agree with one another, classify, arrange, and collocate the whole. In fact, words

are objects, and *the* objects with which they are most familiar, and on them they exercise their memory, ingenuity, fancy, and all the powers of their mind. We are glad again to have the opportunity of confirming our opinions by the admirable and lucid statements of Professor Malden.*

'The pupil goes on reading and hearing of animals, and plants, and minerals, which he has never seen, and machines which he has never handled, and manufactures which he has never witnessed, of lemures, and cuttle-fish, palms and eucalyptuses, selenite and steatite, and, it may be, even of divers protochlorides and dentoxides; and the teacher boasts that he is teaching things, while all with which he is loading the memory is mere words. Even in the most simple and elementary teaching of things after the Pestalozzian model, it is much more easy than theorists are aware of, to fall into this error. There is a little book in great vogue, and of considerable merit, the 'Lessons on Objects,' as given in Dr. Mayo's school at Cheam: but I never yet saw this book in the hands of a teacher without finding that the little pupils during the greater part of their lessons were not really learning the properties of glass, or chalk, or copper wire, but were in fact learning the meaning of sundry hard words, such as 'transparent, opake, friable, malleable, ductile, insipid, sapid;' very useful knowledge, no doubt, but not exactly knowledge of things.

'But when a boy is learning Greek or Latin, the words themselves are the things with which his mind is busied, and these he has perpetually before him. He is not merely told about them; but he sees them, reads them, pronounces them, writes them, uses them. Every classical book that he reads is to him and his master an inexhaustible museum of them: he is always trying experiments with them with more or less success, analysing and compounding, that is, translating and writing exercises: and thus the ideas which he conceives of their formation and analogies, their derivation and composition, and the laws of their structure in sentences, attain at last to the distinctness and precision which belong to the ideas of objects with which the mind is immediately and practically conversant. In the spirit, if not in the letter, this is a study of things. And this I believe to be the cause, why the study of the ancient languages, even in those who do not carry it far enough to make much progress in the literature, is found, by an amount of experience which no theory can countervail, to be most beneficial in developing and strengthening the intellectual faculties.'

It is amusing to see how the visionaries, while on the one hand they all agree in their hostility to Latin and Greek, differ as to what should be put in their place. They are in favor of the sciences, as we have been saying. But as to how or by what

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* On the Introduction of the Natural Sciences into General Education. A Lecture, &c. By Henry Malden, M.A. Taylor and Walton.

means they are to be taught in detail, or even which of the sciences should be taught, or which first and which second, hardly any two will be found to think alike. One thinks chemistry the most important, another gives the preference to geology or botany, he is not certain which, a third thinks anatomy and physiology more necessary than any thing else, a fourth agrees that science is the right thing, and astronomy the right science.

It is no wonder that such diversity exists, seeing that the parties in question have no one common leading idea by which to steer. One science will appear to one more *useful*, and another to another, and a third to a third. But if a person takes the low view of education which regards it as a mere preparation for the office or the counting-house, and would make every thing that is learnt bear directly upon that, be *useful*, as they call it, in after life, it is not possible to answer him or to satisfy him. His notions on the subject must be broken up altogether before he can form a correct opinion on it at all. The Romans described an ignorant person as one who *nec literas didicit nec natare.* Walter Scott, when asked respecting his son's education, replied, that he had taught him 'to ride, shoot, and speak the truth,' like the ancient Persians. Now, both ideas contain more than at first sight would appear. The Romans educated the mind and the body: the Persians chiefly educated the body and the moral habits. Some people have very strange notions on what they consider the chief part of education. One person gravely considers dancing to be the principal thing: another regards the three *r*'s—reading, 'riting, 'rithmetic—as the main *ingredients:* a third would give nothing for all besides if the *globes* were neglected. Now, there is no prospect at all of convincing persons of this kind that Latin and Greek are the best instruments of education, until they can be brought to see that mental *training* is the object, not mere knowledge, as in drilling, firmness of muscle, and an erect gait, are the *ends* to be attained, not any particular posture which may be required as a *means* for attaining them. A boy is not taught drilling that he may mark time in the middle of Cheapside, nor is a boy taught the Latin grammar that he may decline *magister* in his father's counting-house. A boy is not taught dancing in order that he may dance a hornpipe in the public street, but that he may acquire a suppleness of limb and an ease of manner. The thing taught is the medium by which we reach the end. *Latin and Greek are taught not as ends, but as means.* By them, as by an instrument, we develop and strengthen the intellectual faculties. Learning Latin and Greek is the ἐνέργεια, mental power the ἔργον. Now, 'the study of the 'ancient languages,' says Professor Malden, 'even in those who 'do not carry it far enough to make much progress in the litera-'ture, *is found by an amount of experience, which no theory can*

'*countervail, to be most beneficial in developing and strengthening* '*the intellectual faculties.*'

But do we mean to admit that no actual knowledge will be gained by the pupil, which will be useful to him afterwards, if he is judiciously trained in the ancient languages? By no means. What we say is this, that that knowledge is only an *advantage* attending one of the *means* which we use to the great end: and is not the end itself.

There is one other point in the argument about words which we wish to notice. Listen to a zoologist, an astronomer, or a chemist describing the respective objects of his chosen science: what does all that he is saying amount to? To words and figures: language and quantity. Is it not then most reasonable to teach these two things accurately and minutely even with an ultimate view to the sciences themselves? Language is not only the symbol, but the very instrument of thought, and mixes itself up with all our mental operations, coloring our thoughts and insensibly moulding our opinions. Now, a person who has never studied language accurately, not only can never express himself accurately, he can never think accurately, he cannot form to himself a clear notion often of what he thinks he means, he has not the skill to analyse his thoughts, because he cannot fix the *precise* meaning of his words. Words are not merely the *raiment*, they are part of the *body* of one's thoughts. So that, antecedently, one would say, that *language*, some language or languages, ought to form the staple of education, the great instrument of mental cultivation.

Fourth Fallacy. It is considered that nothing should be learnt by mere rote, but that every thing which is learnt, should be explained at the time.

Of late years we have heard a great deal of the advantages of explaining every thing in teaching, of leaving no difficulty unsolved, and of not allowing children to *learn* any thing which they do not at the time thoroughly *understand*. We can hardly take up a single book, which has been written within the last ten years on the subject of education, in which this notion is not adopted and insisted on. The way in which the advocates of the all-explaining system love to express themselves is somewhat of this kind, 'that children should not be mere parrots, learning by 'rote page after page, the force and beauties of which they can-'not enter into; poring over the drilled dull lesson,' as they call it, 'while the reasoning powers are but little exercised, and in 'fact the mind is enslaved to a sort of mechanical drudgery and 'routine, to be pitied by any reasonable being.' All this rests on a fallacy, which may be readily seen. In order to *understand one* thing, we must *know twenty;* and if the *one* is *explained* to us without our *knowing* the other *nineteen*, we are as

much learning the *explanation* by rote, as it is called, as we should be the *one* thing itself. We must learn much *more,* or we might as well have learnt less. We know many facts now perhaps as facts, which at present are inexplicable, but which something we may learn a year hence will probably make clear. In every thing *practice* comes first, *thought* after. Reflection is altogether a subsequent act. It does not follow, because a child does not seem to enter into the *meaning* of what he learns *now,* though he learn it ever so perfectly, it does not follow that he never will enter into it. Because, when you have put a seed in the ground, a plant does not immediately rise, with its green stem and leaves, it does not follow that it never will rise. It requires time, and rain, and sun. So with knowledge. Byron says, in speaking of his juvenile studies,

> '*Time* hath taught
> My mind to *meditate* what then it *learned.*'

A few instances will show the advantages of attending to this principle. An eminent scholar of the day acquired great familiarity with Homer and skill in the Greek language by reading the Iliad through, without a lexicon, reading straight forward, marking the words which he did not understand, and passing on. As he proceeded, words which he had marked before explained themselves by their recurrence and context, and when he arrived at the end he had comparatively very few words left unexplained. Of course he knew a good deal of Greek, when he began. We know a gentleman who read a Portuguese book of travels in this way, without having any previous knowledge of the language; but he understood nearly every thing before he had finished. Of course he knew Latin and French. But the principle is the same, he used no dictionary. Often the meaning of something we heard years ago, but did not at all comprehend then, *flashes upon* us all at once. Nothing, in fact, is more absurd than objecting to children learning any thing by rote. Was not much of our own most valuable and most indelible knowledge acquired, when we did not understand the meaning of what we learnt? Have we not found lessons originally got off by the merest rote exceedingly useful in after life? Do we not often hear persons say, 'I learnt so 'and so when I was at school, and I have never forgotten it,' and that at a distance, it may be, of ten, twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty years. The fact is, learning by rote is the *only* way of learning a multitude of things, which must be learnt. How is the multiplication table learnt in the first instance, but by rote? We may reason upon it and analyse it afterwards, but this is altogether a subsequent act. We get the thing first in its totality, and afterwards separate and survey the parts.

This principle may be profitably applied to religious education. How absurd is the objection to teaching religious doctrines which

children cannot comprehend; of which they cannot see the scope or ascertain the bearing! How crude the notion that doctrinal teaching is a mere inefficient and bald recital!

'For if some tones be false or low,
What are all prayers beneath
But cries of babes, that cannot know
Half the deep thoughts they breathe?

'In His own words we Christ adore
But *angels*, while we speak,
Higher above *our* meaning soar
Than *we* o'er *children* weak.'*

We are not saying that the bearing of doctrines on feelings and conduct should not be gradually elicited and enforced: of course it should: what we say is, that doctrines must be taught *as* doctrines, dogmatically, as much truths and axioms as the results of the multiplication table. Thus truth is beforehand with error: the mind is preoccupied, and is not left open, and free to hostile incursion. It is armed, and defends itself.

This leads us to the consideration of another fallacy, which refers more particularly to the education of youth than of children, but which may be advantageously regarded in connexion with the observations we have already made.

Fifth Fallacy. It is considered, by some, that on a subject of morals or religion (the latter more especially), the different conflicting opinions should be given, and the pupils left to choose between them.

We believe that this notion is entertained by many who do not know that they entertain it. They have never brought it out in form to their own consciousness, or reduced it to words. If it were *stated* to them, they would reject it. They, however, consider it more liberal and candid, and more generous-minded, to leave the pupil to make an impartial and dispassionate choice: such a course is complimented as truth-loving. If analysed, the notion will come to something of this kind, that principles are like wares, that they can be taken on approval, and if not liked returned. Such, however, is not the case: the mind is in reality somewhat differently affected from a beer-cask. Yet even a beer-cask smells of beer, a long time after the beer is gone.

'Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem
Testa diu.'—Horace.

A bad principle is not easily changed for a good one. On this, as on many other subjects, Plato was wiser than many moderns.

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* Christian Year.

'There is much greater danger,' he says,* 'in buying know-'ledge than in buying food. For he who purchases eatables or 'drinkables of the retail or wholesale dealer can carry them away 'in *other* vessels, and *before* he eats or drinks them, can take 'them home, and there call in some skilful person and advise with 'him, that he may know what he ought to eat or drink, in what 'quantities, and at what times: so that the danger is not great in 'purchases of this kind. But knowledge it is not possible to 'take away in *another* vessel: he who buys knowledge must take 'it into his very soul, and there keep it, and must go away either 'injured or benefitted.'

When people speak therefore of placing two sets of opinions before others, one calculated to do evil and the other good, with a view to their making a choice, an unbiassed and impartial choice (as they call it), between the two, they are acting as they would, and reasonably would, if the subject of examination were butter or bread, instead of principles. But the cases are widely different. They act in reality as a person would, who might induce another to take a glass of port wine and a glass of vinegar to see which he preferred, or which he thought the more wholesome. One would be calculated probably to do good, the other certainly to do harm: but the former would not neutralize the latter. Perhaps if this idea were applied to the subject of prejudice, many sentiments which are called bigoted would be found to be only prepossessions in favor of what is good; and it might be difficult to show that such prepossessions, call them prejudices if you like, should be discouraged.

Education has two main divisions, *teaching* and *discipline*. Now, it will be found that the principles adopted in the one, will always affect the other, and so to speak, the discipline will be a reflection of the teaching and the teaching of the discipline. The one will be the correlative of the other. Strict requirements in learning, will go with strict requirements in behaving. By strict requirements in behaving, we do not mean curtailing the liberty of the pupils in every possible way, and keeping up a perpetual fire of small shot at them, but the strict requirement of certain grand points of behaviour, and strict discipline in school. This leads us to consider another fallacy, the last which we have space to discuss at present. It respects discipline.

Sixth Fallacy. It is considered that children should be ruled rather by persuasion than authority, and should be shown the reason *why* they should do one thing and not another.

This opinion sounds so benevolent, it is entertained by persons so well-meaning, and seems so humane, and kind, and generous,

* In the Protagoras.

that at first sight it appears almost unfeeling to do any thing to unsettle it, still more to refute it altogether. It seems to be based upon love in opposition to fear, and appeals seemingly to the better and more generous sympathies of our nature. But for all that we must look at it closely, and see whether it will bear examination.

When we order a child to do a particular thing, and begin to argue with him to show him *why* he should do it, we put his obedience on a wholly different ground from our will or authority; we put it on a different ground *to him*, and a ground which he can take as well as we, and which he will not be slow to take. We put his obedience on the ground of his *seeing* the reasonableness of our order. Now, often he will *not see* the force of our reasoning, and if he is unwilling to see the force of it, of course he will not see it. Well, one of two things, then, must follow. Either we must give in, which would be yielding to the child's self-will, and would be ruinous to all authority; or we must still insist on his doing what we ordered; we must after all fall back on our authority, and then *seem* to the child to be enforcing what was unreasonable. In other words, whenever the child does not see the force of the reasons we assign, we must appear to him either weak or capricious, either yielding and pusillanimous, or arbitrary and tyrannical; either the child becomes practically master, or we become apparently unjust.

Of course, the mere theorist or *writer* on education does not see this. How should he? But let him have the responsible management of a hundred boys for six months, and then say whether he would be content to place his system of discipline on the ground of persuasion. If he did, the boys would soon ride upon his back. We never knew a practical schoolmaster of any *experience*, to entertain the notion under remark. Some parents entertain and act upon it, if that may be called acting, which rather consists in suffering. They say of a son, 'we 'never oblige him to do what he does not see the propriety of 'doing, we endeavour to show him the reason *why* he should do 'this or that.' They seem to have forgotten, that when they have given an order, they have given what ought to be the *strongest* motive for obedience, and that by adding *other* motives, inducements, persuasions, and coaxings (for it soon comes to that), they are, in fact, only *weakening* the grand motive and habit of obedience, and encouraging the arts of dissimulation and hypocrisy. Obedience is prompt; and unless prompt, is as much like disobedience as it can be.

The truth is, a child is in very few cases *able*, in the nature of things, to *see* or comprehend the *whole* of the reasons for what he is told to do. He may see one part of the reason for a thing,

but not the other part, and may think that part which he does see very insufficient, as indeed it often would be. Do all you can, you may not be *able* to explain to him the other part, possibly it might not be proper to explain it to him. The child must know a great deal more, and act and obey a great deal more, before he will be able to take in and appreciate the *real* reasons of half of what he is ordered to do. Let him do what he is told, and after a time he shall find that it was right. This is the principle of all virtue, as well as of religious obedience. Action precedes and accompanies knowledge. In education there is great need of faith; faith on the part of the master or parent that the seed sown will not be choked, but will be fruitful of good; faith on the part of the child, towards his master or parent, that what he does or orders is for his good, and will prove so in the end. This is the true principle of a child's obedience. This is the ground on which it is placed by Scripture, by common sense, and by universal experience.

A parent sometimes directs a child to do a particular thing, and then assigns a reason why he should do it. The child hesitates, objects, argues; at last the parent will say, 'Well then, do it because *I tell* you.' If this had been said at first, it would have saved much trouble and many words. So, a master should never argue with a pupil; never allow a boy to answer again, reply, ask reasons, and so on. All this is out of place, and detrimental to good order and healthy discipline.

But, it may be asked, would not these principles encourage arbitrariness and tyranny on the part of masters? On the contrary, a master (if what he ought to be, which is of course presupposed), finding his responsibility so great, will take the greater pains to be in the right; finding that whatever he orders is to be done, will not order what is unnecessary, or unjust; finding his pupils submissive towards him, will be lenient though strict, and kind though authoritative, towards them. And this is what boys themselves always prefer. There is nothing they hate so much as an uncertain, vacillating, capricious discipline; no master is so much respected as one who *will* be obeyed, and who keeps them in strict order and up to the mark. Boys do not really like confusion any more than men; they like order and regularity, and he who insists on order and regularity, and, without caprice, enforces obedience, is sure of their respect. They have no respect for a man who does not *claim* respect as his due; they cannot submit willingly and regularly to one who does not insist on obedience and regularity himself. It is too much to expect a large number of boys or men to keep *themselves* in order, without some actual, visible, external restraint. And this both men and boys like. They actually enjoy more liberty by being so restrained: they are more comfortable for being kept in a state

of high discipline. 'Legum,' says Cicero,* 'idcirco omnes servi 'sumus, ut liberi esse possimus.'

We have said much against the sciences supplanting the classics, or even interfering with their high claims in education. It may be asked then, Would you give a boy no scientific knowledge? Would you have him leave school without any information on the most important and interesting facts in science or any general knowledge? We reply, by no means. Those most important facts can be communicated in a very short time, and as the pupil is become versed in arithmetic (which we have all along supposed), if not also in the mathematics, he will have no difficulty in following out any of the sciences to which his future destination may lead him, seeing that by his classical studies he has acquired a *power*, which, being applicable to any object, will enable him to make progress in chemistry as well as in history, if he chooses to devote himself to that study. And as to general knowledge; we conceive that a well-stocked library, containing books of entertainment and instruction of various kinds and on various subjects, is the best teacher. The pupil can there suit his own taste, and if he is fond of natural history, he can and will choose Buffon, or some other books which treat of it; if he prefers biography, he will choose the life of Nelson, of Cortez, of Wellington, or some other favorite hero, perhaps even the volumes of the veracious Plutarch; if he leans to natural philosophy, he will choose books relating to that subject; and if he has a taste for anecdotes, the Percy anecdotes, and such-like volumes are at his command. By such voluntary and unshackled indulgence of particular taste and propension within given limits, a boy's mind will develop in the most natural manner.

There are many other points on which we should have wished to touch; such as the proportions and kinds of liberty which should be allowed, and of restraint which should be exercised in schools, the most efficacious kinds of rewards and punishments, the hours of study, the amount of actual instruction which should be given, and the amount of solitary independent preparation which should be required; the effect of lectures, and so forth, on all which subjects there is much popular misconception: but the length to which this paper has already extended, warns us to conclude. We cannot finish, however, without again adverting to the increased and increasing number of works on the subject of education. Books on education have multiplied within the last few years beyond all precedent. We cannot say that we think people have acquired juster notions on the subject, or have made any material progress in consequence of these productions.

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* Pro A. Cluentio, § 53.

They have, as we have before said, and it cannot be too often repeated, they have been written chiefly, almost entirely, by *unpractical* men, and we may add, *women*. They have been written by theorizers, who have seen evils, and *thought* they saw how to remedy them, and they might have remedied them, and so could any one else, if a few strokes of the pen would do it. But this is not the case. Children have wills; and they cannot be worked quite in a mechanical way like a steam engine. No antecedently formed plan can provide for emergencies which may arise, and may arise every day; no antecedent study or thought can anticipate the difficulties which occur, or the means of meeting them. A plan which sounds well to the ear, and looks well on paper, and seems plausible and feasible to one who is not a teacher, will often to a man of ten years' experience in teaching, be *obviously* unmanageable and absurd. The framer of the plan did not *know* the material he had to work on, or the way of working upon it. The practical schoolmaster, like a skilful lawyer, knows what boys are, and what they are *in numbers*, and what effect any given plan will be likely to have on them; and when any new plan is proposed, he falls back on his precedents, and applies his knowledge of the past to any proposal for the future. A new theory or speculation will not deceive him. Theorizers are liable to be deceived at every step. Results which they *fancy* will follow a given course, the practical schoolmaster often *knows* will *not* follow. Experience is the safe guide. We cannot, then, but express our regret that the educational treatises and manuals with which the public has lately been inundated, have not been written by practical men, men of experience in that on which they offer to instruct others.

We want no more treatises on teaching from writers who have never taught; no more plans of education from persons who have never educated; no more schemes of discipline from those who have never exercised discipline themselves. The opinion of one practical schoolmaster is worth more than that of a hundred theorizers.

Art. II. *Moral Views of Commerce, Society, and Politics; in Twelve Discourses.* By the Rev. ORVILLE DEWEY. 12mo. Fox, Paternoster Row.

THRICE honored be the man of whatever country, creed, or party, who should prevail to introduce and give efficiency to another and a purer morality than that which at present presides over, or rather leaves lawless, both the commerce and the politics of Christendom—and surely above all parallel or precedent, the politics of our own country. The curse of selfishness —of blind, grasping covetousness, ravenous for gain, vigorously and intensely set to its purpose, is indeed but too odiously visible in many of the transactions of commerce. Yet this is a dull and innocuous demon in comparison with the fierce and reckless fiend that has taken upon him to rule the region of politics, and to whom his votaries seem to have conceded by acclamation, not only an unlimited, but an utterly reckless domination. The god of their idolatry is a most perfect and consummate *diabolus*, accomplished in every art of satanic policy, and equipped with every weapon of the infernal armory. Yet, strange to tell, he is transformed into an angel of light, invokes the name of Christ, sprinkles himself with holy water, and claims both the sanction and protection of the cross.

Moderate men and pious men are weeping in secret places, and sighing in spirit, for the abominations that are perpetrated at noon-day, but no one appears to lift up a standard for outraged truth, and forgotten justice, and banished honor. The press has become a bottomless pit, pouring forth its daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly volumes of fire and brimstone, which not only outtop and overpower all the barriers of morality, but threaten to convulse and devastate society to its lowest foundations. The very pulpits of the land are now becoming usurped by this political demon, from whence he is hurling firebrands, arrows, and death, in all directions and at high places.

In defiance of decency, truth, and conscience, our would-be *dictators*, and *soi-disant expositors* of public opinion, are at the present moment insulting humanity, belying patriotism, and trampling christianity under their iron hoofs. The men who ought, from their office, and their profession, to be foremost in quelling the spirit of party, and enforcing the claims of candor, truth, and justice, whose very names and countenances, in places of assembly and concourse, should prove like oil upon the troubled waters, or as old Nestor's eloquence upon the infuriated hosts of the Greeks, are possessed by that rabid demon of party politics, which, like the man among the tombs, snaps asunder all chains, and despite the alleged apostolicity of the whole bench

of bishops, defies the twelve apostles themselves, to cast him out; unless indeed they were at once to disown the entire succession, because of the spirit which animates it—a circumstance which many might think not at all improbable, considering that they have cautioned us against *false apostles*, and affirmed that, 'if 'any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his.'

It seems, however, utterly hopeless to remind the whole party, lay and clerical, of any pledges they have given, or of any professions by which they are bound. To tell them of the gentle spirit of their divine Saviour, or of the refined and impartial laws of his religion—to allege your rights as men, your feelings as christians, or your liberties as British subjects, it is like preaching to the winds, or reasoning with madness.

The times in which we live, present a large class foremost in politics, and foremost in the church, whom no force of reasoning can convince, and no pleas of equity or humanity can move. *Self—us*—and *our*, are the words that limit all that is great, good, or precious. These fill that narrow circle to which all their ideas and all their sympathies are restricted. Beyond that circle no persuasion, no argument, can by any possibility induce them to look. This is their centre and their circumference. Every thing is there. Out of it there is nothing interesting, nothing worth a thought. This is their infinity. The rancor of their spirit outstrips all parallel—the dishonesty and unfairness of their proceedings mock all morality, and laugh at conscience. Whatever may be said, and said perhaps but too justly, of the recklessness of speculation, the want of honor and good faith in business, yet the exchange and the market are virtuous and moral, we had almost said immaculate, when compared with the different arenas of political contention, and even the platforms of some of our public societies. Religion is profaned, literature is disgraced, science is defiled, social life is embittered and become exclusive or *clanish*. The spirit of a Bradshaw may be taken as the personification of a host of laymen, while the bigoted and reckless ravings of a Close, a M'Neil, and a Gathercole, are rousing the clergy in all directions. The pulpit is rivalling the daily press in ebullitions of political rancor and treasonable insolence. We have heard of an instance of a clergyman in one of our populous cities, who has passed beyond all competitors in a fifth of November sermon, and *out-Bradshawed* Bradshaw himself.

If the infuriated party had any conscience or any shame, should we after this ever hear again of political dissenters? Will the *Record* hereafter have the effrontery to upbraid dissenters with the sin of interfering in politics, when its own cherished party have rushed forward into the fiercest and thickest of the onslaught? The hypocrisy of the hue and cry against political dissenters is amply demonstrated by the gratulations with which

a dissenter is always hailed when his politics are of the right sort, and the zest with which the political speeches of the evangelical clergy are recorded and read. The unpardonable sin of the dissenters, in the eyes of such parties, is not that they are political at all, but that their politics are on the wrong side; for these gentlemen have obviously no antipathy to politics, as such, but only to every body's politics except their own. '*Orthodoxy*,' said Franklin, 'means your own *doxy*; heterodoxy is any other 'man's *doxy*.' True, O Franklin, thy definition hits the case. It is not that all *politics* are sinful, nor the degree to which they are pushed, abstractedly considered, but the *heterodoxy* of them is the sin. Political dissenters would be as much commended and petted as political churchmen, did they but symbolize with the right party. But because they do not and cannot sacrifice their consciences, write them down, talk them down, vote them down, beat them down, and trample them down—all shall be fair, moral, and evangelical, so that they may but be *down*, and kept down, and ourselves kept up. This is the kind of morality, not only of the newspaper editors, but, alas, of our clergy, evangelical and anti-evangelical, to an extent that scarcely admits of exception.

What is to be the issue of all this? Will it subserve the cause of truth, religion, and national virtue? Will it convince opponents and make them friends? Is it not rather calculated to dishonor christianity and dissolve the bonds of all moral and social order? It is with deep grief we daily witness the excesses of party spirit—the direct immorality which is practised in controversy, and the palpable trifling with the interests of truth, honor, and candor, which disgraces not merely the newspapers, but our literature, and to a great extent our theology. It is scarcely to be believed but that many of our party scribes must be perfectly conscious of all this violence and villany, however fair they may deem it, to render an opponent or an opposite party odious and hateful, to present them belabored or bespattered by mere Billingsgate, for the amusement or triumph of their own friends. Yet all this is unquestionably base in principle, disgusting in practice, and injurious to the morals of society.

It is indeed high time that some honorable and right-feeling men, of all parties, should step forward to remind the belligerents that they are human and rational; and that at all events, if they must and will contend, there are laws of honorable war, to which all civilized nations have acceded, and which none would disregard but savages and cannibals. It might befit the infidel bloodhounds of the first French revolution to rave round the Thuilleries like tigers and wolves with the palpitating limbs of their victims in their mouths; but does it behove christian men and

Englishmen to emulate the rage of beasts and the violence of maniacs? When rational beings feel that they must inevitably differ in opinion upon subjects of high importance and interest, surely they are mutually bound to lessen the inconvenience and unhappiness of such difference by all the means in their power. It is evil enough to be conscientiously compelled to disagree, without adding to this the rancor of enmity, and breaking up society into hostile bands intent upon nothing but mutual destruction. It is indeed a pestilent evil which has grown upon us in the heat of party strifes, to count every man that differs from us an enemy; and it is still worse to push this feeling out into all the relations of life, and all the business and intercourse of society—to scruple no means of effecting the disgrace and ruin of an adversary.

In the name of humanity, of truth, and candor, and our common religion, we reclaim against this diabolical spirit which is openly stalking forth and transforming men into furies, gladiators, assassins—habituating them to every thing that is base, false, and violent; openly shouting *war to the knife!* and proclaiming the lawfulness of all means for the good of our church, and the suppression of dissenters and liberals. Surely there is patriotism, morality, and moderation enough among us, to rebuke this foul spirit and chain this Leviathan. Let the men of candor, justice, and conscience, protest against all this violence, and frown at these fiery zealots as the men of Canterbury have done. Let the intolerable insolence of the state-clergy be condemned by their parishioners; and let the sacredness of the pulpit be defended by the people, when it is desecrated by the clergy, or let them leave the mock thunderers to launch their bolts in empty space. If peace is dearer to us than the cause of factions, and the interests of truth, virtue, and religion above those of party and of politics, then let all honest, and christian, and candid men join to decry and condemn the virulence, and violence, and disloyalty which are fast hastening on a crisis of the most alarming kind. Happy indeed would it be for the country if a respite could be obtained—a breathing time allowed when each might consider to what all this immorality will ultimately tend, if unchecked and unreproved. Violence on the one side will undoubtedly provoke violence on the other. The tories and the churchmen may foster and encourage the outrages of the physical force men against the liberals and the middle classes; but can they imagine that they would themselves be safe in the event of a chartist rebellion? Or that the men who say that the whigs are beating them with rods, would in the event of throwing off the yoke, hug those who have always chastised them with scorpions? How insane then is the policy which is at the present moment exacerbating all the feelings of hostile parties; and instead of aiming to

uphold morality and social order, is setting an example of outrageous insolence, immorality, disloyalty, and sedition to that rude and ignorant class which is known to be extensively organized and ripe for rebellion. Has not all this violence in the lower orders been stimulated, fostered, and called forth, by the example of their betters; and is it not at the present moment in danger of being imitated by those betters? Would it not be at once imitated by them on behalf of their Hanoverian Orangeman, if the favorable moment should occur, and if they could but persuade themselves that they had as strong a physical force to work with, as the unhappy and deluded chartists supposed they had? It is evident that there are clergymen who would not hesitate to rival Stephens, yea, ten to one, who would be zealous to sanctify the rebellion with prayers, in the name of the apostolical succession; and laymen, like Bradshaw, or even peers that must be nameless, who would rush from their castles or their club houses, to rival Frost or Lovett on the mountains of Wales.

The little unpretending volume before us has suggested to us the propriety of repeating the protest against party violence and rancor, which we have on former occasions not hesitated to put forth. Glad indeed should we be to find that our example had been imitated by other and more influential caterers for the reading and thinking public. We cannot but believe that the republication of this work in England, may be eminently serviceable at the present time, if men of all parties will but read it, and if perchance they retain any respect for the name of Christian by which they are designated.

The volume, indeed, discloses to us one fact of which, we confess, we were not fully aware; that the state of feeling in America, though of course depending on very different questions, singularly and lamentably harmonizes with that of the mother country. So much so, that if the references to particular facts and circumstances had been omitted, and America had not been mentioned, we should have received the work as eminently adapted to our own case. Take, for instance, the following as applicable to the state of political morality in America. Nothing could be written more appropriate to our own country at the present moment.

'There is also a theory of opposition to the government, the *beau ideal* of an opposition man, which, it were to be wished, were more considered than it is. To pull down and destroy, is not, in ordinary circumstances, the legitimate end of an opposition; but it is to limit, to control, to correct, and thus ultimately to assist. It is not to look upon the government as a hostile power, that has made a lodgment in the country, and is to be expelled by a party war, but as a lawfully constituted power, that is to be watched, restrained, and kept from

going wrong. Still, it is the government of our country, and is to be respected. Still, it is the government of our country, and is to be regarded with a candid, and I had almost said, a filial spirit. Its officers are not to be assailed with scurrilous abuse, nor its departments to be degraded by vile epithets. There is a certain consideration and dignity to be preserved by an opposition; if not—if its spirit is altogether factious and fault-finding; if it rejoices over the errors of an administration, it so far loses all respectability; it shows that it is not so anxious for good government, as to be itself the government.

'Oppositions, then, parties, party arguments and measures, all have their legitimate sphere. But now, I say, in the second place, that when they transcend their sphere, when they overleap the bounds of morality, they become engines of evil and peril to the country.

'The only sound and safe principle, I must continually insist, is that which binds morals and politics, in indissoluble union; which admits of no compromise, exception, or question; which will hear of nothing as expedient that is at variance with truth and justice. Politics are to have no scale of morality, graduated to their exigencies. That which is wrong everywhere else, is wrong here; that which is wrong for every other body of men, is wrong for a party. A bad man in every other relation, is a bad man for the country; he may, indeed, chance to espouse some right measure, but he who is devoid of all principles in private life, can give no satisfactory pledge that he will be governed by any principle in public life.

'The evils of forsaking the moral guidance in political affairs, are various and vast, and they demand the most serious consideration; they more deeply concern the country than any peril to its visible prosperity; they are such, that they demand our most solemn meditation in our holiest hours and places.

'The tendency of political action, when set free from moral restraint, is to break down all personal independence in the country. Parties, then, demand, not honesty, but service of their votaries. Governments strengthen themselves by bribery and corruption. Oppositions take the same arms, and in their hour of success retort the same measures. Abuses become precedents, and precedents multiply abuses. Every new administration, every generation of politicians, becomes not wiser but worse than their predecessors, their fathers. The tendency of things, without moral restraint, is ever downwards. Already have we arrived at that stage of deterioration, when you will find many respectable and honest men in the country, blinded by reasonings like these; 'why should not an ad-'ministration,' they say, 'reward its friends and supporters? What 'is it, but righting the wrongs done by a previous administration? 'What is it, in fact, but choosing its friends rather than its enemies, 'to help it carry on the government?' I will grant that this must be done in regard to its immediate council, its cabinet. But when it extends beyond this to subordinate officers, what is it but a system of favoritism and proscription, fatal to all public virtue? Honesty then becomes a discarded and persecuted virtue; and mere blind, unscrupulous, party zeal, becomes the only passport to honors and emoluments. Honorable citizenship is sunk in base partizanship. The entire

natural dignity, so far as it is connected with its political action, freedom, franchise, patriotism, self-respect—all is merged in a vile scramble for office. The national conscience is sold in the market; the national honor is all bowed down to the worship of interest; the corrupted nation sets up a golden calf in place of the divinity of pristine and holy truth; and not the Israelites at the footstool of God's manifested presence were more debased and sacrilegious idolaters. The destruction of mutual confidence and respect, is another evil connected with our party strifes, and to me it is one of the most painful.

'Pass through the different party circles of the country, and what shall you hear? In the course of a single day you shall hear every public man in the country charged with a total want of principle; you shall hear this constantly from men of the greatest sobriety and weight of character. Not one man in public life, high enough to be a mark for observation, shall escape this tremendous proscription. If you open the newspapers, in the hope by some patient reading and investigation, to ascertain what the truth is, you find yourself immediately launched upon a sea of doubts. Every fact, every measure, every man, is represented in such different lights, that you are totally at a loss, so far as that testimony goes, what to believe. You are in a worse condition than a juror, vexed by contrary pleadings; you have no judge to help you, and the whole country is filled with party pleadings, without law or precedent, without rule or restraint. You soon come to feel as if nothing less than the devotion of a whole life can enable you thoroughly to understand the questions that are brought before you; but you have no life to give; you have something else to do. There is, indeed, one way to find relief; and it is the common way. It is to believe every thing that one party says, and nothing that another says; but he must altogether abjure his reason, who believes that this is the way to come at the truth. And yet this is the course usually adopted, and men are reading their favourite journals the year round, not to get their minds enlightened and their judgments corrected, but only to have their passions inflamed and their prejudices confirmed.

'Thus the grand instrument of public opinion is broken. Sound and virtuous public opinion is the only safeguard of the country; and yet men lay their hands upon it as recklessly as if it were given them to practice upon, and to pervert and poison at their pleasure; as if this great surrounding atmosphere of thought, which invests and sustains the people, were but a laboratory for the experiments of ingenuity and tricks of legerdemain.

'Then, I, say confidence is fallen, and with it is fallen mutual respect. What respect can there be between parties who are constantly accusing one another of fraud and perjury, of the worst practices, and the basest ends? What respect between editors of journals, who are daily charging each other with intrigue, malignity, and wilful falsehood? *Can* any honorable mind desire this state of things? Can nothing be done to introduce a new morality, a new courtesy into our discussions? Must our conflicts always be of this bad and brutal character? Is it not the inevitable tendency of this fierce and blasting recrimina-

tion to blunt the sense of honor! Instead of feeling 'a stain like a 'wound,' a man is likely to come out of such conflicts, scared and scaled all over as with the mail of Leviathan. I confess that I look with more respect upon the gentle courtesy of the old chivalry, upon the mad sense of honor defended in the tournament, upon the bloody battling of natural pride and jealousy, than upon the abusive and outrageous language of our party strifes. All this too in a time of peace! All this for difference of opinion on grave and difficult questions, upon which men may lawfully and honestly differ! Opponents for such cause treating one another like ruffians! Reputation, the life—the more than life—of a man, stabbed and slain in the shambles of this political butchery! Tell us not, men of the world! of our *religious disputes!* Talk not of our *odium theologicum.* Say nothing of the contentions of professional men, or of the quarrels of authors. Their sound is scarcely heard now, nor is it likely any more to be audible in this land; for it is all lost in the loud strife and fierce battle of politics that is every year and every month rising and raging around us.'

—pp. 273—278.

These views are eminently just and wise, worthy of the attention of civilized nations, and of our own country in particular. The perusal of them at the present time, both by citizens and legislators, would tend greatly to restrain that violence and dishonesty which are the disgrace of political proceedings both in the Forum and out of it. One most influential means of spreading the rancor of party is the press, and preeminently the periodical press; and since all parties, and eminent men of all parties, are constantly made the victims of unprincipled calumny, and as Mr. Dewey terms it, of *political butchery,* it is to the interest of all parties, and of all men in public life, to enforce in every direction the necessity of a thorough moral reform in the language of social controversy. If the editors of the periodical press have not conscience enough, have not reverence enough for truth, have not respect enough for themselves, to curb their licentious pens, and abjure the vocabulary of Billingsgate, then let the readers of their own party, effectually intimate to them, in a way that cannot be misunderstood, how deeply public morals are injured, the laws of civilized intercourse outraged, and above all, the interests of truth and religion sacrificed by that hateful and baneful kind of writing, whose only varieties from column to column lie between vulgar bullying and eloquent blackguardism. We heartily thank Mr. Dewey for the manly and rational stand he has made against these unprincipled and pestilent violations of truth, decency, and morality.

The following passage is worthy of becoming a standing motto for all political and literary journalists, and of being committed to memory by every member of the imperial parliament.

'Personal independence beaten down; mutual confidence and respect prostrated; moral deterioration follows as a natural consequence. I do not forget to limit the observation. I know that political action is not the whole action of the country. I do not say that the national character is sunk to the point of its political derelictions; by no means: but this I say, that in morality, in politics, so far as it can take effect, tends to debase and brutalize the country; it tends to corrupt the public sentiment, and to degrade private virtue. No man is so pure, but he is vilified without mercy by the opposite party; no man is so base, so vicious, so criminal, but he is sustained without conscience by his own. It tends to divest the franchise of all dignity, and the government of all venerableness. Let politics be separated from principle, from a high and commanding morality, and, instead of a free people at the polls, we shall have the brawls of a vulgar election; and instead of a magnanimous and self-poised government, we shall have a miserable, time-serving, place-keeping function. . . . It is but for every writer and speaker in the country to charge himself to speak and write with fairness, candor, and courtesy; for every citizen to vote honestly; for every legislator and ruler to act as one who has sworn at the altar of truth, in the sight of heaven. Oh, come, holy truth, easier than falsehood! primeval virtue, better than victory! and that which the sages of the world, the prophets of human hope, looking over the ages, have sighed to behold—shall appear—a free and happy community—a free, lofty, and self-governed people!'—p. 279.

It is not at all unlikely, if this volume should fall into the hands of some of our literary craftsmen, that they will endeavour to make sport with it, and probably set it as the Philistines did Sampson, between the columns of their idol's temple, that they may mock him. But let them take heed. It will be easy, perfectly so, to malign it, because it is American; and just as easy to hate it, because it pleads for honor and morality. It will suit the interests of those who live by outrage and falsehood to decry and condemn what they cannot gainsay. Who ever knew a thief that liked a halter, or a guilty culprit that did not hate the law? We should rejoice to be able for once to exercise a little arbitrary power, and shut up every political scribe from the mighty thunderer of Printing-house square, to the little dirty squibber of the Ten Towns Messenger, in their back parlours, or suburban villas, or smoky garrets, till they had read carefully through the whole of these admirable discourses; and if many of them, when the task was over, did not come forth with a blush of crimson upon their cheeks, the world would have a just right to say it was because they had long since sold their conscience for filthy lucre, or because they had the hearts of tigers and not of men, or because the only one they ever had was turned to cinder by their inveterate habit of forging within it nothing but thunderbolts.

We have not space to quote from those parts of the work

which relate to commerce and social intercourse, war, education, and liberty. There is, however, much in the author's discourses upon all these subjects, that is worthy of public attention, and which can scarcely be read by any man, or christians of any party, without advantage. To the men of business, who are not men of a political bias, the work will prove as instructive and useful as to any. There is a tone of manly dignity, of calmness, and discrimination, preserved throughout all the discussions. There are a few expressions, and but a few, that would induce us to suspect that the author is not of our own views in theology. But while this difference is scarcely discernible in his pages, the suspicion of it has made us the more anxious to read candidly, to judge impartially, and to commend warmly and honestly. We have found much to approve, much that at the present moment deserves to be read extensively, and little that requires stricture.

There is one point, however, on which we differ from the author. We question much whether his work would not altogether have been more successful and acceptable if it had not assumed the form of pulpit discourses. We are not convinced by what he has said of the propriety of preaching whole sermons, and especially a course of sermons, on these topics, though they are confessedly important and connected with the morals of christianity. We will not, however, press this allegation against him, when we remember how much pleasure we have derived from his labors, and reflect that, not improbably, this was the best use he could make both of his talents and his pulpit, as he himself seems to think. We are content; and heartily wish his work as extensive a circulation as himself can expect, or his English publishers in his stead.

Art. III. *A Diary in America, with Remarks on its Institutions. Part Second.* By Captain Marryat, C.B. In 3 vols. London: Longman. 1839.

THE new world appears to be affording ample matter for speculation to the inhabitants of the old; and like the camelion in the fable, is represented as blue, green, black, or white, according to the point of view in which its visitors behold it. It is the stage on which a great drama is performing; the result of which will be an example, or a beacon to the whole civilized world. Many are the opinions, and of course the contradictions, which have been put forth concerning it, to no one of which can implicit faith be given, because at present they are and must be,

matters of conjecture. The problem is yet to be solved; not as in mathematics, where the use of given and unalterable quantities must produce a certain result; but as one which is open to the influence of new and collateral agents, some of which may yet have to appear, while the full influence of others already in existence, can scarcely be appreciated or foreseen. To each succeeding traveller, events appear to have that tendency, which his previous opinions would lead him to infer; and the extent of his wishes is often the boundary of his opinions. Every thing is seen in his favorite light; and as soon as his prepossessions are discovered, it is not difficult for an ingenious and somewhat malicious people, to lead him widely astray, while they persuade him that his path is direct and plain. If we receive as truth one half of the information which our successive authors communicate, we may probably be near the mark; the misfortune is, that, as Dr. Johnson remarked on a somewhat similar occasion, 'we do not 'know *which* half' to take. One principal defect in the ratiocination of many of our writers on America is this, that they leave entirely out of their calculations, the probable effects of the great moral and *religious* causes which are evidently at work, and which must exert an ever increasing influence on the destinies of our brethren of the West.

Of these the author before us appears to understand nothing, and therefore wisely says but little; and even that little had been as well unsaid. Of strong Church and Tory prejudices, he admits more candidly than prudently, the object of his work; and that every individual anecdote and observation was written with a certain motive: which admission, however, would probably never have been made but for the strictures of the Edinburgh Review.

The work, in fact, is constructed on the most approved model of the *elephant trap:* commencing with apparently sufficient latitude, and ornamented with anecdotes and observations with nothing of a startling nature in them, yet with a latent bearing, and placed there with the (afterwards) avowed purpose of alluring those whom graver demonstrations might alarm; and we are half led half coaxed by our guide, through a succession of discussions, all narrowing and closing in to his purpose by degrees, till we are landed safely, as he thinks, in a perfect Tory trap; where our conductor unwinds his trunk from our necks, turns round upon us, and *salaams*, with 'pretty considerable' coolness and self-complacency.

This is scarcely fair; but the object is thus stated. 'Those 'who would not look at a more serious work will read this; and 'the opinions it contains will be widely disseminated and im-'pressed, *without the reader's being aware of it;*' that it may be read, 'not merely by the highly educated portion of the commu-

'nity, for they *are able* to *judge for themselves,* but by *every* '*tradesman and mechanic,* pored over by *milliners' girls and boys* '*behind the counter,* and thumbed to pieces in every petty circu-'lating library' (the italics in the two first sentences are ours). Vol. iii. pp. 292, 293.

Those who cannot judge for themselves are certainly the most likely to be proselyted by the work; but what adequate end can be answered by trepanning boys from the counter, or milliners' girls, we do not exactly see. In America, where, according to the author, the majority are all-powerful, it might do something; but in these kingdoms, where matters are differently conducted, the conversion of the whole sisterhood of milliners would probably end in some such harmless demonstration, as the construction of Winchelsea tuckers, or Roden bonnets.

We, too, as well as Captain M., have heard the work denounced as 'light,' filled with mere anecdotes, &c.; there is enough of graver matter, however, in these last volumes; nor do we quite agree with these denunciations. In our opinion, nothing can be called *light* (in the sense of frivolous) that illustrates habits, manners, or modes of thinking; and we fear the *lightness* is often less in the subject matter than in the mind of the reader himself: which has not strength enough to elicit a truth when it is not opened and laid before him; nor judgment enough to appreciate a moral, unless it is presented in a regular didactic form, and superscribed 'important.'

Two objects appear to be aimed at throughout the work—'to 'do serious injury to the cause of democracy,' and 'to assist the 'cause of conservatism.'* With the first we do not quarrel, for we are no democrats; to the second we decidedly demur, for we are no Tories. To any attempt to injure the cause of democracy we might have been indifferent, had it been fairly made; but when, in addition to what we conceive to be unfairness on the one hand, an attempt is made on the other, to throw the demerits of democracy as merits into the scale of Toryism, we must oppose our protest, at least until it can be proved, that the one is good because the other is bad, or, which amounts to much the same thing, that the opposite of wrong is right.

By way of injuring the cause of democracy, the author asserts first, that the Americans are the least moral of all nations; and, secondly, that their want of morality is to be attributed to the nature of their institutions.

'I consider that at this present time the standard of morality is lower in America than in any other portion of the civilized globe. I

* Vol. ii. p. 256, and vol. iii. p. 293.

say at this present time, for it was not so even twenty years ago, and possibly may not be so twenty years hence. There is a change constantly going on, in every thing below, and I believe, for many reasons, that a change for the better will soon take place in America. There are even now many thousands of virtuous, honorable, and enlightened people in the United States; but at present virtue is passive, while vice is active.

'I have observed in my preface, that the virtues and vices of a nation are to be traced to a form of government, the climate, and circumstances; and it will be easy to show that to the above may be ascribed much of the merit as well as the demerits of the people of the United States. In the first place, I consider the example set by the government as most injurious; as I shall hereafter prove, it is insatiable in its ambition, regardless of its faith, and corrupt to the highest degree. This example I consider as the first cause of the demoralization of the Americans. The errors incident to the voluntary system of religion are the second: the power of the clergy is destroyed, and the tyranny of the laity has produced the effect of the outward form having been substituted for the real feeling, and hypocrisy has been but too often substituted for religion.

'To the evil of bad example from the government is superadded the natural tendency of a democratic form of government to excite ambition without having the power to gratify it morally or virtuously; and the debasing influence of the pursuit of gain is everywhere apparent. It shows itself in the fact that money is in America every thing, and every thing else nothing.'—Vol. ii. pp. 142—144.

A recklessness and indifference to the loss of human life is one of the immoralities for which it seems that the institutions of the Americans have to answer. This is attributed to the eager pursuit of gain, which renders them indifferent to the furious speed of their coaches and steam carriages, the want of sea-worthiness in their vessels, and the danger from fires and explosions in the racing of their steam-boats on the rivers. But do these things happen in America only? Are there no steam-boats on our waters, loaded almost to sinking on our holidays for the sake of gain? No collisions on the Thames? No bursting of boilers on the Clyde? How often have Mercator and Scrutator assured us in our daily papers, that the disproportionate loss of life in our merchant service, arises from the circumstance that our ships are not sea-worthy? Our cargoes and our vessels say they are insured to the full value at Lloyd's (often we believe above it), and as to the men, n'importe, *they* are no loss—at least to the owners.

The only difference in the two cases appears to be, that in America the government is taking severe measures to check the evil, while no government in this country, so far as we know, has ever troubled itself on the subject. So that democracy appears to us to have the advantage here, at least.

The thirst of gain it seems has also produced a spirit of false-

hood and dishonesty, which has thoroughly corrupted the morals of the people. This, however, cannot apply to *all* the people, for 'there are even now thousands of virtuous, honorable, and 'enlightened people in the United States.'—vol. ii. p. 143. Nor can it, moreover, apply to the whole trading community even; for—'The New York merchants are, as a body, highly honorable men.'—p. 149.

We suppose, then, it must be applicable only to the lower grades among traders. At p. 152, vol. ii. we read,

'Trade demoralizes; there are so many petty arts and frauds necessary to be resorted to by every class in trade, to enable them to compete with each other; so many lies told, as a matter of business, to tempt a purchaser, that almost insensibly and by degrees the shopkeeper becomes dishonest. These demoralizing practices must be resorted to, even by those who would fain avoid them, or they have no chance of competing with their rivals in business. It is not the honest tradesman who makes a rapid fortune; indeed, it is doubtful whether he could carry on his business; and yet, from assuetude and not being taxed with dishonesty, the shopkeeper scarcely ever feels that he is dishonest. Now, this is the worst state of demoralization, where you are blind to your errors, and conscience is never awakened, and in this state may be considered, with few exceptions, every class of traders, whether in *England, America,* or *elsewhere.*'

Now, as the vices of a nation are the consequences of its institutions; and recklessness of life, falsehood, and dishonesty, in certain classes in America, are owing to democracy, and the voluntary principle; it follows of course that the same vices in the same classes in *this* country, must be owing to a monarchical form of government, and an established church.

But *all* the immorality in the United States is not owing to the spirit of gain; a great part of it is attributed to *the want of an aristocracy.* Here some indications of the trap are apparent; and, as regards our own country, we learn for the first time, that the high tone of morality and *religion* among us is owing to the *aristocracy!* 'An aristocracy is as necessary for the morals as 'for the government of a nation.' 'There being more morality 'among the *lower* class than in the middling, and still more in the '*higher* than in the lower' (!)—vol. ii. p. 151. Moreover, 'It has 'been acknowledged by other nations, and I believe it to be true, 'that the nobility and gentry of England are the most moral, most 'religious, and most honorable classes that can be found, not only 'in our country, but in any other country in the world, and such 'they certainly ought from *circumstances* to be.'—p. 155.

We deny the position altogether; extremes meet, and those who are 'from circumstances' either above or below the necessity of observing the stricter decencies of society, will always be 'from

'circumstances' less moral than those who are under the necessity of respecting them.

Again, M. De Tocqueville (of quotations from whom, by the bye, a good part of this second volume is made up) opineth, that 'In aristocratic governments the individuals who are placed at 'the head of affairs are rich men, who are solely desirous of power. 'In democracies statesmen are poor, and they have their fortunes 'to make. The consequence is, that in aristocratic states the 'rulers are rarely accessible to corruption, and have very little 'craving for money; whilst the reverse is the case in democratic 'nations.'—vol. ii. p. 158. 'This,' says our author, 'is true.' We say it is not true. M. De Tocqueville is a Frenchman, and he has dared to write and print this, with the recorded history of the whole French aristocracy before him; from the time of Henri Quatre, to that of Louis the Sixteenth inclusive; and a prouder, meaner, baser, and more profligate order never disgraced a nation. 'Rarely accessible to corruption,' indeed! they were corruption itself; 'little craving for money!' why they would accept of fifty louis d'ors from a king, a financier, or a king's concubine; and crawled from profligacy to vice, and from vice to villany, till the nation rose, and crushed them! We fancy M. De Tocqueville, also, has a taste for 'assisting conservatism 'by doing serious injury to democracy.'

As regards our own country, no part of M. De Tocqueville's statement is a matter of course. It is not a thing of necessity here that a plebeian statesman should be poor, or a noble statesman rich; and there are more means of corruption than putting money in one's hand. A poor nobleman might refuse a thousand pounds, and accept a place; or a rich one might *possibly* desire to leave his fortune to his eldest son, and allow the country the honor of providing for all the younger ones. The chairman at a late public dinner, a captain in the navy (and, therefore, *of course*, a good authority for any thing), is reported to have said, that in his time, and in his profession, no man had even a chance of rising, unless he were the son of a lord, a Tory, or, we believe he added, a Scotchman; if he were referring to Lord Melville's time, no doubt he did. Could corruption be carried to a greater height than this, in any democracy on earth?

The mention of this last named personage reminds us of a charge which is somewhat violently urged against America, viz., that in that country a public defaulter escapes unpunished; on which we make no further comment.

We now recur to the assertion, that in this country 'there is 'more morality among the lower class than in the middling, and 'still more in the higher than in the lower;' and shall endeavor to point out the fallacies by which it is attempted—for the effort is made—to justify it. A more complete piece of Tory Jesuitism

and mystification we have seldom seen. Here the trap narrows considerably.

In order to prove the low state of morality in the middling class, the author fixes on the trading part of the community—the shopkeepers; and instances the dishonesty contracted by their pursuits. Can any thing be more unfair than to select *this part* of the middle classes as a proper representative of the whole? Where are all our merchants, and rich manufacturers; where our thousands of professional, and literary, and scientific men? Where our second and third rate gentlemen, living on moderate certain incomes; where our *retired* tradesmen, who have left their temptations behind them? The matter is, that the intelligent middle classes are precisely those who are most opposed to corruption in church and state; and those, moreover, which include a great majority of the Dissenters. The object, therefore, is to lower them in the eyes of the public by invidious comparisons, or any other means.

But the lower classes are more moral than the middle; that is some comfort: but how is it proved? By setting aside all the numerous manufacturing bodies, and, indeed, every other, except the *agricultural* class, and instancing them as the representatives of the lower orders. That is, the very class who are entirely, 'from circumstances,' not from choice, under the complete control of the Tory landowners; and obliged to do their little all to support them. And the taking of these men, assumed to be the *best* of *their* order, and pitting them against the shopkeepers, assumed to be the *worst* of theirs, is intended, we suppose, for fair comparison. Our readers see at once, that the exaltation of this fraction of a class, at the expense of the other and differently disposed parts of it, and of the whole of the middle orders, is saying one word for the men, and two for Toryism.

But, oh, for a forty-tory power to sound the praises of the aristocracy! It is acknowledged by other nations (and also by Captain Marryat), that the nobility and gentry of England are the most *moral*, most *religious*, and most honorable classes, not only in our country, but in every other country in the world! The nature of their morals every body knows,—we are speaking of the aristocracy—but their *religion!* They are high Churchmen and Tories, and with not more, we believe, than about half a dozen *known* exceptions, belong to that class of men who are opposed not only to Dissenters and the voluntary system—that would be a trifle in comparison—but to evangelical religion; the religion, that is, of the evangelists, of the New Testament, in short. It cannot then be the religion of the New Testament, with which they are chargeable. Nevertheless they *are* religious in our author's sense. Every one who reads the Quarterly, and other journals of the same party, must know well, that the reli-

gion of which they are so fond of talking, is mere Church of Englandism, of *real* religion they know no more than a political pamphleteering bishop. But the aristocracy are supporters of the Church as by law—not religion—established; how else could younger sons be provided for? And how could they themselves be provided with ministers with whom their 'order' could associate, if it were not for a Church which deals in worldly wealth and honors? They *are*, then, *religious;* and we suppose Lord Winchelsea, who has declared, that he would fight up to his knees in blood for the state Church, is the very capital of this high order, and the most *religious* man alive—a snug private duel or two notwithstanding, which *such religion* allows.

Seeing that there is no religion in any country, but that of the state church, it seems to us that the *Scottish* peer must be worse bestead than his English brethren. In Scotland he must attend the kirk, of course, as matter of conscience; but to fraternize with that body *here*, would constitute him a Dissenter; that is, an infidel—and who would be an infidel? *Here*, therefore, he attends the Church of England as a matter of conscience also; what is *religion* on one side the Tweed, being according to state-church doctrine, infidelity on the other. So that, instead of not affording to keep one conscience, he is obliged to maintain two; one for each kingdom.

We hope our readers are convinced that the middle classes are 'rogues all;' one half of the lower orders only a *little* better, and that the Tory protegés among the latter, and the aristocracy, are the only people in the kingdom, who, as Baillie Jarvie says, are 'decent, sponsible persons.'

Heavy complaints—and as just as heavy—are made against the government of the United States for their want of honor, and breaches of faith in their national transactions with the Indians. We shall give an example.

'To enumerate the multiplied breaches of faith towards the Indians would swell out this work to an extra volume. It was a bitter sarcasm of the Seminole chief, who, referring to the terms used in the treaties, told the Indian agents, that the white man's '*for ever*,' did not last *long enough*. Even in its payment of the trifling sums for the lands sold by the Indians, and resold at an enormous profit, the American government has not been willing to adhere to its agreement; and two years ago, when the Indians came for their money, the American government told them, like an Israelite dealer, that they must take half money and half goods. The Indians remonstrated; the chiefs replied, our young men have purchased upon credit, as they are wont to do; they require the dollars, to pay honestly what they owe.

''Is our great father so poor?' said one chief to the Indian agent, 'I will lend him some money;' and he ordered several thousand dollars to be brought, and offered them to the agent.

'In the Florida war, to which I shall again refer, the same want of faith has been exercised. Unable to drive the Indians out of their swamps and morasses, they have persuaded them to come into a council, under a flag of truce. This flag of truce has been violated, and the Indians have been thrown into prison, until they could be sent away into the far west, that is, if they survive their captivity which the gallant Osceola could not.'—Vol. ii. pp. 201, 202.

We need do no more than merely allude to the forcible occupation of the Texas.

All these, and many other things, are attributed in part to the want of moral principle in the government, and in part, also, to the inability of that government to resist the will of the majority. Far be it from us to attempt an extenuation or an apology for such flagrant wrong; but when it is imputed to the want of moral principle in a popular government, and to the ascendency of the majority—another name for democracy—we take leave to dispute the principle. Will Captain Marryat tell us by what kind of government the inhabitants of the Carib Islands were exterminated, by cruel labor, gunpowder, and bloodhounds? By what governments the infamous partition of Poland was effected, and its name erased from the list of independent nations? Or, to come nearer home, by what government the native princes of India were insulted, attacked, and deprived of their hereditary kingdoms, with the loss of thousands upon thousands of lives, and millions upon millions of subjects?

We could almost imagine from the beginning of chapter sixteen, vol. ii., that the author means merely to assert, that the American constitution was only not better than others; but he has been evidently laboring to prove it worse. If he did not think it so, what right has he to attempt to do it serious injury? If others are no better, why denounce this? He might as well attack our own institutions, as those that are no worse. The fact is, that this same will of the majority has always been a bugbear to persons of the author's opinions. The Tory maxim is, that government is intended for the benefit of the governors; that is, of the minority. The executive, of course, must always be in the hands of a minority; but it should be that minority which would consult the interests of the whole, and not that which will consider no interests but its own. It signifies little in effect, whether such atrocities as we have noticed are committed by a people too strong to be controlled by a government, or by a government too strong to be controlled by a people: but the attempt to charge them all upon democracy is so absurd, that it can only be accounted for by that obliquity, which the best formed minds are fated to contract, when forced into the mould of Toryism.

The errors of the voluntary system of religion are, according

to our author, one cause of the demoralization of the American people.

'The power of the clergy is destroyed, and the tyranny of the laity has produced the effect of the outward form having been substituted for the real feeling, and hypocrisy has been but too often substituted for religion.'—Vol. ii. p. 144.

The words tyranny and power should change places in the above sentence. The meaning of this is, that where the clergy have power, and can force a living from an unwilling people, they need not wear a mask; but may fearlessly indulge in any propensity, to which habit or constitution impel them. In this manner the 'imperfections of our natures may be fairly met;' and the people may contemn them if they like; but whether they like or not, they must pay them. Whereas among the voluntaries, the clergy must keep up at least the appearance of religion for their own sakes: a high though unintentional compliment to the voluntary system, from the mouth of an enemy. As these good people keep up the appearance of religion, Captain Marryat of course is able to read the heart; how else could he detect hypocrisy, when every outward indication of it was wanting? We cannot conceive how religion should prosper less in the hands of men who are respected and rewarded according to their labors and their usefulness, than in those of stall-fed worldlings, who are prodigally endowed for doing nothing—or worse. We had forgotten, however, while writing the last sentence, that supporting a state-church and hating Dissenters is religion,

We need not enter into any discussion on the voluntary principle; our readers are acquainted with the subject; and as to our opponents, it is a part of their *religion* to read and hear nothing that can be offered by, or for, Dissenters;* for which reason they are just as competent to form an opinion on the matter as a judge would be to decide a cause, after hearing the evidence on one side only. Hence it arises, that the numberless attacks of our opponents are directed against opinions that were never entertained, and positions that were never occupied.

We like an occasional illustration as well as Captain Marryat, it makes a point so much more intelligible. The night before the battle of Barnet, King Edward had placed his army before that of the enemy in such a manner, that his right wing greatly

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* We should like to know how many clergymen above the rank of a curate, have read John Search, or Dr. Wardlaw's Lectures—the latter work, we are glad to see, is now to be had for a shilling, and is within the reach of every one.

outflanked their left, leaving nothing opposed to their right. The Earl of Warwick, whose artillery was more numerous than the king's, and who had placed it in his right wing, taking for granted that his enemy was before him, kept up a furious cannonade in that direction; and Edward, with his usual tact, commanded perfect silence to be kept in his army, that the earl might not discover his mistake. The consequence was, that Warwick fired away all night at trees and bushes, leaving the position of his adversary untouched. In return for which piece of complaisance, and in a great measure in consequence of it, his aforesaid adversary thrashed him soundly the next morning. If Captain Marryat has nothing better to do, he may extract the moral of this.

That the voluntary system is the system of the United States, we conceive to be one of the best signs of the times for *them.* They have much to reform as well as others; but the living Christianity that is among them is sufficient for the purpose—time and opportunity allowed—or rather time; the opportunity must be created, and the capability for aggressive warfare, is one of the best attributes of the voluntary system. There are many heavy crimes on the public conscience doubtless, and the gravest of them all is slavery. But a vigorous Christianity nevertheless, is the lever that will move them all. We do not wonder that men who are blind to the existence, and ignorant of the power of such a principle, should miscalculate the prospects of America. Heaven forbid, that she should ever be so dead to the lessons of wisdom and experience, as to establish within her that very despotism, from the cruelty and insolence of which the pilgrim-fathers fled!

There is much of common sense and apparently of practical knowledge, in the dissertation on the state of Canada, and on this subject we are happy to agree with the author.

The most extraordinary part of the third volume is the author's reply to the Edinburgh Review; which would almost deserve a place amongst the curiosities of literature, were it not that it is the exact counterpart of almost every review that emanates from the party with which the author is connected. As it is not often that this kind of thing comes fairly before us for notice, we shall expend a few observations upon it, especially, as by doing so, we shall still further pursue the course which we have prescribed to ourselves.

The worthy Captain is wonderfully 'wrathy' that any one should presume to question his reckoning, or cross his course; did he expect to 'go-a-head' 'like a streak of lightning' in the old tub, 'Tory,' that sails like a hay-stack; and that too with no one even to fire a shot athwart her bows? Did he think because he threw down the gauntlet with such an invincible air,

that no one would dare to take it up? It has been taken up, and if he is right, by a woman. What did he look for?

> 'Let not him that sows the dragon's teeth,
> Expect a peaceful harvest.'*

Our author ascribes the article in the Edinburgh Review to the pen of Miss Martineau; how justly or otherwise we cannot tell. He judges, he says, by the peculiarities of the style, but especially by the remarks of Miss M. on the merits of Miss M., which, in *his* mind, establish the conviction, that the major part of the article, if not the whole, is hers. In *his* mind it may; we will venture to say, however, that in every candid mind it would establish just the contrary. The hostility shown to this lady throughout these volumes is astonishing; but in the 'reply' the Martineau-phobia appears in a perfectly rabid state. Mere political partizanship could surely never induce even in a Tory, such—yes, we think we *may* say—hatred. There must be some deeper cause, surely—no affair of the heart we hope. The author then goes on to say, 'The Edinburgh Review will no 'doubt most positively deny that Miss M. had any thing to do 'with the review of my work.' He then tells a story in which the words 'incorrigible liar,' in italics, are evidently applied to the Edinburgh reviewer; and finishes by saying, 'The very cir-'cumstance of its denial would with me be sufficient to establish 'that fact;' very fair, and very honorable to the writer! This is the kind of thing which Tories always bring forward when they have no reason or argument on their side; attacks on *private character* are regular ingredients in their reviews.

At page 298, we find the following charge brought against the Edinburgh reviewer, 'There is a malevolent feeling in the 'assertion, that I have treated *all* previous writers on America 'with contempt; and here again he *intentionally quotes falsely* '(the italics are ours), my words are the *majority* of those who 'have preceded me.' Such a charge, if proved, would destroy the credit of *any* reviewer. Now, let us see the other side. Page 306, Captain Marryat says, 'But the reviewer in his viru-'lence, has not been satisfied with attacking me; he has thought 'it necessary to libel the *whole* profession to which I belong. 'He has the folly and impertinence to make the following re-'mark. 'No landsman can have been on board of a ship a week '' without coming to the conclusion, that a *sensible house dog* is '' more like the people he has left at home, than most of his new '' companions; and that it (the house dog) would be nearly as

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* Schiller's Wallenstein.

'' capable of solving problems on national character.'' Page 308, 'House dogs! hear this, ye public of England, a sensible 'house dog is to be preferred to St. Vincent, Nelson, Colling-'wood, Exmouth, and all those great men,' &c.

The Edinburgh reviewer says no such thing. He does not say a word of Nelson, &c., or of any *great* men: he says '*most* 'of his companions,' or the 'majority;' and even were the four above-named noblemen in one ship together, they would not be the most, or 'majority,' even of the officers. The reviewer, then, has not libelled *them*, nor such as they; much less the *whole* profession. Now, let us for a moment imagine ourselves promoted into the Edinburgh reviewer, and see how we should re-write Captain Marryat's own sentence. 'There is a malevolent 'feeling in the assertion, that we have libelled the *whole* profes-'sion, and here again he (the author) *intentionally quotes falsely;* 'our words are *most* (a 'majority') of his new companions.'

Now, worthy Captain, are not *you* rather ashamed of *yourself?* You have used foul language to the reviewer for doing precisely what you have done yourself; indeed, you have done worse, for to false quotation you have added misrepresentation. You are not to make one law for others, and another for yourself; either the reviewer had *not* a malevolent feeling, and did *not* intentionally quote falsely, or *you* had and did the same—and worse.

We admire the naval profession, and certainly do not admire the taste which compared its members to house dogs; good dogs they surely are (we mean no disparagement), for they have kept the wolf from the door, and the nation knows it.

Miss Martineau, like every body else, has doubtless much to be thankful for, and for this among the rest—that abuse kills nobody. Her opinions have been incessantly assailed, now come a few personalities. At page 304, she is attacked, on the authority, be it observed, of certain anonymous 'young ladies' (who most probably would never have been quoted or perhaps credited, had they narrated any thing to her advantage), for having sat down, 'surrounded by young ladies, and amused them with 'all the histories of her former loves.' 'And I said to myself, 'who would have supposed that this Solon in petticoats would 'ever have dwelt upon her former days of enthusiasm and hope, 'or have cherished the reminiscences of love?' Very feeling and gentlemanly! Again,

> 'I was conversing with a lady at New York, who informed me that she had seen a letter from Miss Martineau, written to a friend of hers, after her return to England, in which Miss M. declared, that her door was so besieged by the carriages of the nobility, that it was quite uncomfortable, and that she hardly knew what to do.'

It is then insinuated that no carriage but that of Lord

Brougham is ever seen at her door, and of course that the foregoing statement is false.

'But when I heard this I was pleased, for I said to myself, 'So, then, this champion of democracy, this scorner of ''rank and title is flattered by the carriages of the nobility ''crowding at her door.''

Miss M., it seems, has said, that 'human nature is everywhere 'the same,' and all this impertinent personality is written and printed forsooth, to prove the truth of the assertion. The following extract from vol. i. p. 183, relates to some political discussions in America, and is quoted by the author to prove the extent to which defamation is carried in *that* country, and amongst *democrats* and *voluntaries.*

'Party spirit has entered the *recesses* of *retirement; violated* 'the *sanctity* of *female character*, invaded the tranquillity of *pri*-'*vate life*, &c. A *licentious* and destroying spirit has gone forth, 'regardless of every thing but the gratification of *malignant feel*-'*ings*, and unworthy aspirations.' 'The decencies of private 'life were disregarded; CONVERSATIONS and CORRESPONDENCE, 'which *should have been confidential*, were brought before *the* '*public eye;* the ruthless warfare was carried into the bosom of 'private life; neither age nor *sex* was spared.'

Such things as these, of course, could never happen under monarchy, and an established church!

We suppose these apocryphal stories are intended to convict Miss M. of vanity. Vanity! there is more vanity in the 'reply' alone, than would weigh down all that is imputed to Miss M., and herself to boot. But granting that she has her little vanities, what in the name of common sense has that to do with the merits of the article in the Edinburgh Review, or with Miss M.'s judgment in political economy? Suppose Captain Marryat should apply for an appointment at the Admiralty, and that very logical personage, the secretary, should say to him, 'Give *you* a ship, 'indeed; you boasted the other day that you had 'severely ''punished' the Edinburgh reviewer; what can you know of 'navigation?' Of course this answer should be quite satisfactory. Captain M. talks of getting the Edinburgh reviewer into an 'everlasting awkward fix;' but other people can get into awkward fixes quite as well. Captain M., for instance, seems to be dreadfully sore about Miss M.'s review: if he is, his feelings and his assertions are at decided variance; if he is not, his personalities to Miss M. are perfectly heartless and inexcusable.

And now come up the Triarii, the constant reserve of Tories and high Churchmen; the charges of sedition and infidelity which are regularly brought against all who differ from their opinions on matters of policy and religion. Our readers expected this, of course, but we have a few words to say on this subject also.

The passage in the Edinburgh Review, on which these charges are professedly founded, is as follows (we say *professedly*, because the charges would have been as surely made, though the shadow of a foundation had been wanting): 'An ardent pursuit of wealth 'and deep religious feeling go very well together.' Our author is wonderfully indignant at this; and quotes text upon text against it, with as much earnestness as though the whole bench of bishops believed them—and acted accordingly: such as, 'Ye 'cannot serve God and Mammon,' and that whole class of Scripture axioms, which neither we, nor any of our readers, we presume, dispute. We only propose to show, that the condemnation of the person who wrote the sentence, would have come with a much better grace from a more immaculate quarter.

Miss Martineau—poor Miss Martineau—has said that 'the 'habit of intemperance is *not infrequent* among women of station 'and education in the most enlightened parts of the country,' implying, says our author, that it is a *general habit* among the American women (it implies no such thing); and he goes on to say,

'The origin of this slander I know well, and the only ground for it is, that there are two or three ladies of a certain city, who having been worked upon by some of the *evangelical revival ministers*, have had their minds crushed by the continual excitement to which they have been subjected. The mind affects the body, and they have required, and have applied to, stimulus; and if you will inquire into the moral state of any woman among the higher classes, either in America or England, who has fallen into the vice alluded to, nine times out of ten you will find, that it has been brought about by *religious excitement*. Fanaticism (i. e. evangelical religion, see the context) and gin are remarkably good friends all over the world.'—Vol. ii. pp. 24, 25.

St. Paul says, 1 Corinthians vi. 10, that drunkards shall not inherit the kingdom of God; and he repeats it in Galatians vi. 21: but Captain Marryat says, 'Fanaticism (evangelical religion) 'and gin are *remarkably good friends*.' Again, Captain Marryat considers that the laws relating to divorce are much too strict in this country; and that some half dozen causes for it should be allowed, instead of the *one* permitted by the Scripture. *Our Saviour says*, Matt. v. 32, 'Whosoever shall put away his 'wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit 'adultery; and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, com-'mitteth adultery.' 'No,' says Captain M., 'it certainly appears 'to *me* to be reasonable to suppose, that those laws by which the 'imperfection *of our natures* may be fairly *met* (that is, provided 'for), and which tended to diminish the aggregate of crime (by 'committing one to prevent another), must be more acceptable 'to our Divine Master, than any, which however they may be

'in spirit more rigidly *conformable to his precepts*, are found in 'their *working not to succeed.*'—vol. ii. p. 30. That is, our Divine Master, who made the heart, does not know how to govern it; and the more rigidly our laws conform to the *spirit of his precepts*, the worse they work; and Captain M. will be happy to teach Him better. Now, Quære. If the Edinburgh reviewer is an infidel, what is Captain Marryat?*

We must now make a few general observations, while our space suffices. In the first place, we would just hint to Captain M. (like his friend Mr. Chucks, with the greatest delicacy imaginable), that there are two sides to most questions; that to oppose the political doctrines of Tories is no more sedition in a Whig, than to controvert the principles of Whig statesmen is sedition in a Tory: and that a conscientious opposition to a secular church is no more infidelity in a reviewer, than a constant vituperation of Dissenters and their institutions is infidelity in a bishop—both are infidelity, or neither is. And now, having told the author what is not sedition and infidelity, we will tell him what is. When a man at a public dinner gets up, and uses abuse and even threats, to the highest personage in the realm, *that* is sedition. When Tory clergymen† hunt in couples over the kingdom, and endeavor to raise dissatisfaction and opposition to her Majesty's government, and even proceed, the one to denounce her as *no Christian;* and the other to call her 'that woman Je-'zebel;' *this* is sedition.‡ A disbelief in the *religion of the evangelists is infidelity;* and when we consider that the clergymen above alluded to, are the very men who when their party was in power, were constantly preaching to Dissenters and others, the *scriptural* duty of passive obedience and non-resistance even to tyranny; and the heinous sin of speaking evil of dignities; their conduct, *on Captain M.'s own principles*, comes pretty near to infidelity as well as his own. We quote his own 'reply' against all three. 'If they acknowledge the Scriptures, they must at 'the same time acknowledge their own grievous error, and we 'may add, their deep sin; if on the contrary they still hold to 'their own opinion, have they not denied their faith, and are they 'not worse than infidels?'—vol. iii. p. 303.

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* Since writing the above, we have turned to the Edinburgh Review, and it certainly appears to us from the context, that the writer merely meant to express the Scripture doctrine, that a man may be diligent in business—yet fervent in spirit serving God. The offence arises from this '*infidel*' having given the author a well merited rebuke for the flippancy and lightness with which he speaks on religious subjects.

† The Reverends Gregg and M'Neile.

‡ Here is another 'everlasting awkward fix.' Either the Tory spirituals must admit their tool to be a seditious libeller, or the head of their immaculate and apostolic Church, to be no Christian.

It is pretty plainly hinted that the Edinburgh reviewer will receive his reward *below!* All this is very small and cheap. It would be neither more difficult nor less true, for others to say of the Quarterly Review as much as Captain M. has said of the Edinburgh, nor for us to assert, that if the Edinburgh reviewer be so consigned, he need not be surprised to find himself in company with a certain person bearing her Majesty's commission. But we have no wish to say any thing of the kind, and we hope better things of both: but it is very disgusting to see with what readiness and self-complacency these exclusive moralists and religionists

> 'Presume heaven's bolts to throw,
> And deal damnation round the land,
> On each *they* judge its foe.'

Or rather their own foe,—for after all that is the secret!

In the mean time, these things speak volumes. The Tories in their convulsive struggles for existence, have clung to the Church; and, as political corruption is next of kin to spiritual, the Church has felt the link of nature draw it, and has fraternized with them at once. And now—whoever opposes Tory ascendency is *seditious;* whoever attacks the corruptions of the Church, and wishes for a purer form of Christianity, is an infidel! Can there be any stronger proof of the most childish ignorance of human nature—of the most rooted hatred to the right of private judgment? Let the people of England look to it! Were these men in possession of unmolested power, sedition and infidelity, now mere words, would very speedily become *things;* aye, and be acted upon as such. In the hands of such men as these it is impossible that civil or religious liberty should ever be held sacred. Again we say, let the people of England look to this!

It is true, that Toryism in its latest struggles has occasionally put on such shows of liberality and justice as have almost made it lovely. They are fleeting all, though fair; like the varying colors of the expiring dolphin, which render the rapacious monster beautiful in death.

Captain Marryat charges the Edinburgh reviewer with want of tact; he has shown, we apprehend, much greater want of it himself; in confessing, in the first place, that every paragraph in his work was written after great consideration; and, secondly, that the whole was intended to answer a preconcerted purpose: two admissions which, coupled together, entirely destroy the little authority that might otherwise attach to his work. It reminds us of a stanza in that celebrated composition the Devil's Walk.

'Down the river did glide, with wind and tide,
A pig with vast celerity,
And the devil grinned, for he saw all the while
How *it cut its own throat,* and he thought with a smile,
Of England's commercial prosperity!'

Had this stanza been written recently, the last line might have run—

'Of Captain Marryat's 'Diary!''

The sum of the whole is this. In one point Captain Marryat may have succeeded to his wish, that is, in convincing those who are not capable of judging for themselves. In every other, we conceive that he has failed. We consider some of his facts as very questionable; but, even granting them all, they do not bear out his inferences. He has *not* proved that a democratic form of government is—cæteris paribus—worse than any other. He has *not,* therefore, done 'serious injury to the cause of democracy.' And, granting that he had proved democracy to be bad, he has *not* proved that Toryism is better. He has *not,* therefore, 'assisted the cause of conservatism.' In our minds, indeed, the same conclusion might have been built on far more general grounds; for the man who avowedly leaves his impartiality behind him, while he proceeds to form his judgment, can never be entitled to our confidence on any matter of opinion.

One word to the reader and we have done. Have you never been struck by the strong internal evidence in the writings of high Churchmen and Tories, that they consider the cause of evangelical religion, and that of the voluntary system, to be *one.* Never do they aim a blow at the one, without immediately repeating it at the other; a sufficient proof, we think, that there exists even in their minds a latent conviction, that the two must stand or fall together. Their opposition to both can arise from one of two causes only; and either is sufficient for our purpose. It must proceed, either from an *intelligent* dislike to evangelical religion—the religion of Christ and his evangelists—as *such,* and to the voluntary system as a necessary deduction from it; or, from an utter *ignorance* of the nature and the modes of acting, of that religion and that system which they venture to impugn.

Art. IV. *Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reign of the Stuarts, including the Protectorate.* By JOHN HENEAGE JESSE. Two vols. 8vo. London: Bentley. 1840.

IT is somewhat mortifying, but not wholly uninstructive, to observe the superficial and confused knowledge of English history, which prevails even amongst the better informed classes of our countrymen. To say nothing of remote things, of the druidical and Saxon age, or even of the centuries which intervened from the Norman Conquest to the establishment of the Tudor race, this remark holds good in relation to the comparatively modern period to which the volumes before us refer. Certain events stand out prominently, and are recognized by all; every man knows that Charles the First was opposed by his parliament, that the plea of liberty was raised on the one side and that of prerogative on the other, that hostile armies met on English ground, where brother fought against brother, and father against son, that the monarch was at length worsted, his person seized, and by open adjudication assigned to the block. Every English youth can talk of the royalists and the roundheads, can glory in the chivalry of the one, or exult in the puritanic severity and martial prowess of the other. These are things to be met with everywhere and on any day, and to a hasty observer it may in consequence appear, that a creditable portion of historical information is current amongst the people. But the illusion soon vanishes, and the diligent inquirer discovers only crude, meagre, undigested, and partizan views of history. The mere outline of past events is traced,—the filling up is wholly wanting. The broad, palpable, and coarse are known; what is physical is apprehended; the mere outward and visible man is seen; but the nicer shades of character distinguishing individuals or parties, the latent influences which work unseen, and are discovered only by their results, the strange combinations of good and evil which appertain to all alike, the accumulative forces which pressed upon the particular period, and determined mainly its character, these and a hundred other things are rarely apprehended or even thought of, and the popular mind, therefore, possesses only dark and impalpable views of the period in question.

Let the names of Charles and Cromwell be obliterated, let the battles of Marston Moor and Naseby be forgotten, let the execution of the king, and the temporary establishment of a Commonwealth be lost sight of, and the whole field of vision will present little that is definite and tangible to the English mind. There will still, indeed, be retained a general impression, derived from the report of parliamentary discussions, high minded patriotism,

and deep intriguing tyranny; but it will be so undefined and cloudlike as to exert no perceptible influence on the national judgment. The civil strife with all its premonitory and consequent facts, the momentous interests it involved, the developments of character it supplied, its influence on our habits, passions, and institutions; all these would, in such case, be passed over—as they actually are for the most part—with a few vague generalities, expressive of praise or censure, of sympathy or regret. This is not as it should be, and we rejoice in every judicious effort to supply the deficiency. Happily we are not without hopeful symptoms of a better era. A new spirit has come over our historical literature. Men of diligent research and of painstaking accuracy, superior to past prejudices, and with every needful intellectual endowment, have devoted themselves to the investigation of historical documents, and the result has been the clearing up of many difficulties, and the substitution of plain realities for the conjectures of imagination and the romance of party zeal.

Two classes of publications are needed for the correction of the evil to which we have adverted, and we rejoice to believe that both are in the course of being supplied. Their merits, in an intellectual point of view, are very diverse, but he will deserve well of his countrymen, and will contribute not a little to the purification of our political ethics, and the advancement of our social welfare, who contributes either. The great difficulty to be mastered is the bringing ourselves into immediate, life-like and sympathetic union with the past; to see the men of a former day as they appeared to the contemporaries amongst whom they walked and with whom they acted, fresh and living, with the impulses of the hour upon them, and the emotions springing thence beaming on their countenances. It is not at a levee that the characters of men are to be learnt, nor can the spirit and impersonation of a former age be traced out by an investigation, however minute and laborious, of the public life of a few distinguished men. There is a large void to be filled, and it is not enough that a solitary figure, here and there, should be brought back to retrace its course: the whole must be crowded with sentient, moving, stirring beings, actuated by the passions of the day, and engaged in the hearty pursuit of their various and cherished purposes. The ideal must give place to the actual, the vague generality to the collection of individuals, each, in his separate sphere, and with his personal predilections or antipathies moving onward to his appointed goal. Nor are we wanting in materials for such a re-creation of the past. The men and women of a former day, especially those who imprinted a character on their age, yet remain amongst us, and require only to be disinterred. The unransacked treasures of our noble language only wait the bidding

of some magician—some historic Scott—to come forth from dusty folios, or from neglected pamphlets the very spirit of their age, in all the forms and fantastic moods of a forgotten day. Let but the right intellect appear, an intellect at once imaginative and practical, nice in its perceptions, discriminative in its judgment, free to a great extent from the artificial characteristics of the passing generation, and full of sympathy with humanity at large, and we shall soon see the past standing out in real and veritable forms, speaking to us in its own tones, and disclosing with an accuracy which will exclude all doubt, the secret of its achievements and its failures.

Let these materials be supplied, and the philosophic historian will be found at his post to analyze and combine them. Men of calm and searching intellects will not be wanting to investigate the principles of our common nature, to trace out remote and hidden causes, to develop the order which has been maintained amid apparent confusion, and to shed upon the future history of our race, the light of that practical wisdom with which the past is so richly fraught. We have already an earnest of this in 'The Constitutional History of England,' and may yet live to see much accomplished. Amid the many cheering indications of the times, we account it by no means the least promising, that our historical literature is in the course of being redeemed from its past disgraceful subjection to party prejudices,—that it is beginning to utter an impartial testimony, to measure with even-handed justice the men of all parties, to render itself, in a word, the handmaid of truth, and the friend of humanity at large.

The volumes now before us, and which have given occasion for these reflections, belong to the former of the two classes of publications we have specified. They are not in some respects what we could wish, yet as indicative of the public taste, and as suited to promote a further cultivation of this department of history, we rejoice in their appearance. They consist of private memoirs and of personal anecdotes, and display commendable diligence in the collection of materials. 'It occurred to the 'author,' his preface informs us, 'that the private history of the 'reigns of the Stuarts and of the Protectorate,—their families, 'and others intimately connected with the Court,—would present 'a series of agreeable and instructive anecdotes; would furnish 'the means of introducing the reader to the principal personages 'of their day, and of exhibiting the monarch and the statesman 'in their undress; while, at the same time, it would afford an 'insight into human character, and a picture of the manners of 'the age.'

The personages introduced are the members of the Stuart family, with their favorites and courtiers, and the plan pursued is to collect, in a series of biographical notices, the anecdotes

illustrative of personal character and history, which are scattered throughout our literature. Many of these are undoubtedly trifling, and in themselves unworthy of preservation, but taken as a whole, they serve an important end, combine instruction with amusement, and may perhaps dispose some volatile readers to prosecute inquiry into the more laborious and productive departments of history. The nature of the work will be best comprehended from a few extracts which we now proceed to give. The first respects the early days of James I., and furnishes a singular specimen of the times, as well as an interesting illustration of the character of the celebrated historian Buchanan, the tutor of this future Solomon. The coarseness of the anecdote must be excused, in consideration of the value of the light it throws on the character of the intrepid tutor of royalty.

'James was a pedant even when a boy. His tutor, the famous historian Buchanan, though he communicated to him a portion of his learning, imparted but little of his own elegant taste to his royal pupil. In the treatment of his charge, he appears not only to have been laudably uninfluenced by rank and circumstance, but to have behaved himself towards James as the most rigid disciplinarian. On one occasion the young King was engaged in some boisterous sport, with his playfellow the Master of Erskine, at a time when Buchanan was deeply engaged in his studies. The tutor was annoyed, and declared that he would administer a sound flogging if the interruption continued. James announced stoutly that he should like to see *who would bell the cat;* at which the tutor started up, threw away his book, and performed the threatened chastisement most effectually. The Countess of Mar, hearing the King's cries, rushed into the apartment, and catching the boy in her arms, inquired authoritatively of Buchanan, how he dared to touch the Lord's Anointed? 'Madam,' replied the imperturbable tutor, 'I have whipped his Majesty's breech, and you 'may kiss it if you please.'.....

'Such an impression had Buchanan's discipline produced on the mind of James, that many years afterwards, when King of England, the miseries of his tutelage, and the austerity of his old master, continued vividly to haunt his imagination. He used to say of a certain person about his court, that he trembled at his approach, 'he reminded 'him so of his pedagogue.' And on another occasion, he is described as dreadfully agitated by the appearance of his former corrector in a dream, and as vainly endeavouring to soften the fanciful displeasure which he had incurred. These are curious illustrations of the independence of mind in the one, and the constitutional timidity of the other. It may be observed that, in his writings, James more than once speaks slighting, and even acrimoniously, of his old tutor.

'The elegant Buchanan was far from satisfied with the mere progress which his pupil had made in classical and theological learning. At a certain audience, which was given by James to a foreign ambassador in his boyhood, it was found necessary that the conversation should take

place in Latin. The foreigner happened to be guilty of several grammatical errors, in every one of which James, with equal pedantry and ill-breeding, thought proper to set him right. The ambassador accidentally meeting Buchanan, after the audience was at an end, inquired of him how he came to make his illustrious pupil a pedant. 'I was 'happy,' said the historian, 'to be able to accomplish even that.'

—Vol. i. pp. 8—10.

The king's aversion to business is well known, and showed itself in early life. The following anecdote illustrates the mode in which Buchanan attempted to correct his indolence.

'He showed his aversion to business at a very early age; so much so, that he was in the habit of signing whatever papers were brought to him, without reading or making himself acquainted with their contents. To correct this pernicious habit, his tutor Buchanan adopted the following scheme:—One day, when the young king was preparing to set out on a hunting excursion, he placed before him a document containing a formal abdication of his kingdom. It was signed, as usual, without inquiry into its purport. On the return of James in the evening, Buchanan produced the paper, and pointed out its contents. At the sight of what he had done, the king burst into tears. Buchanan comforted him by throwing the document into the fire; at the same time seizing the opportunity of enlarging on the injustice which he might be guilty of to others, as well as to himself, should he hereafter persist in so indolent and injurious a practice.'

—Ib. p. 12.

The character of James was singularly deficient in all qualities meriting respect. It was a compound of imbecility, affectation, and vice, only slightly glossed over by a show of learning, and the loud profession of religious zeal. The king, as is well known, esteemed himself more learned in theology than all his bishops, and was encouraged in the notion by their disgusting flatteries. His conduct at the Hampton Court Conference, to which, by the bye, Mr. Jesse does not allude, called forth their loudest plaudits. Whitgift declared 'that undoubtedly his majesty spake by the 'special assistance of God's Spirit,' and Bancroft, his worthy successor, protested upon his knees 'that his heart melted within 'him with joy, and made haste to acknowledge unto Almighty 'God the singular mercy we have received at his hands, in giving 'us such a king, as, since Christ's time, the like, he thought, had 'not been.' 'The bishops seemed much pleased,' says Sir John Harrington, a courtier, and bitter enemy of the Puritans, in writing to his wife an account of this conference, at which he had been present, 'and said his majesty spoke by the power of inspi-'ration. *I wist not what they mean, but the Spirit was rather*

'*foul-mouthed.*'* How much more accurately the courtier judged on this occasion than the bishops, may be inferred from the following account of the shameless immoralities practised at court, and in which his majesty heartily participated. It is contained in a letter from Sir John Harrington to Mr. Secretary Barlow, and is dated London, 1606:—the King of Denmark, brother to the queen of James, being then on a visit in England.

"In compliance with your asking, now shall you accept my poor account of rich doings. I came here a day or two before the Danish King came, and from the day he had come to the present hour, I have been well nigh overwhelmed with carousal and sports of all kinds. The sports began each day in such manner and such sort, as well nigh persuaded me of Mahomet's paradise. We had women, and indeed wine too, of such plenty, as would have astonished each beholder. Our feasts were magnificent, and the two royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at the table. I think the Dane hath strangely wrought upon our good English Nobles; for those whom I could never get to taste good English liquor, now follow the fashion, and wallow in beastly delights. The ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication. In good sooth, the Parliament did kindly to provide his Majesty so seasonably with money; for there has been no lack of good living, shows, sights, and banqueting from morn to eve.

"One day a great feast was held; and after dinner the representation of Solomon's temple, and the coming of the Queen of Sheba was made, or (as I may better say) was meant to have been made, before their majesties, by device of the Earl of Salisbury and others. But alas! as all earthly things do fail to poor mortals in earthly enjoyments, so did prove our presentment thereof. The lady who did play the Queen's part did carry most precious gifts to both their Majesties; but, forgetting the steps arising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish Majesty's lap, and fell at his feet, though I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand, to make all clean. His Majesty then got up, and would dance with the Queen of Sheba; but he fell down and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber, and laid on a bed of state, which was not a little defiled with the presents of the Queen, which had been bestowed on his garments; such as wine, cream, jelly, beverage, cakes, spices, and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forward, and most of the presenters went backward or fell down; wine did so occupy their upper chambers.

"Now did appear in rich dress, Hope, Faith, and Charity; Hope did assay to speak, but wine rendered her endeavours so feeble that she withdrew, and hoped the King would excuse her levity. Faith was then all alone; for I am certain she was not joined to good works,

* Nugæ Antiquæ I. 131.

and left the court in a staggering: Charity came to the King's feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins her sisters had committed; in some sort she made obeisance, and brought gifts, but said she would return home again, as there was no gift which Heaven had not already given his Majesty. She then returned to Faith and Hope who were both sick in the lower hall.

"'Next came Victory, in bright armor, and presented a rich sword to the King, who did not accept it, but put it by with his hand; and by a strange medley of versification did endeavour to make suit to the King. But Victory did not triumph long; for after much lamentable utterance, she was led away by a silly captive, and laid to sleep in the outer steps of the ante-chamber.

"'Now did Peace make entry, and strive to get foremost to the King; but I grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover unto those of her attendants; and much contrary to her semblance, made rudely war with her olive-branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming.

"'I have much marvelled at those strange pageantries; and they do bring to my remembrance what passed of this sort in our Queen's days, of which I was sometime an humble spectator and assistant; but I never did see such lack of good order, discretion, and sobriety, as I now have done. I have passed much time in seeing the royal sports of hunting and hawking, where the manners were such as made me devise the beasts were pursuing the sober creation, and not man in quest of exercise and food. I will now, in good sooth, declare unto you, who will not blab, that the gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on hereabouts as if the devil was contriving every man to blow up himself, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance. The great ladies do go well masked, and indeed it be the only show of their modesty to conceal their countenances: but alack! they meet with such countenance to uphold their strange doings, that I marvel not at aught that happens. The lord of the mansion is overwhelmed in preparations at Theobalds, and doth marvellously please both Kings with good meat, good drink, and good speeches. I do often say (but not aloud) that the Danes have again conquered the Britons, for I see no man, or woman either, that can command herself. I wish I was at home;—*O rus, quando te aspiciam!* and I will before Prince Vaudemont cometh.'"—Ib. pp. 54—57.

So much for the first of the Stuarts who occupied the English throne. We now pass to the more stirring and tragical times of Charles,—a remarkable epoch in our history under whatever aspect it be viewed. The private character of princes is a matter of secondary moment in modern days, but it was not so in the times of the Stuarts. A slight attention to the course of our history will fully establish this fact. The latter part of the reign of Elizabeth had witnessed an outbreak of popular sentiments which taxed even her masculine understanding, and laid all the resources of her government under tribute. This was mainly

attributable to the reformation, which had quickened the inert masses, and produced a rich harvest of stirring thoughts and high-minded aspirations, where intellectual stagnation and religious formalism had previously existed. Men began, in consequence, to commune with the past as well as to anticipate the future. They travelled back beyond the times of the Tudors, carried their appeal to the better days of English freedom, and demanded that the outworks of popular rights, recently laid low by royalty, should be rebuilt, and their sacredness guaranteed by written laws. In such a state of the popular mind, it required only the interval which the reign of James afforded, to strike the roots of liberty deep into the soil of England. A monarch of undoubted courage, with competent sagacity, and a well ordered exchequer, might have delayed, if he had not wholly averted, the calamities which fell upon his son. But the timidity and folly, the favoritism and the vices of James, all conspired to undermine the loyalty of his people, and to prepare them for the daring speculations and chivalrous deeds which disturbed the quiet of his successor. Charles, unhappily for himself and the nation, was wedded to the worst precedents of recent times, and was utterly disqualified for guaging the stature and requirements of the popular mind. He saw men through the false medium of his father's shallow philosophy, and at once committed himself, with all the heedlessness of youth, and the falsehood of his race, to the most perilous enterprize which a monarch can attempt. There is, however, some truth in the remark of our author—who, by the bye, has endeavored to throw a halo of a morbid sentimentalism about this inheritor of his father's follies—that 'Charles became 'the sacrifice to a long established system of misrule, rather than 'to individual offence.' It must not, however, be forgotten, that the personal qualities of Charles,—his repulsive manners, his thorough insincerity, his fixed and deeply-rooted love of tyranny both in church and state, contributed mainly to the calamities which befell him. Had his intellect been larger, his sagacity more clear-sighted,—or had his heart been in unison with the nobler and more generous sympathies of our nature, the catastrophe might have been averted. But we are losing sight of Mr. Jesse, and of the object of this paper, and, therefore, return to our extracts.

Charles, as is well known, after a chivalrous effort to obtain in marriage a daughter of Spain, concluded an alliance with Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis the Thirteenth, the then reigning king of France. Some of the most important articles of the treaty were carefully concealed from the English people, who were strongly averse to a Popish alliance. The seeds of much future evil were thus sown, and rapidly produced a full harvest of misery. If there was one passion more prevalent

at this period than another, it was that of hatred to Popery; a passion, as thus existing, compounded of very various elements, partly generous and partly base, springing in a measure from a vigorous love of freedom, yet partaking of the meanness and illiberality which arise out of partial enlightenment and but a half purified creed. James and his son were well aware of the sentiments of the popular mind, and they criminally brought their kingcraft into play in order to evade its requirements. Their policy was apparently successful, but woe betide the king who trifles with his word, and thereby destroys the confidence of his people. The whole history of Charles is an instructive illustration of the calamities which flow from this source, and may well serve as a beacon to all future monarchs. The following is Mr. Jesse's account of the French treaty.

'After a complicated and rather lengthy negociation, a treaty of marriage was definitively signed at Paris, on the 10th of November, 1624: It consists of articles scarcely less disgraceful to the English Court, or disadvantageous to the English nation, than those of the celebrated Spanish treaty which had preceded it. Indeed so similar are the two instruments, as well in terms as in spirit, that the one would appear almost to be a transcript of the other. The only really important alteration is in the nineteenth article of the French treaty, in which it is provided that the children born of the marriage shall be brought up by their mother, not merely to the age of ten years, as had been agreed upon in the Spanish compact, but till they should attain their thirteenth year; a dangerous concession, considering the unwearying vigilance of the Romish priests, and that it comprehended a period of life when the heart is most open to impressions whether good or evil. Some secret articles were also sworn to by James and Louis. By these it was provided that, throughout England, all Catholic prisoners should be set at liberty; that they should no longer be liable to be searched, or otherwise molested on account of their religion; and that the goods of which they had been despoiled should be restored.

'The deed of dispensation, in which Louis the Thirteenth guaranteed to the See of Rome that the King of England should faithfully fulfil the articles of the treaty, is another curious document. D'Israeli, in his ingenious work, 'the Curiosities of Literature,' speaks of a 'remarkable and unnoticed document,' namely, 'A most solemn 'obligation contracted with the Pope and the Queen's brother, the 'King of France, to educate her children as Catholics, and only to 'choose Catholics to attend them.' 'Had this been known,' he adds, 'either to Charles, or to the English nation, Henrietta could never 'have been able to ascend the English throne.' It is a pity to disturb this justification of Charles, but unfortunately for that Monarch, there can be little doubt but that he was perfectly well acquainted with all the circumstances of the affair; indeed, the articles mentioned by Mr. D'Israeli, as most objectionable in the deed of dispensation, are in-

serted, at least in spirit, in the treaty itself; a document which, as a matter of course, had not only been seen, but had been solemnly sworn to by Charles. The subject is rendered of considerable importance, when we remember that the two children of Henrietta Maria,—Charles the second and his brother James,—who afterwards successively inherited the crown, lived and died Catholics; and that it was owing to a defect in his education that the latter died an exile, and that England became the scene of revolution in 1668.'—Vol. ii. pp. 65—67.

The French princess brought with her a numerous retinue of priests, whose folly and insolence awakened general disgust, and damaged greatly the king's government. The queen was compelled to walk barefooted to Tyburn, and according to the report of a contemporary writer, was made 'to eat her meat out of tryne '(wooden) dishes, to wait at the table and serve her servants, 'with many other ridiculous and absurd penances.'* Not contented with their influence over the queen, they gave serious umbrage to the king, by interfering with his domestic arrangements, and endeavoring to sow dissensions between him and his consort. The following is a curious specimen of their insolence.

'The King and Queen were banqueting in public, and, as usual, the chaplain was proceeding to say grace, when the Queen's confessor actually struck up with a Latin benediction. The King's chaplain (of course a Protestant), naturally provoked at the interruption, gave the confessor a zealous push, and then continued the grace. On this the latter went over to the Queen's side, and commenced with renewed energy his benediction. The King, however, very sensibly cut the matter short by drawing one of the dishes towards him, when the carvers instantly began their office. As soon as dinner was over, the confessor proceeded, in like manner, to return thanks; the chaplain, however, had obtained the start, when each endeavoured to drown the other by the loudness of his voice. Charles very properly took the Queen by the hand, and hastily withdrew her from the disgraceful scene.'—Ib. p. 71.

Through the instigations of these foreign emissaries, the palace became a scene of perpetual broils, and a resolution was in consequence taken to banish the queen's attendants from the kingdom. The Marshal de Bassompierre was despatched by the French court to effect a reconciliation, but Charles was inexorable, and for once, withstood the entreaties of his beautiful, but vain and thoughtless wife. It would have been well for him, and for the kingdom, if days of matrimonial vassalage had not followed. Mr. Jesse's account of the expulsion of the queen's attendants is too amusing and characteristic to be omitted.

* Ellis's Letters, vol. iii. 236.

'Not till the very last moment, however, when the carriages and vessels were in actual readiness for their removal, had the French been acquainted with the final determination of Charles. Having fully made up his mind, he unexpectedly entered the Queen's apartments for the purpose of announcing it. There, to his great indignation, he beheld a number of the Queen's domestics *irreverently dancing and curvetting* in her presence. Taking Henrietta by the hand, he led her to a private chamber, and locked himself up with her alone. In the mean time, Lord Conway had invited the French Bishop, and others of the ecclesiastics, to accompany him into St. James's Park. Here, in a straightforward manner, he laid before them the King's unquestionable causes for complaint, and told them plainly that every one of the party, priests as well as laymen, young and old, male and female, must instantly depart the kingdom. The Bishop replied that, as regarded himself, he stood in the light of an ambassador, and therefore could not possibly think of quitting the English Court, unless by the express directions of the King his master. However, Lord Conway informed him openly, that if he did not make up his mind to depart peacefully, there would not be the least scruple to get rid of him by force.

'Having thus communicated with the priests, Lord Conway, attended by the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Household, suddenly made his appearance among the rest of the establishment. Acquainting them in like manner with the King's resolution, he told them it was his Majesty's pleasure that they should instantly depart for Somerset house, and there await his Majesty's further instructions. The women, we are informed, commenced howling and lamenting as if they were going to execution; and, evincing the most dogged determination to remain where they were, were eventually thrust out by the yeomen of the guard, and the doors of their apartments locked behind them.

'The same evening, when they were all assembled at Somerset-house, the King appeared in person among them. He hoped, he said, that what he had done would not be taken amiss by his brother, the King of France;—that particular persons among them, for he would not mention names, had fostered discontent between the Queen and himself, and had so embittered his domestic happiness that further endurance would be impossible. He asked their pardon, he said, if, by thus seeking his own safety and peace of mind, he interfered with their views; and concluded by adding, that his Treasurer had received orders to remunerate every one of them for their year's service. Madame St. George, a handsome and flippant French lady, was spokeswoman on the occasion, and endeavoured to expostulate with Charles, but his reply was even more peremptory than at first. This lady was personally obnoxious to Charles, having bred more mischief between himself and the Queen, than all the rest of the colony put together. She had even had the impudence to intrude herself into the coach with the King and Queen, at a period, too, when that honor was never on any occasion allowed to a subject.

'But the bitterest task for Charles to perform, was to encounter the sobs and remonstrances of Henrietta. That she might not behold the

departure of her favorites from Whitehall, Charles, when he parted from her, had locked the door of her apartment. Her furious conduct on this occasion exceeded all bounds; she actually tore the hair from her head, and cut her hands severely by dashing them through the glass windows in the violence of her rage.

'These events took place in the early part of July, 1626; and yet, notwithstanding the King's firmness and extreme anxiety on the subject, we find the French still domiciled at Somerset-house, after more than a month had elapsed. The patience of Charles being now entirely worn out, he dictated the following note—evidently in hearty anger—to the Duke of Buckingham.

'STEENIE,

'I have received your letter by Dic Græme; this is my answer;—I command you to send all the French away to-morrow out of the town, if you can by fair means (but stick not long in disputing), otherwise force them away, driving them away like so many wild beasts until you have shipped them, and so the devil go with them. Let me have no answer, but of the performance of my command. So I rest, Your faithful, constant, loving friend,

''CHARLES REX.'

''Oaking, the 7th of August, 1626.'

'(Superscribed) 'The Duke of Buckingham.'

'Four days afterwards, appears the following passage in a letter of the period, dated 11th August, 1626. 'On Monday last was the peremptory day for the departure of the French; what time the King's officers attending with coaches, carts, and barges, they contumaciously refused to go, saying they would not depart till they had order from their King; and above all, the Bishop stood upon his punctilios. This news being sent in post to the King, on Tuesday morning his Majesty despatched away to London the captain of the guard, attended with a competent number of his yeomen, as likewise with heralds, messengers, and trumpeters, first, to proclaim his Majesty's pleasure at Somerset-house gate; which if it were not speedily obeyed, the yeomen of the guard were to put it in execution, by turning all the French out of Somerset-house by head and shoulders, and shutting the gate after them. Which news, as soon as the French heard, their courage came down, and they yielded to be gone next tide.'

'The appointed hour having arrived, Lord Conway, together with the Treasurer and Comptroller, proceeded to Somerset-house, to witness the departure of the malcontents. Lord Conway, with his colleagues, first attended the Bishop to the door of his coach, where this captious gentleman again made a stand, praying as a last favor, that he might be allowed to wait for the midnight tide, and thus escape the observation and ridicule of the crowd. The request was a natural one, and was civilly granted.

'It required four days, and nearly forty carriages, to transport the expelled Catholics to Dover. At first they appeared extremely

dogged and sullen, but the good fare, and kind entertainment, which everywhere awaited them on the road, and the natural vivacity of their country, gradually dispelled their feelings of disgust: still, the derision of the mob must have been any thing but agreeable. As Madame St. George was stepping into the boat at Dover, a bystander took an aim at her strange head-dress with a stone. An English gentleman, who was escorting her, instantly quitted her side, and running his sword through the offender's body, killed him on the spot.'—Ib. pp. 76—82.

The following account of the sale of the king's pictures and coins must close our extracts.

'The year before the death of Charles, his splendid effects, his unique cabinet, the delight of his leisure hours, were directed by the Parliament to be sold. Some ignorant individuals, who styled themselves commissioners, were appointed the appraisers. The inventory took a year in drawing up, and the collection three years in selling. The catalogue is preserved among the Harleian MSS., and is entitled, 'An Inventory of the Goods, Jewels, Plate, &c., belonging to King 'Charles I., sold by order of the Council of State, from the year 1649 'to 1652.'

'Each article or lot had its price previously fixed, and nothing could exceed the gross barbarity and want of taste in the valuation. This Gothic insensibility and ignorance, however, mattered little; for except a slight occasional competition, the price given seldom exceeded the appraisement. It is curious to discover what in those days was considered the value of pictures, which are now deservedly regarded as beyond price. The celebrated cartoons of Raphael were valued at only £300, and what is more remarkable, were 'knocked down' without a purchaser. The six following pictures alone brought a price which could be considered as equivalent to their worth.

'A Sleeping Venus, by Corregio, sold for 1,000*l.*
A Madonna, by Raphael, 2,000*l.*
A Picture, by Julio Romano, 500*l.*
A Madonna and Christ, by Raphael, 800*l.*
A Venus and Pard, by Titian, 600*l.*

'The following have been mentioned as remarkable for the insignificant sums at which they were purchased.

'The Woman taken in Adultery, by Rubens, 20*l.*
Peace and Plenty, by Rubens, 100*l.*
Venus attired by the Graces, 200*l.*

'The Duke of Buckingham and his brother, one of the finest efforts of Vandyke, was valued at 30*l.*, and sold for 50*l.* Christ, the Virgin, and 'many Angels dancing,' by Vandyke, was only valued at

40*l.* Walpole informs us, that his father afterwards gave 700*l.* for this picture, and that it had been previously twice sold for upwards of 1,000*l.* Titian's pictures were generally appraised at 100*l.* But the valuation of the following list is really ludicrous.

> 'King Edward III., with a great curtain before it, 4*l.*
> A Portrait of Buchanan, 3*l.*, 10*s.*
> Queen Elizabeth, in her robes, 1*l.*
> The Queen Mother, in mourning, 3*l.*
> The King, when a Boy, 2*l.*
> Picture of the Queen, when a child, 5*s.*

'The valuable collection of coins sold, on the average, at about a shilling a-piece. The pictures, together with the furniture of *nineteen* palaces which had belonged to Charles, and the remains of the jewels and plate which had not already been sold for the maintenance of the royal cause, fetched the comparatively trifling sum of one hundred and eighteen thousand and eighty pounds, ten shillings and sixpence.'—Ib. pp. 102—105.

The extracts we have given will inform our readers of the nature of the materials collected in these volumes. We must not, however, dismiss them, without a few animadversions from which we should gladly refrain, if truth and justice permitted it. The general complexion of Mr. Jesse's politics is very evident, nor do we complain of its being so. He has the common right of Englishmen to form his own opinions, and having done so, to give them utterance. But what shall we say of a writer largely conversant with our historical documents, who can sum up his description of Buckingham,—the haughty, reckless, and unprincipled favorite of two kings,—by telling us that 'after perusing the history of his dazzling career, we shall perhaps doubt whether there is most room for envy or commiseration, for *applause or censure.*' It is needless to comment on such language; we cite it only in proof of the little reliance which can be placed on our author's judgment. 'The undeviating rectitude' of Strafford is also as little known to history as Buckingham's title to *applause;* and if it be Mr. Jesse's intention, when contrasting the 'brilliant qualities and open character' of the Irish viceroy, with 'the wily fanatics and mushroom politicians of the age of Charles,' to refer to the leaders of the popular party, he only damages his own reputation, without injuring that of Pym, Hampden, and Vane. We smile at the absurd folly of a writer who, in the nineteenth century, can find no more appropriate term for John Pym than that of 'demagogue,' or who can describe the party with which he acted as 'gloomy enthusiasts and sanctimonious hypocrites.' Such epithets, we regret to say, are scattered somewhat profusely through these volumes, and

they reflect no credit on the candor or discrimination of the author. It is of a piece with such caricaturing to represent Laud as, '*perhaps* no enemy to arbitrary measures,' and to tell us that his zeal '*almost* amounted to bigotry.'

But we have a more serious charge to urge. Puritanic in our notions, we are far from being pleased with the light and exculpatory manner in which, our author refers to the fashionable vices of his heroes. These, indeed, are only slightly noticed, but glossing terms are used, as though vice could be other than itself. The impression produced is bad, which we the more regret, as the professed character of the work lulls suspicion, and thus opens the youthful heart to the reception of impressions which, are hostile to the purity of its moral sentiments.

Our author's reference to the publication of the Book of Sports is in equally bad taste, to say nothing of the astounding ignorance it displays of the religious principles which were violated. We give the paragraph entire, lest our readers should deem our strictures too severe.

'One act of James's life can never be sufficiently commended. During the progresses made through his kingdom, he had noticed the pernicious effects which a puritanical observance of the Sabbath was producing on the health and happiness of the lower classes of his subjects. With the certainty that religious bigotry would be everywhere arrayed against him, he issued a proclamation, that, after the performance of divine service, his subjects should be allowed to indulge in all legitimate sports and amusements. Without entering into any theological discussion, as to the proper observance of the Lord's-day, there are few who will deny to James the real credit which he deserved on this occasion. Surely that monarch stands high among the thrones of the earth, who willingly turns from his own pomps and vanities, to the sufferings and discomforts of the poor and unprotected; and who readily encounters obloquy and discontent, in order to throw a gleam of sunshine over the broad shadows of human wretchedness.'

—Vol. i. pp. 111, 112.

The philosophy of this paragraph is as wretched as its religion, —the one is as shallow as the other is anti-scriptural. 'Mankind,' says Mr. Hallam, when referring to the republication of the Book of Sports in 1633, 'love sport as little as prayer by com-'pulsion; and the immediate effect of the king's declaration was 'to produce a far more scrupulous abstinence from diversions on 'Sundays than had been practised before.'* The testimony of May, one of the most dispassionate observers of the period in question, is most explicit on this point, for 'many men,' he in-

* The Constitutional History of England, II. 78.

forms us, 'who had before been loose and careless, began upon 'that occasion to enter into a more serious consideration of it, and 'were ashamed to be invited, by the authority of Churchmen, to 'that which themselves, at the best, would but have pardoned in 'themselves, as a thing of infirmity. The example of the court 'where plays were usually presented on Sundays, did not so much 'draw the country to imitation, as reflect with disadvantage upon 'the court itself.'*

We leave Mr. Jesse to reconcile his eulogy with these facts, and shall be glad to find, in the event of his prosecuting further the design announced in his preface, that he has purged his style from some unworthy asperities, and imbibed a portion of the better spirit of those men whom, at present, he grossly libels, and is unable to comprehend. A candid mind swayed by deep reverence for the things of God, will lead him to regret having penned many sentences in these volumes.

Art. V. 1. *Chapters of the Modern History of British India.* By Edward Thornton, Esq., Author of 'India, its State and Prospects.' 8vo. pp. 644. London: Allen and Co. 1840.

2. *Letters to and from the Government of Madras, relative to the Disturbances in Canara in April,* 1837, *with some Explanatory Notes; and a Letter to the Honorable Court of Directors of the East India Company.* By F. C. Brown, Esq., of Tellicherry. 8vo. pp. 206. London: Smith and Elder. 1838.

3. *Notes on Indian Affairs.* By the Honorable Frederick John Shore, Judge of the Civil Court and Criminal Sessions of the District of Furrukhabad. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Parker.

4. *Edinburgh Review for January,* 1840. *Art. The Revenue System of British India.*

IT was thought a capital *jeu d'esprit* in Dr. Franklin when he was ambassador from the United States of America to France, and observed with surprise the late hours of the Parisians, to address a letter to them in one of the public journals, gravely assuring them that the sun at that time of the year actually rose at four o'clock in the morning, and that, therefore, there was no necessity for them to lie in bed till eleven and twelve, or to sit up so many hours by the light of lamps, which was so very inferior to sunshine: but it is something more than a joke that the people

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* History of the Long Parliament, p. 15.

of England should, at this time of day, have to be informed that they are actually in possession of India! Yet, this is the simple fact. The people of England have been for nearly a century in possession of some of the finest provinces of Hindustan; for these thirty years they have been in possession of the greater portion of the splendid peninsula of India, and yet to this day they do not know it. We say it advisedly, the people of England are ignorant that they are in possession of the most magnificent and important territory that ever became a dependency of another empire. It is true that we hear it said, and repeated in conversations and in print, that India belongs to England; and it is equally true that the East India Company, and a certain class of individuals who are brought up to look to India as the source of wealth and fortune, are well acquainted with the fact, but we repeat it solemnly, that the people of England, as a people, are totally ignorant that they hold so great a country, and have long held it in their hands. What! will any one pretend to tell us, that the people of England, a great, a wise, an enterprising, and philanthropic nation—a nation which is sending out its ships to explore every distant sea; its factors to open up commercial intercourse with every affluent coast, and its emigrants to found new states in every savage desert all the world over—that this great, wise, enterprising, and philanthropic people is aware that it holds at this moment, and has long held the vast regions of India, laying claim to them, indeed, as its particular feof—as lords and heritors of the soil—and yet makes comparatively little use of its advantages? Will it be believed for an instant, that we have there a mighty empire, in extent equal to three-fourths of all Europe,—an empire from the point of Cape Comorin to the Himalaya Mountains, offering every variety of climate, and every species of vegetable product; containing one hundred millions of people all willing and desirous to labor in cultivating that prolific soil, or in cooperating in one way or other to pour into this island the natural wealth of those regions, and to take the manufactures of England in exchange—and that the people of England can know this, and neglect this vast means of prosperity, and be indifferent to it? Will it be believed, that we are seeking everywhere for an outlet for our manufactured goods, and that while our artizans are starving by thousands and tens of thousands in the streets, and menacing in their hungry desperation the very existence of our government, we have in India a market capable of taking all the manufactured cottons and hardware goods that all our hands, and wheels, and hammers can furnish, let them be as busy as they may, provided that we will take the simplest common-sense means to have these hundred millions of fellow-subjects employed, and thus enabled to purchase them from us? Will it be believed, that instead of employing these hundred millions of fellow

subjects, we go to the Americans and the Portuguese, and to every slave-market that we can find for the very articles they can send us, by the slightest encouragement, three times cheaper? Will it be believed, that the plains of India are capable of growing the finest cotton in quantities to clothe the whole world; that there stand forests of trees capable of bleeding out India-rubber enough for all the purposes of the whole civilized world; that coffee, tea, sugar, corn, linseed, indigo, and a multitude of other rich products of a tropical climate, of the finest quality, at a price astonishingly low may be thence obtained; and that, with all this wealth offered to our hands, we choose rather that the people of England should be in unemployed distress, and the people of India should perish by famine, than that we should take one step towards setting them to work on both sides of the water, and making them happy and prosperous by their mutual labor?

But will it be believed, that far beyond this in absurdity, instead of employing our own subjects in the growth of cotton, we go to the slave-masters of America to purchase it at five times the price that these our suffering fellow-subjects could furnish it to us? That we thus starve our Indian people; destroy them as consumers of our manufactured articles, as well as growers of our raw cotton; raise the American slave-masters into our most formidable commercial rivals; have, in fact, thus created that navy of theirs which has made itself already so formidable, and all those busy merchant vessels of theirs which are to be found in all seas and all ports usurping our commerce and laughing at our stupidity? That sooner than employ our Indian people we now lend money to these American slave-masters to enable them to hold back cotton and enhance its price at their pleasure, and thus, by raising the cost of our fabrics, starve our artizans? Will it be believed, that while we have been laboring for nearly half a century to put down slavery and the slave-trade, and have paid fifty millions to destroy the slave-trade, and twenty millions at one time to purchase the freedom of the slaves in our own West-Indian islands, we still purchase our cottons and other articles from the slave-holders, and have thus encouraged slavery and the slave-trade to that degree, that more slaves are now annually taken from Africa than ever, while all this time our millions and millions of Indian subjects are standing ready to grow us cotton, sugar, and every article of slave-manufacture at a far less cost, and are even perishing for want of that employment by half a million at a time? That, in short, we are actually laboring and paying with one hand every day of our lives to extinguish slavery, and with the other keeping alive slavery by purchasing of the slave-master the products of slavery? That we at one and the same moment are starving our free fellow-subjects and enriching the slave-master: condemning slavery as diabolical, and perpetu-

ating it at the expense of our Indian territories, our navy and our commerce? Will it be believed, that we, who are the greatest philanthropists in the world, can know that our Indian people are crushed to the dust by poverty and exaction, and that we take no single step to amend the condition of such vast numbers of human beings under our control? That we who pride ourselves on our commercial and political shrewdness, should know that our Indian empire is a mine of wealth exhaustless, overflowing, and inconceivable, if properly worked, and that we will not so work it, but suffer its resources every day to diminish, and its revenue to sink before our eyes? We say, will it be believed that we know all this and suffer it?

No! no fact is more manifest than that the people of England do not know that India is theirs, or they would know that they held in their hand a talisman by which they could accomplish three of the most stupendous achievements that ever were put into the power of man—remove famine, and the lowest degradation from the millions of India, annihilate slavery at a blow all over the world, and convert the starvation of our spinners and weavers into active labor and fulness of bread—pouring into the heart of England wealth and political and Christian influence in such a stream as with all our energies and greatness, neither she nor any other nation has yet known!

Our language may seem to many the madness of romance; but we shall find no difficulty in proving to the satisfaction of the most matter-of-fact readers, that it is nothing but the soberest reality. Nay, it is to matter-of-fact men that we desire particularly to address ourselves, for it is not on dreams and fancies but on stern yet astonishing facts that we take our stand. So far from ours being the madness of romance in this case, when the subject comes to be fairly understood—when England, indeed, comes to know that she really possesses India, it will then appear to the public, that we have been for half a century laboring under the madness of wilfully shutting our eyes to the circumstance that India was ours: and that we had in it the means to place us at the head of all the civilizers and harmonizers of the world. We did not, as a people, know what we possessed in India—therefore India has become miserable, and a few individuals only here have become enriched by her instead of the nation.

If we are asked how this has come to pass, we answer by our being first engaged in long wars, and then in the domestic embarrassments into which they had introduced us. We were too busy with continental or party warfare to attend to our own affairs, and we deputed the rule of this great eastern empire to a company, and let it slip aside from our observation.

If any one thinks otherwise, let him go to-morrow into society, and ask the best informed people that he can find what they know

of the real condition of British India; or let him ask any member of parliament what attention Indian questions obtain in the House of Commons. The first will tell you that they know nothing, but that they hear that India is a rich country. The other will shrug his shoulders and say, 'Oh, nobody troubles himself about things so far off.' Besides this apathy and this ignorance, which mutually strengthen each other, there are those who have an interest in keeping up delusions on the subject, and we see such delusions industriously propagated every day. We shall in this article endeavor to strip away some of the most recent and most interested of these delusions, and let in some light on this truly great subject, in which our fate as a nation, and our honor as a Christian nation are more deeply concerned than our countrymen are generally aware of. Indeed, since we have been led to look carefully into it, we have been compelled to regard our possession of this splendid empire of India with all its wealth and resources, and our neglect of it, and ignorant casting away of the affluence with which it has been, and is yet capable of crowning us, as the most singular phenomenon in history, and as the most gross instance of blindness that ever fell on a nation of active, ambitious, intelligent, and benevolent men.

In the work placed first on the list at the head of this article, we are told that 'India has yet to boast of being incomparably 'the best governed of the dependent possessions of Great Bri-'tain.'—p. 603.

We wish most earnestly that that were true! We would most gladly be convinced of so comfortable a fact. It would melt away from our bosoms a dreary weight of care which now lies there. But if it be the fact, that 'India is incomparably the best governed 'of the dependent possessions of Great Britain,' either we are misinformed, or the condition of the worst governed must be deplorable indeed. If India be well governed, then it must be a prosperous and a happy country, for a well governed people all the world over, and in every age of the world have been, and are, a happy people. It is a vast country, a naturally fertile country. It has been, whatever it be now, a country wealthy to a proverb. The wealth of the Indies, the mines of Golconda, the pearls, and spices, and silken fabrics of India, have been in all past ages, the very words used to express every species of affluence and splendor; and, therefore, if India be a well-governed country, it is a wealthy and a prosperous country still. It would be a practical absurdity; it would be an outrage upon all language and all common sense to assert that India was a wealthy country when it fell into our hands; that it has all these years been well-governed by us, and yet now is poor, and its people miserable. But that it is poor, and its people miserable, we shall show upon the very highest authorities. Here is Mr. Thornton, a clerk to

the Court of Directors, who has never been in India at all, and who yet coolly undertakes to tell the public, that 'India is incomparably the best governed of all our dependent possessions;' but the highest and most unexceptionable authorities,—gentlemen who have stood high in office and moral character in India itself; who have served there for many years, tell, as we shall show, a very different story: and even the Edinburgh Review of the other day, in an article written expressly to vindicate and perpetuate the present state of things in India, confirms most unequivocally this statement. What sort of process of good government then is this, by which a great, a populous, and wealthy country is reduced to the condition of an annually falling revenue, and to the most frightful popular misery?

Of the actual condition of British India at this moment we are in possession of a mass of evidence which would fill not this review merely, but a whole series of copious volumes. The subject is so vast that we must at this time necessarily confine ourselves to a small fraction of it, but such is its vital importance to the public, that we pledge ourselves to revert to it again and again, if the cause of truth and humanity call for it at our hands. For the present, let us produce evidence enough to see whether or not Mr. Thornton's position is tenable.

A well governed country is filled with a numerous and a happy people. Its fields are in a high state of culture, and are highly productive. It has a simple, clear, just, and effective system of judicature. Its various classes of population are well and wisely knit together into a constitution of social strength. It has a rich revenue, and is not ground by fiscal exactions. Its roads, and other public works attest the watchfulness and paternal providence of the government, always seeking to increase the convenience of the people, and the beauty and dignity of the general aspect of the country and its cities. The functions of trade and agriculture move freely, unvexed with monopolies and galling transit duties. Education is, of course, promoted; and the personal and religious feelings of the people are carefully respected. These are some of the main features of a well governed country, and we ask those who are best acquainted with British India whether they are the features of that country?

The natives of British India are no doubt a numerous people, for they are estimated at upwards of one hundred millions; but large as is this amount, it is trivial to what an eastern population would be under a good government. China even, which is little more than of double the extent, contains four times the population. These hundred millions of British India occupy a territory of five hundred thousand square miles, and it is calculated by those well acquainted with the country, that more than one third of it lies waste and uninhabited. But how is it that in the best

governed of all our dependencies, we have all this waste and desolation? We shall not wonder when we have looked a little into the mysteries of this good government. What says the Honorable Frederick John Shore on this subject? This gentleman, the brother of Lord Teignmouth, was, for more than fifteen years, resident in India. He filled various offices in the police, revenue, and judicial departments of the country, the last being Judge of the Civil Court and Criminal Sessions of Furrukhabad. In every one of these he was highly respected by all classes of men, native and English. He is since deceased, leaving behind him a character for uprightness, intimate acquaintance with the condition of India, general intelligence, and benevolence of disposition which have made his memory revered both in that country and this. His statements no one has dared to call in question; nay, the very writer in the Edinburgh Review quotes him as unexceptionable authority. We shall, therefore, make large use of his evidence, supporting it by that of various other high authorities to the extent that our space will permit.

Here, then, are some of Mr. Shore's notions of the excellency of our government, and of the happiness produced by it. He tells us that he went to India with the most settled conviction of the blessing which our sway was to the Indian people; but he had not been long there before very different and disagreeable impressions were forced upon him. He looked in vain for that scene of wealth and prosperity, which he had always been told that India was under our auspices. 'I perceived,' he says, 'a strong 'feeling of disaffection towards the English government, and a 'dislike to the English themselves as a nation.' Inquiring carefully into the real cause of this, he found that 'Well-founded 'complaints of oppression and extortion on the part of both 'government and individuals, were innumerable.' Asking why, with all our high professions, such evils were not redressed, he was told that it was impossible under the present system—the system, be it understood, in full operation at this moment. Mr. Shore's work was published here only in 1837. With all the concern of an honorable mind, Mr. Shore pursued the inquiry thus opened to him into the principles and practice of the British Indian administration; and soon, he says, found himself at no loss to comprehend the feelings of the people both towards our government and ourselves. He then says—

'It would have been astonishing, indeed, had it been otherwise. The fundamental principle of the English had been to make the whole Indian nation subservient in every possible way to the interests and benefits of themselves. They had been taxed to the utmost limit; every successive province, as it fell into our hands, had been made a field for higher exaction; and it has always been our boast how greatly

we have raised the revenue above that which the native rulers were able to extort. The Indians have been excluded from every honor, dignity, or office which the lowest Englishman could be prevailed upon to accept; while our public offices, and, as we have been pleased to call them, courts of justice, have been sinks of every species of villany, fraud, chicane, oppression, and injustice, to such an extent that men who have been robbed of their property, and whose relations have been murdered, will often pay large sums to the police to prevent investigation from the dread of being compelled to attend one of our courts, even in the character of a prosecutor or witness.'—Vol. ii. pp. 518, 519.

That we think, is a pretty comprehensive sentence to begin with in an authority which is quoted as authority by a writer in the Edinburgh Review in defence of a system which is at this moment in operation; but we beg our readers to understand that this is but one passage out of two large octavo volumes of the most astonishing details of our oppressions, rapacity, cruelty, haughtiness, and iron insensibility to the miseries which for more than half a century we have heaped on one of the most ancient, refined, and inoffensive nations in the world.

'The summary,' continues Mr. Shore, 'is, that the British-Indian government has been practically, one of the most extortionate and oppressive that ever existed in India; one under which injustice has been and may be committed, both by the government and by individuals, provided the latter be rich, to an almost unlimited extent, *and under which redress from injury is almost unattainable; the consequence of which is that we are abhorred by the people,* who would hail with joy, and instantly join the standard of any power whom they thought strong enough to occasion our downfall. . . . How is it possible, after the treatment they have received, that our government, or ourselves, should be popular with them? And yet we are pleased to assert that they rejoice in a government by which they are trodden to the dust, and oppressed *more than by any of their foreign rulers.*'
—Vol. ii. pp. 521, 522.

This does not augur much for good government and a happy people: but what is this treatment of the natives by us which Mr. Shore says has made us so much detested? Simply that England has fastened on India as a vampyre fastens on its living victim, and that its sole, ceaseless, and remorseless business has been to drink its life-blood, and drain its strength, to the last stage of exhaustion, in the shape of gold. For this sole purpose our conquests have been made; and a dreadful history is the history of those conquests,—a dreadful history of every fraud, every violence, every crime which can shock and disgrace humanity. For this all our regulations have been framed. The grand object was gain, and patronage by which fortunes could be

put into the hands of the children and connexions of the proprietors. For this, till lately, India was hermetically sealed to all Englishmen but such as were in the service of the Company. Those who went into that service went to gather all they could, and as there were no witnesses to their extortions and oppressions but those who were implicated in them, India became a hell, in which Englishmen, brought up as gentleman, and calling themselves Christians, were the perpetual fiends and tormentors. Things were so arranged that these should not settle in the country lest they should stand in the way of fresh adventurers, and decrease the patronage and obstruct the insatiable cupidity at home. All the natives were excluded from office for the same purpose, and were obliged to stand and see their country plundered before their faces, and its enormous ancient wealth carried off to England by a never-ceasing, ever-changing race of harpies. Nay, the half-castes, children of Englishmen by Indian mothers, were by their unnatural fathers cut off also from all offices of trust and emolument in their native land for the same purpose, and while these white fathers returned to England to establish fresh families, and enjoy in luxury and splendor, the produce of Indian exactions, these, their children were left to become objects of marked contempt, insult, and injustice in the land of their birth.

Can a more dreadful fact be laid open to the eyes of the English public than that this has been the great and only object of our conquering and holding that vast and fine country? That it has not been to extend to it the benefits of a good government; to civilize, to cultivate, to raise it in the scale of nations, and to confer on it in exchange for its wealth the blessings we as a great Christian and enlightened nation enjoy; but wholly, and from year to year, to drain and wring from it by every means of power and fraud, its gold, its fertility, and the very life-blood of the people? Yet, the whole of Mr. Shore's volumes demonstrate this dreadful truth, and no other; and not only the works of Shore, but of every other writer of character who has ventured to tell what he knew of India. What say Mr. Thornton and the Edinburgh Review to this? They will find it a vain attempt any longer to blind the English public to the real state of the case; and it is lamentable to see the Edinburgh Review, which should be the advocate of political justice and all necessary reforms, lending its pages to the humiliating purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of the English nation on a subject which, perhaps, more than all others involves the national interests, as it certainly does its character for honor and humanity. The motto of the Edinburgh Review is a fine motto—'Judex damnatur cum 'nocens absolvitur,' but the editor has a son in the India House, and nothing blinds the 'Judex' so much as interest. This fact,

however, and another of equal moment, that the article in question is pretty well known to be written, on behalf of the India House, by the very man at whose (chief) suggestion they have attempted the iniquitous 'Land resumption' of Bengal, it is only proper the public should be made aware of in order to estimate the advocacy of the Edinburgh, in this case, at its true value.

'There can be little pleasure,' says Mr. Shore, 'in detracting from one's own countrymen and associates, but no man, thinking and feeling as I have done, could remain silent, unless his sense of duty were blunted; no man could contemplate the immense mass of misery and ruin which will infallibly result from the infatuation in which we are enveloped relative to the nature of the British-Indian government and our tenure in this country, without lifting up his hand or his pen to avert, if possible, such awful consequences.'—Ib. p. 525.

Such feelings and such awful consequences, however, it seems that the clerk of the East India Company and the writer in the Edinburgh Review equally set at defiance, so that they can continue a little longer to saddle India with the present system of plunder and atrocity.

But that we may not appear to be giving our own views of the government of India, we shall endeavor, as far as possible, to confine ourselves to the words of our authorities. Mr. Shore says,

'The chief object of British administration in this country, ever since its establishment, would appear to have been that of the exaltation of the few upon the oppression of the many; that is, that the whole population of India should, by every possible means, be rendered subservient to their English rulers, and contribute exclusively to their benefit. . . . The attention of the Company has been directed in true mercantile spirit, to realize as large a profit as possible on the capital embarked. The method of obtaining this was to monopolize every branch of trade that could be made productive to themselves, and to employ the least number of laborers, at the lowest rate of wages. For this purpose it was, of course, politic to send as few servants to India as could possibly manage their concerns; to prevent their making any permanent settlement there, and to throw every impediment in the way of all other Europeans who wished to visit the country from any motives. The instructions issued by the Court of Directors to their servants have been a continued theme to make large remittances home, and so long as these instructions were fulfilled, little inquiry was instituted as to the means by which they were obtained.'

—Vol. i. pp. 114, 115.

In the prosecution of this object, the Company proceeded to seize not merely on the government of the country, but on the land itself. They set up the most undisguised claim to the whole

property of the land. They dispossessed all classes of landowners, from the prince to the peasant, of their estates, and put them under such regulations and officers for collecting the rent, as they pleased. They became, at once, the universal proprietors and landlords. In the lower provinces of Bengal, Lord Cornwallis in 1793, made what is called The Permanent Settlement, establishing what is termed the Zemindary system; that is, conferring on a certain class of persons the title of Zemindars, or general collectors, and fixing the certain amount of rent, or land-tax, for in India they mean the same thing, which each should pay to government, and leaving them to appoint sub-collectors, and extract what they pleased from the *ryots*, or cultivators. This is considered the most favorable system in the country, though in this, government has taken no pains to secure the cultivators from the arbitrary exactions of these Zemindars. But a great portion of British India is under what is called the Ryotwarry system; that is, the whole country is divided into portions of a few acres, on which a ryot is placed, and surveyors and collectors of the land-tax, or government rent, are placed over them, to receive the amount of exaction which the government pleases to make, which is reckoned at one half of the whole gross produce of the land. But as this is levied by a money value, and is fixed before the crop is ripe, or the market value is determined by the circumstances of the season, it now frequently amounts to six-eighths of the whole, and if it turns out a year of scarcity, often to the whole and even to more than the whole value of the crop. The principle of government has always been to levy the very highest amount that they can, even, as expressly recommended by Sir Thomas Monro, if it does not leave the miserable ryot seed for another year, or food even for his family. The surveyor comes round every year, and puts a value upon every thing possible, even on young trees that are just planted, and which will not yield a farthing of profit for years to come. Nay, as Mr. Shore tells us, it being the direct interest of the collectors to establish their characters with the government as 'crack collectors,' and 'first-rate collectors,' their only way to do this is by extorting all they possibly can from the people, for in exact proportion with the sum they return to government does their character with it fall or rise, and their way to higher offices is opened or closed. Besides, as no court of justice will listen to complaints against collectors, that being the way to check collection, and as not only are the collectors policemen, but the magistrates also are collectors, redress is as much out of the reach of those who are fleeced as if they had to go up to the moon for it. Thus not only are the tax-gatherers encouraged to raise all the revenue they possibly can by whatever means, but are tempted to every species of individual bribery and extortion for their own benefit.

It may easily be imagined what has been the effect of such a system. It has been to reduce the whole population of this vast empire to a state of pauperism. It has annihilated every thing like the substantial farmer, or the accumulation of capital. John F. Thomas, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service, in 'Notes on 'Ryotwar, or permanent annual money rents in South India; and 'on the Duty of Government in periods of Famine,' published in 'The Madras Journal of Literature and Science,' of January to March, 1839, a paper which every one who would wish to inform himself of the naturally destructive nature of this system should read, gives us a table by which it is shown that in three villages alone in Coimbatore, there was a regular sinking between 1816 and 1831, of the farms into small pauper tenancies, the more substantial ryots sinking during that period in those three villages alone from 78 to 28. The celebrated Bramin, Rammohun Roy, in his 'Exposition of the operation of the 'Judicial and Revenue Systems of India,' says, 'under both 'systems, the condition of the cultivator is very miserable; in 'the one, they are placed at the mercy of the *Zemindars'* avarice 'and ambition; in the other, they are subjected to the extortions 'and intrigues of the surveyors and other government revenue 'officers. I deeply compassionate both.'—p. 69. This system has tended to prevent all improvement, even to the keeping up of planting of trees necessary for fruit, or for protecting the soil from the burning sun of India. It has left the whole population of the country at the mercy of a single bad season; the drought has come—the ryot has had no stock of corn or rice—a famine has swept through the country, carrying off its thousands and tens of thousands at once.

Such is the present state of India;—is that a well-governed country? The Edinburgh Review tells us that the land is the best and almost sole source of revenue in India. We grant that it is so now, for the government, by thus destroying the vitals of the country, and trampling on the nascent germs of accumulation of capital in it, has taken away almost every other legitimate source of revenue. He tells us too, that this state of things is unavoidable; that wherever the country is divided into a number of small tenancies, there is a disposition to an excess of population, and to a competition for labor which occasions one vast extent of poverty. He bids us look at Ireland for another proof. A more unhappy allusion could not possibly be made. Ireland and British India are exactly parallel instances of countries in which the land is in the hands of great absentee proprietors, and which is divided into such minute occupancies, that no individual can accumulate capital, and where, in consequence, all become wretched in the extreme. So strikingly alike are the circumstances of the two countries, that Howitt, in his 'Coloni-

'zation and Christianity,' has styled British India 'THE IRELAND 'OF THE EAST.' The Reviewer proceeds to tell us that this cannot be avoided, and that it is useless in government to leave any thing more than a bare subsistence in the hands of the cultivators, because if they do, it will only be taken from them by others, and will be equally lost to the poor ryot. This is certainly the most curious system of political economy that this economical age in its heartlessness has spawned. We ask the reviewer who has thrown the country into these wretched allotments; and whether that government which has altered every single tenure in all India, and dispossessed every man at their pleasure, has not the power to throw the land into larger divisions, and to frame such regulations as shall allow the cultivators gradually to accumulate capital, and thus increase the wealth of the state? If he knows any thing of India, he knows that even under the defective permanent settlement of Bengal, the value of property and the amount of revenue has greatly increased; while under this wretched Ryotwar system, both have greatly decreased; nay, that they are at this time steadily decreasing, so much so that while in 1826, the land-tax amounted to sixteen millions, in 1836 it had fallen to about eleven millions, a loss of five millions in ten years, a steady decline of half a million annually which still goes on.*

The Reviewer's system, in fact, amounts simply to this; that the way to govern a country well, is to divide it into such insignificant portions that it is impossible that you can have cultivators of capital and intelligence; and that the more you fleece a man the better he is for it. That you must not only pick a man's pocket, but pick it of all that is in it, and do it continually, in order to protect him from the rapacity of others, or his own want of sense. We should like to see the Reviewer propound this sage system of his to the jolly farmers of this country, who like to have a well-stocked farm, a good table, a good horse, a good surplus to leave amongst their children, and a purse always prepared to pay those liberal taxes to government which can never be wrung from the lowest swarms of poverty.

But the Reviewer also complains of the famines of India being charged to the government; protests that they are the result of natural causes; and asks very pathetically whether the government can demand rain from heaven? That the famines

* 'This country is becoming too expensive to govern, and, at the rapid rate at which the inhabitants are being destroyed, and the resources annihilated, the British power and government, must, ere long, withdraw from the force of circumstances, that is, from the actual *bona fide* want of the means to support their power. It is an indisputed fact, however much the people may be deceived by figured statements, that the revenues are yearly decreasing.' —*Extract of a Letter from an Eminent Native in India, dated Oct.* 12, 1839.

of India are the results of natural causes we fully admit, for there can be no greater natural causes of sterility, dearth, and consequent destruction of human life than bad government, bad institutions, and rapacious exactions, leaving behind them abject poverty, and impossibility of provision. Periodical droughts, there are unquestionably, but periodical droughts, under a wise and paternal government, need produce no famine, especially in a country like India, which produces two or three crops a year, and under good management so abundantly, as to be capable of producing in one year food for the whole population for three. It is notorious, that in every Indian famine upon record, there has been no actual want of grain in the country. If there has been a total failure in one district, there has been plenty of grain in others; nay, in some of the great famines there has been going on exportation of vast quantities of corn and rice at the very time that the people were perishing. During the great famine of Agra, in 1838, one of the most horrible famines in history, and the dreadful details of which Englishmen should read if they would know what curses this Christian nation can inflict on its dependent and conquered people; during this famine of yesterday, in which half a million of natives perished before the eyes of their English masters in every shape of horror and self-devouring phrenzy, no less a quantity than 165,646,104lbs. of rice and other edible grain, were exported, as is shown by the reports of the India House itself!

We could, had we space, show some fearful facts connected with these famines; such as the doctrine of the British Indian government, that in a drought the only plan is to make grain so dear, that the people can only purchase a little at a time, and therefore will not entirely exhaust it; on which ground they have proceeded themselves to aggravate dreadfully the scarcity by buying up the grain, and laying it up in warehouses. The Reviewer contends, that in the awful famine of Agra, in 1838, government did all that a government could do, to assist the perishing people, by giving out grain to a large amount. We admit that government did this—but it did it when it was too late. It did it when numbers were too much exhausted to crawl to the depôts. It did it, too, only at the last hour, and when the cry of public agony and public indignation was too desperate to be longer neglected. The simple fact, that government had grain, and suffered half a million of people to perish, is too damnatory to admit of exculpation. We ask the Reviewer, whether the government, well aware of these occasional droughts, has ever done any thing to provide against their arrival? Has it, out of the teeming crops of India, left enough in the hands of the growers to enable them, and little will do it, to live through such a season? Has it left them substance enough to purchase food? Or has it laid up, like Joseph in Egypt, corn in store to

deal out at the moment of need, and before the poor wretches, who toil for it, already weakened by excessive labor and miserable fare, sink in exhaustion? We tell him, nay! but, on the contrary, it has, by its rapacity, cruel as death, and insatiable as the grave, aggravated, and to a certain degree, created the very causes of those famines. In the first place, it has devoured the substance, and sapped the strength of the population. In the next place, it has by its taxing every young fruit tree that the cultivators might put into the ground, contributed greatly to denude the country, and expose its soil to its vertical sun. If we had answered the Reviewer's appeal, 'whether the govern-'ment could demand rain from heaven?' by a plain yes! however much it might astonish him, it would be a more philosophical answer than he seems to be aware of. Most people now know that one of the most remarkable properties of trees, and especially masses of trees, is to attract moisture from the atmosphere, and occasion rain—a fact long ago pointed out by Evelyn in his Sylva. The Pasha of Egypt, has, by merely planting produced rain, with thunder and lightning, in that country, where they were never before known through all history. We may even say then, that the ruthless exactions of the Indian government have tended to produce the droughts as well as the famines. It has done this in more ways than one. The tanks which the ancient lords of the country had made to irrigate it, our government has suffered to fall into decay—a great and positive cause of drought and famine. Further, it has suffered the roads to go to decay, and has not caused others to be made, so that actually when the inhabitants of one district have been perishing of famine, the next district has had plenty of grain without a possibility of sending it to the rescue of the dying. The Reviewer then instead of throwing the onus upon Heaven, should have shown that the government had used those human means which any wise and good government has in its power to provide against a known evil; especially a government like that of India, which is every year extorting from these wretched people a revenue of TWENTY MILLIONS STERLING!

But we must give further warrant for our opinion of the Indian government. Mr. Shore says,—

'In the reports of Government sent home, the flourishing state of the country under the excellence of the British administration, has hitherto always formed a prominent topic; and any proceeding which should in any way tend to lower the credit of those favorable accounts, is not likely to raise the person who brings it forward in the estimation of the Government.'—Vol. i. p. 134.

Nay, he adds elsewhere, that such honest speaking would speedily cause his deportation from India. Of the natives, he says—

'Placed by the chances of war, or negociations in which they had no share, under our authority, they have been ruled by a system whose primary principle was self-interest and self-exaltation. They have witnessed, year by year, the gradual decay of their power, their dignity, and their wealth; the ruin of their princes and governors, and the daily increasing poverty of the whole people, caused by the rapacity and mismanagement of their governors. They have suffered by being excluded from every office which it was possible to bestow upon Englishmen; they have seen the abolition of almost every hereditary institution by which the affairs of the country were formerly administered; and have been mocked by a harrassing and vexatious system of *miscalled* justice, infinitely more expensive, and less efficient than their own, under which oppression and injustice have pervaded their land. This, in a few words, is the summary of their obligations to the British Government.'—Ib., pp. 146, 147.

Volumes have been written on the Ryotwar system. We can here only state its general features.

'A ryotwar settlement,' says Mr. Shore, 'is what? Divested of its mystification it is simply this;—to get rid of the principal farmers for the different estates, who, of course, reap some little profit for their trouble and risk in the management of them, and by making the settlement directly with the subordinate owners and cultivators, to realize for government the share which the principal farmer formerly received. Disguised as it may be under fair-sounding names, this is the principle of a ryotwar settlement. . . . . The land is, for the most part, subdivided into portions of three or four fields, each of which is cultivated by men who possess their own plough and cattle, and who manage their own portion according to their own pleasure, as long as they pay their quota of rent. Almost without exception, the poverty of these men is so great, that, without periodical advances of cash and grain for every crop, their operations would be stopped, and should one of their bullocks die, they must borrow money to buy another. As to any improvements, such as sinking wells, cutting canals, &c., all prospect of such is annihilated, no individual cultivator can afford it.'—pp. 184—186.

'We impose taxation to such a pitch on the main source of wealth, the land, that in an ordinary season the proprietors and farmers have only just sufficient left them to subsist on; and when a scarcity does occur, not until the household goods have been sold for arrears, and the people begin to think of emigrating to the native states, so that the impossibility of realizing the balance is forced upon them, will government ever consent to any remission. *This it is which makes a scarcity felt far more in our* provinces than in any native state. At this moment, thousands of all classes, ages, and sexes, are wandering about in a state of nakedness and destitution almost inconceivable. They are even giving their children away to any one who will promise to feed them and keep them as servants.'—p. 438.

'To count the fruit-trees and cattle of the villagers, in the hope of discovering some additional fund of taxation! Heaven help the miserable cultivators! There is little chance of their being looked upon with an eye of pity by the British Indian Government.'—p. 436.

So little, that Rammohun Roy tells us, that after selling up the stock and furniture of the wretched creatures, they arrest and throw into prison their persons, to which incarceration there is no limit fixed by law. See his 'Exposition,' p. 76.

Such, Englishmen, is the condition of the bulk of the millions of Hindustan, under your enlightened East India Company! Such is the beautiful system which they have invented and established for the purpose of wringing revenue from abject and skeleton hands, which would have flowed in a hundred-fold stream from a liberal and just administration. Such is the condition of your Indian fellow-subjects at this instant. Always on the verge of starvation: always in ignorance and misery: always slaves in the truest sense of the word; and every season in danger of falling into a direful famine—now the only blessing left them—for it sweeps them, by half a million at a time, out of our grinding clutches, and sends them to the mercies of our common God and Father! Such is the state of things which we are called upon to admire and perpetuate by the Edinburgh Review; and such is that country which a clerk of the Court of Directors, declares to be 'the best governed of all our dependencies!'

This, however, is but one feature out of a thousand which the oppression of British India assumes. The whole system is put together as if it were designed to exhibit to mankind how far human ingenuity could go in framing a scheme of government, by which the gracious laws of Providence, the bounties of nature, and the industry of man, can be most completely thwarted, stultified, and converted into an absurdity and a curse! The one great source of Indian revenue is this land-tax, which a hundred millions of most wretched beings are perpetually employed in scraping up under the harrassing exactions of a host of tax-gatherers, and which yet, so far have we consumed the very vitals of this once rich country, after all, amounts to only five shillings per head, while the population of our other dependencies pay to government from 30s. to 77s. per head!

The next, and almost only other source of revenue, is from monopoly. Not content with having thus outraged nature, and every principle of progression and improvement by the establishment of this barbarous system of agriculture, the government has based its other sources of profit on the most monstrous of the monstrosities of monopoly, chiefly of opium and salt. Nothing can be contrived more absurdly ingenious for the insult and gross injury of a whole people than the monopoly of salt. The people are a vegetable-eating people, and cannot live without salt, and the government make this use of this knowledge. Here lies the rich district of Bengal, producing corn and rice in abundance, and but little salt; there lies in juxtaposition the comparatively sterile district of Madras, growing little corn, but abounding in

salt. Nature seems to have pointed out to the dullest eye, the grand principle of beneficent exchange, but the government, like Mephistophiles, steps in with uplifted finger, and cries, 'Mark! 'no corn shall pass from Bengal, nor salt from Madras, except 'under the 500 per cent. taxation of our monopoly.' Nature throws up beautiful salt from the sea on the shores of India, but government forbids any inhabitant, even on his own land, gathering it under a penalty of £50, and three months' imprisonment. It is all seized by government, and doled out at such prices as to create a revenue of £2,500,000 per annum.

The iniquities of the Opium trade we have already introduced to our readers. The seat and origin of the trade are here on the plains of India. The growth and sale of that pestilential drug, are another of the monstrous monopolies of the Indian government. As if possessed by some principle of gigantic evil, that government, eschewing all sources of healthful commerce, seizes with a morbid avidity on what is most pregnant with plagues and calamities. Knowing, with a calm consciousness, all the horrors which opium inflicts on the Chinese, the government not only curses them with it, but makes its growth a curse also to the people of India. The poppy is planted amid curses, its produce is purchased with extortion, carried forth with violence, and sold to work the physical and moral ruin of millions. On the finest corn lands of Benares, Behar, and part of Bengal, the inhabitants are compelled to grow opium, and opium alone; and it speedily exhausts the soil. The opium being manufactured, the Company takes it all, giving the growers such a price as it pleases; and what proportion that is of its real value may be seen from this fact, attested by the returns of the India House. When the Company in 1822, was obtaining 60s. per lb. for its opium, at its sales at Calcutta, it was giving its wretched cultivators 2s. per lb.! Its estimated profit on opium has for the last ten years been one million a year; and the value of its opium exported to China, in 1839, was £2,700,926. Such is the trading conscience of the East India Company; but there is a fact connected with their opium growing at this moment peculiarly alarming. We are assured by a paper read by C. A. Bruce, Esq., in September last, before the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, that the growth of opium in Assam, is attended with such circumstances, that unless the British government prohibit it, we shall never receive much tea thence, so fast is it usurping the best corn lands, and its use destroying the health and morals of the people.

From what we have already quoted, it may be seen how beautifully governed are our Indian territories. But we go further, and declare that, according to our English ideas of property, there is no such thing as private property under the government

of the East India Company. For proof of this, we refer to Shore's chapter on the Purveyance and Forced Labor System, vol. i. p. 307. The writer in the Edinburgh Review, accuses Mr. Thompson, the travelling secretary of the British India Society, of having quoted the only passage in Bishop Heber's Journal, unfavorable to the Government of the East India Company. We could point out to the writer, had we space, some dozens of passages in the journal of that upright man, quite as unfavorable as that. We may do it another time; but for the present we will only refer to vol. i. pp. 155, 185, 341, 356, 432; vol. iii. p. 336 of his journal, and give these two passages. 'Fishing boats were very unwilling to come near us; on being 'hailed, paddled off with all speed.'—Third edition, vol. i. p. 154. At page 209 he tells us, that wanting twenty men to drag his boats, he sent to a village; but, as soon as his messengers were seen approaching, all the villagers fled away, supposing it was a requisition for government service, and for which, as usual, they would never get paid; as soon, however, as they understood who it was, they came with alacrity, and these twenty men dragged his boats all day and till nine at night, when they were dismissed, highly satisfied with two rupees, or four shillings amongst them!

When the notorious Warren Hastings was travelling from Calcutta to Lahore, he was astonished to see the people similarly flying at his approach, shutting up their shops, and escaping to the woods. No doubt that has been the case in India from that time to the present; and why is this in a well governed country? Mr. Shore lets us into the whole mystery in his chapter on Forced Labor and Purveyance. 'In procuring supplies for 'camps, carriage for troops, or for the civil functionaries; provi- 'sions for the gaols; tools for the convicts; trains of workmen, 'either for government or for private individuals; purchase of 'cattle and sheep for the food of the European soldiers, in short, 'in almost every possible way, they carry this baneful system 'into full operation, to the disgrace of the government and its 'officers, and the intolerable oppression of the people.' That is, out rush the myrmidons of the government or of private individuals, and seize cattle, pack-horses, camels, sheep, carts, whatever they need, wherever found. They have butchers with whom they make contracts, and these men send out a troop of fellows distinguished by government badges, to seize sheep or cattle on any man's ground; they paying the plunderers a certain portion of the government price, and keeping a good per centage themselves. They seize all flocks of sheep which they can find; particularly breeding ewes, which they threaten to carry off in order to extort money for their release. They perpetrate every species of oppression, or in plain language, plunder the country like an invading army. They go upon lands which have been sown and

cultivated for ages on pretence of finding *unclaimed trees* to make handles for the tools of government workmen—it serves them for a means of extracting a bribe to save the trees. They seize, on highways and at fairs, on horses and men to carry goods, often throwing out loads of the goods of merchants on the roads, and taking away their vehicles. The public treasures, materials for building police station-houses, every thing, in fact, which government or great men want conveying, are thus supplied with men and carriages. 'As soon, therefore,' says Shore, 'as the people 'perceive the *cortège* approaching, accompanied by a police-officer, 'they run and hide themselves. You may see sometimes half a 'village scampering over the fields, pursued by one or more po-'lice officers in full hue and cry.' Is not this a beautifully governed country? 'Oh!' says the Honorable Mr. Shore, 'that we had 'a Cruickshank to illustrate this and other scenes consequent 'on the Purveyance system of the British Indian government!'

But our indignant readers will say, is there no law—no redress for such abominable outrages? No! if there were redress there could no longer be the outrages. There can be said to be no law at all for the multitude. There are courts of justice, so called, but on that curious system of the reductio ad absurdum which is the practice throughout our Indian states. They are constructed on this plan. There is one magistrate to a district as large as Yorkshire; so that do the best he may, it is impossible that he can hear one-tenth of the causes that demand his attention. The distance, the attendant expenses, the hopelessness of getting a hearing, are more than enough to deter thousands from seeking justice; but those who are hardy enough to prefer their complaints, find, when they arrive at the court, that the causes are conducted in this very curious manner. They are not conducted in English, which is the language understood by the judge; nor in Hindustanee, that of the people whose interests are at stake, but in Persian, which neither judge nor plaintiff knows a word of! Then, again, the policeman and the tax-gatherer are the same person! and whoever has to complain of what a multitude every day is suffering—of extortion, oppression, and insult, finds his enemy and oppressor the accuser and witness against him! But what is more, and which accounts for what Mr. Shore says of injured people paying bribes to avoid coming into these courts even as prosecutors or witnesses—the witnesses themselves are seized and imprisoned at the mercy of the court. In the Madras Herald of September 14, 1839, we find actual details of this practice, which the editor observes 'is a practice so repug-'nant to the feelings of Englishmen, that were it told in any part 'of civilized Europe, would, no doubt, be scouted as a traveller's 'tale.' What is still more, and what we are sure that our countrymen in this happy land can have no idea of as existing now

anywhere under British rule—THE TORTURE IS APPLIED, to compel confession or payment of taxes! We know the serious nature of the charge we are now advancing, but we are prepared to prove it. We have, indeed, now before us petitions from most respectable native Christians, the Parawa Traders of Tutocoreen in Tinnivelly, in the Madras Presidency, which have been presented to Lord Elphinstone, but without any attention to them; in which they broadly state that they are compelled to pay a poll-tax first laid on their ancestors by the Mohammedan rulers, for their becoming Christians, and still most singularly continued by their Christian rulers—a tax for being Christians! and they as broadly state, that *on refusal to pay this tax*, THEY ARE TORTURED WITH THUMB SCREWS; AND WITH STANDING IN THE BURNING SUN WITH A HEAVY STONE ON THE SHOULDERS! Nay, we know individuals now in London, who have witnessed the infliction of the the torture, and one gentleman in particular, who, for the simple fact of having represented to the government of the Presidency what he had seen, was ordered out of the country, leaving his property to the mercy of his enemies, and is now seeking redress here in vain. If any one would know still more of the combined imbecility and personal oppression of our Indian government, we will refer him to the work of F. C. Brown, Esq., of Tellicherry, on the Disturbances in Canara in 1837, the title of which will be found at the head of this article, and from which we proposed, had our space allowed, to have given some curious passages.

Here we must pause. We have, we are sure, produced sufficient evidence to show what a pandemonium of injustice, relentless avarice, and destructive impolicy is our great eastern territory. The subject before us is yet too vast and appalling to allow us to plunge further into it at present. The decay of the great public works, palaces, tanks, roads, &c.; the haughtiness and insolence of the English officials towards natives of all, even princely rank; their ignorance of the actual condition of the country, keeping themselves entirely aloof from the people; the peculiar condition of the half-castes, who call themselves now East Indians, and who must become the bond of our union with the country, or the levers of our ejection from it; the Resumption of the Tax-free lands in Bengal now causing so much heart-burning there, and for an account of which we refer our readers to Mr. Crawford's 'Appeal' on the subject; the immense injury to this country annually by the loss of revenue and of employment to our starving artizans by the present system; these, and many other great topics press for notice, but must stand over to another opportunity. On the subject of roads the Edinburgh Review talks of certain great lines of new roads made by government, but Rickards, Heber, Dr. Spry, Major-General Briggs, the able author of the History of the Land-Tax in India, and other most unquestionable authorities,

assure us that British India is, in fact, a country without roads, without bridges, without canals, without those great works which mark a well governed state. At a public meeting at Glasgow some months ago, Major-General Briggs, indeed, made this statement.

'Then, of these military roads, there is hardly one of them over which I have not travelled: and I say, without fear of contradiction, that there is scarcely ten miles of any part of them on which, during the rains, a carriage could be driven, or a loaded cart proceed without danger. Roads are marked out, it is true, they are levelled for the time being, and, till the wet season sets in, they are tolerably good; but one or two years serves to break them up entirely; roads without metal, without drains, without bridges,—and, to be rendered available even for the march of an army with its stores, a detachment of pioneers is required to precede the troops. There is another description of roads, however, to which much attention and money is devoted. I mean the roads within and around the Presidencies, and the principal civil and military stations. Each road not extending beyond three or four miles in length, and used purely for European gentlemen and ladies to drive their carriages.'*

We also have now before us 'A Minute of the Governor-General of India,' of August last, containing this passage—'As to the formation of roads, I fear, that, however valuable a really permanent and good road unquestionably is, for all purposes of national improvement, the hope of maintaining such roads, on an extensive scale, in the vast and poor territory and unfavorable climate of India, is not, for yet many years, to be entertained on a sober estimate of our difficulties and means.' And this is said of India, after half a century of our good government, a country out of which we have drained *a thousand millions of money*, and are yet draining twenty millions a year! This is that country whose finances the Edinburgh Review protests are so good that it will not need a loan for the payment of the vast expenses of the Afghan war; and yet it cannot afford to make a road for the transit of its goods, or for the passage of grain in a season of famine!

Here, then, we close, for the present, our portraiture of what the clerk of the Board of Directors terms 'the incomparably best governed of all our dependent possessions.' If the scene which it presents does not rouse our countrymen to rescue it from the vampyre system under which it is sinking, we shall have no longer any faith in the philosophy, humanity, or commercial policy which have so long distinguished us as a nation. The interests of the people of India do not require a reform of Indian government more

* The native gentry and even princes, who have made these roads at their own cost, are prohibited by soldiers stationed there on purpose, from driving on them at the hours that the English frequent them.

peremptorily than the interests of our starving manufacturers demand it. If India be such a beautiful scene of good government, why does not the East India Company invite all who doubt the fact to go out and see for themselves? If that be the case, that would settle the matter at once. All people who know that they have a flourishing scene to display, are glad that it should be seen. As it is, we call on our countrymen to inquire—inquire—inquire: and as the Edinburgh Review has not only appealed to the evidence of Mr. Shore, but to Lord William Bentinck, we will also appeal to his lordship's evidence, and with that close our remarks. In his evidence on the Steam question, delivered after he had been for years Governor-General of India, after comparing our rule with that of the Mohammedans who went before us, and showing that theirs was far superior to ours, he added—'India in 'order to become an attached dependency of Great Britain, must 'be governed for her own sake, and not for the sake of the 800 'or 1000 individuals who are sent from England to make their 'fortunes. *They are totally incompetent to the charge*, and in their 'hands, administration in all its civil branches, revenue, judicial, 'and police, has been a failure. Our government, to become 'secure, must be made popular, and to become so, it must con-'sult the welfare of the many and not of the few. The govern-'ment must remain arbitrary, but it may also be, and should be, 'paternal.' But how can this be effected? ENGLAND HAS NO KNOWLEDGE OF AND NO CARE FOR INDIA. India, again, has no representatives in England; has hitherto, had no access to her shores; her fate is entirely in the hands of the two authorities with whom her management is vested. The Court of Directors seek their office for the sake of the patronage only; *for the most part, they are strangers to India*; have their own separate affairs* to manage; are divested of responsibility; but from their permanency, and the knowledge which they derive from their numerous clients, they possess a power and influence over all affairs, which a temporary President of the Board of Control, unaided by any Board possessing local information, cannot possibly control.

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* The patronage of the Directors is divided into twenty-eight shares, each ordinary Director having one, the Chair and Deputy-Chair, having each two, and two being reserved for the President of the Board of Control. Each share is worth about £13,000, and a double share £20,000 a year. By this patronage they divide £2,000,000 sterling of the revenues of India amongst less than 1000 persons, from lads of fifteen or eighteen years of age and upwards, in salaries of about £2000 each, besides a claim of retiring superannuations. Well may Mr. Thornton, the clerk to the Directors, with their double share of £20,000 and £13,000, and the power of putting their connexions into good salaries of £2000 and upwards, declare that India is a beautifully governed country.

Art. VI. Publications of the Camden Society.

The Political Songs of England, from the Reign of John to that of Edward II. Edited and Translated by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. London: John Bowyer Nichols.

THE Camden Society, a name of good omen, was formed about three years ago. It has since that time been in modest and silent but effective operation. Its objects are the publication of selections from those literary treasures which lie wrapt up in vast collections of manuscripts found in our public libraries; the reprinting of works of sufficient rarity and value to render such reprint desirable; and the translation of historical works not yet rendered into English.

As to inedited MSS., however precious they may be as 'curiosities of literature,' however deeply interesting to the antiquary, to the historian, to the philologist, in a word, to all who study the history of our language and manners, no private bookselling enterprize could be expected to publish them, since no sale could be calculated upon sufficiently large to indemnify it. The subscription which entitles to membership in this Society, and of course to a copy of its publications, is the moderate one of a guinea per annum, and the number of members is limited we believe to twelve hundred.

The society has already issued seven publications, and it is expected that its productions will in future appear with still greater frequency. They are put forth in an exceedingly elegant form, edited with great care and accuracy, and in all respects reflect much credit on the spirit and taste of those who have been employed to prepare them for the press.

Few of these publications would be very proper for review in a periodical like ours, or, indeed, in any other periodical except the 'Retrospective,' the discontinuance of which we have never ceased to deplore. But we are by no means inclined to underrate their importance or the interest. They are not only curious as remains of our own literature, but they reflect light on our general as well as our literary history, and on the manners and customs of former times; while, being printed *verbatim* from the ancient manuscripts, they afford to the student of our philology and grammar, a vast collection of valuable materials, and impart much knowledge respecting the state of the language in the earlier epochs of its history.

This series of publications, of which we can give little more than the titles, are 'An Alliterative Poem on the Deposition of King Richard II., by Richard de Maidstone, edited by

'Thomas Wright, Esq., of Trinity College, Cambridge.' This is from a very ancient MSS., since the author died at Aylesford in 1396. Secondly, 'A Historie of the Arrival of Edward IV. 'in England, and the Finall Recouerye of his Kingdomes from 'Henry VI. A.D. MCCCCLXXI. Edited by John Bruce, 'Esq., F.S.A.' Third, 'Kynge Johan. A Play, in two parts, 'by John Bale,' one of our old dramatists, who died 1563. This work is edited by J. Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A., from the MS. of the author in the library of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire. Fourthly, a larger volume, entitled 'Plumpton Cor-'respondence,' being a series of letters, chiefly domestic, written in the reigns of Edward IV., Richard III., Henry VII., and Henry VIII. Edited by Thomas Stapleton, Esq., F.S.A., from Sir Edward Plumpton's Book of Letters; with notices historical and biographical of the family of Plumpton, of Plumpton, in the county of York. These letters, with the exception of those of the Paston family, published some years ago in two volumes quarto, are the earliest specimens in the English language of familiar epistolary correspondence, and, as such, form a curious comment on the manners and customs of our ancestors, and, indeed, on their domestic life generally. Fifthly, 'Anecdotes and 'Traditions, illustrative of Early English History and Literature,' derived from MS. sources, and edited by William J. Thoms, Esq., F.S.A. Sixthly, 'A Chronicle of the First Thirteen 'Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth, by John 'Warkworth, D.D.,' and edited by James Orchard Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., and lastly the volume which stands at the head of this article.

Each of these publications is preceded by a valuable historical introduction, affording ample materials for remark, if our space permitted. We shall restrict ourselves, however, in the present article, to the fifth of these volumes, which alone, from the nature of the matters it contains, and its comparative freedom from obsolete language and an antiquated orthography, we hope to make interesting to the generality of our readers. It is a curious mélange, partaking somewhat of the nature of Selden's 'Table-'Talk,' Bacon's 'Apophthegms,' or Camden's 'Remains.' Of the motives in which the publication originated, the following account is given in the preface.

'In submitting to the Members of the Camden Society the following anecdotes and traditions, the editor feels called upon, before proceeding, to describe the sources from which they are derived, to explain the motives which induced him to suggest to the council the propriety of the present publication; a suggestion acceded to with kindness which calls forth his best thanks.

'In the first place, then, it appeared to the editor very desirable

that the Society should follow the example set them by Chaucer, whose intermixture of lighter matters, amidst the graver portions of his 'Canterbury tales,' has been the subject of frequent and well deserved encomium; so that those members of the society who think Minerva looks most bewitching when her face is dimpled with a smile, may be allowed an occasional glimpse of their divinity in that mood which they deem the happiest.

'In the next place, the delight with which the few works of a similar character, existing in English literature, such as Selden's Table Talk, Bacon's Apophthegms, Spence's Anecdotes, and though last not least in our dear love, Camden's Remains, have been perused by innumerable readers, convinced him that a volume of 'Camdeniana,' even though it should be of far inferior merit to its admirable prototypes, would not be without its admirers. He was of course aware that the scattered anecdotes to be found in its pages would by many, be looked upon as trifling contributions to our stores of knowledge, scarcely as bricks from which great buildings might be made, scarcely perhaps as the straws necessary to make the bricks. Yet on the other hand he felt persuaded, that these materials trifling as they seemed, were worthy of preservation, and capable of being turned to good account.'

The work is divided into three parts, the first of which is entirely derived from the Harleian MS. No. 6395, entitled 'Merry Passages and Jests,' compiled by Sir Nicholas Lestrange, elder brother of that singular genius, Sir Roger Lestrange. This MS. our author tells us contains a collection of nearly six hundred articles, of which the reader is here presented with a hundred and forty-one; the greater part of the rest being either not worth publication or not fit to be published. To this portion of the work there are prefixed some extensive notices of Sir Nicholas Lestrange and his family, by John Gough Nichols, Esq.

The second part of the book is derived from the Lansdowne MS. No. 231, written by John Aubrey, and containing some of the materials collected for a projected work, which was to have been entitled 'Remains of Gentilism and Judaism.'

The third part has been extracted from No. 3890 of the 'Additional MSS.' in the British Museum, from the common-place book of a Mr. John Collett.

The second part is undoubtedly not without interest, as recording many of the singular superstitions of our own country; but the first part is the one likely to prove most attractive. It is in fact a sort of elder Joe Miller, with frequently an additional advantage derived from the quaintness and raciness of the olden time. From this we shall proceed to present the reader with a few extracts.

'A LONG SERMON.

'There was one preacht in summer and stood two houres; and one

say'd at dinner that 'twas a very good sermon, but halfe on't would have done well cold.'

*** This sermon must have been preached by the rector of Bibury, of whom Fosbroke, in his British Monachism, speaking on the subject of hour glasses as furniture for pulpits, tells us, he used always to preach two hours, regularly turning the glass. After the text, the 'squire of the parish withdrew, smoked his pipe, and returned to the blessing.

'WITHIN AN ACE ON'T,

'A falconer of Sir Robert Mordant's not knowing his dogges name, called one of them Cinque whose name was Sice, and my cozen Harry Mordant telling him his error, 'Faith, Sir,' says he, 'twas well I came so neare: I am sure I was within an ace on't.'

'DOD THE DECALOGIST.

'One Dod, who was nephew to the minister who wrote upon the commandments, went up and down Paule's Church-yard amongst the stationers, enquiring for his unkle upon the commandments.'

*** The uncle of this simple gentleman, who was unquestionably the party recorded in Joe Miller as having inquired at the post office for a letter 'from his father in the country,' was the celebrated Hebrew scholar John Dod, of Jesus College, Cambridge. He was an eminent Puritan divine; and from his Exposition of the Ten Commandments here alluded to, and which he wrote in conjunction with Robert Cleaver, he was commonly called the Decalogist.

'ONE GOOD TURN DESERVES ANOTHER.

'Sir Martin Stuteville's father riding abroade one day, with him attending on him, he rode by the nurse's house that over-laide his eldest sonne, at which time the nurse stoode at the dorre: 'Looke you there, Martin,' sayde his father, 'there stands she that made you an elder brother.' 'Is that she, Sir,' says he, 'marry God's blessing on her heart for it!' and presently gallopps up to her and gives her a couple of shillings.'

'A GOOD EXPOSITION.

'The Archbishop of Canterbury had an house by Croydon, pleasantly sited, but that it was too much wood-bound, so he cutt downe all upon the front to the high-way. Not long after the Lord Chancellor Bacon riding by that way, ask't his man whose faire house that was. He told him 'my Lord of Canterburie's.' 'It is not possible,' says he, 'for his building is environed with woode.' 'Tis true, Sir,' says he, 'it was so, but he hath lately cut most of it downe.' 'By my troth,' answered Bacon, 'he has done very judiciously, for before methought it was a very obscure and darke place, but now he has expounded and cleared it up wonderfully well.'

'A BORN JUSTICE.

'There was one Mr. Guybon, a gentleman of very weak understand-

ing, but yet in commission, who having often publish't his folly upon the bench, at last sayes a sly plaine fellow to another, 'I pray, Sir, was not Mr. Guybon borne a Justice of Peace?' as, if his office had not descended upon him with his estate, by right of inheritance, sure no one would ever have made him one.'

'A SPECIAL ENTAIL.

'The Lord Chief Justice Richardson went with Mr. Mewtis, the Clarke of the Councell, to see his fine house at Gunnoss-bury, which was furnish't with many pretty knacks and rarities. My lord view'd all, and lik't it well, but, 'Mr. Mewtis,' says he, 'if you and I agree upon the price, I must have all your fooleries and bables into the bargaine.' 'Why, my lord,' says he, 'for those I will not stand with you. They may e'ene be entail'd, if you please, upon you and your heires.'

'HONESTY REWARDED.

'A gentleman overtakes in the evening a plaine country fellow, and ask't him how far it was to such a towne. 'Tenne miles, Sir,' says he. 'It is not possible,' sayes the gentleman. 'It is no lesse,' says the fellow. 'I tell you it was never counted above five.' ''Tis tenne indeed, Sir,' says the fellow,—and thus they were arguing *pro and con* a long time. At last says the countryman to him, 'I'le tell you what I'le do, Sir, because you seeme to be an honest gentleman, and your horse is almost tyr'd, I will not stand with you, you shall have it for five, but as I live whosoever comes next shall ride tenne.'

'HE COULD ON EITHER SIDE DISPUTE.

'Dr. Love told Dr. Collins, 'Nay, wee know well enough what you are (insinuating his Arminianism): for you disputed both wayes.' 'Nay,' sayes Collins, 'for that very reason you don't know what I am.'

'THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL.

'One Dr. Warren, a divine in degree and profession, yet seldome in the pulpitt or church, but a justice of peace and very pragmaticall in secular business; having a fellow before him good refractorie, and stubborne, 'Well, sirrha,' says he, 'goe your wayes. I'le teach you law, I'le warrant you.' 'Sir,' sayes he, 'I had rather your worshippe would teach us some gospell.'

'DRINKING DEEP.

'One ask't Sir John Millesent how he did so conforme himselfe to the grave justices his brothers, when they mett. 'Why, in faith,' sayes he, 'I have no way but to drinke myselfe downe to the capacitie of the bench.'

'VERY HUNGRY INDEED.

'Says one that was very empty and hungry, 'If I gett not some victuals, my stomach gnawes so, as I thinke it will eate me up.'

'CATHEDRAL MUSIC.

'One coming into a cathedrall whose quire consisted of very ill voices, and made a lamentable noise, said, 'Sure the prophecy of Amos was there fulfilled, cap. viii., v. 3: And the songs of the temple shall be howlings.'

'DOUBLE DAMAGES.

'A fellow was censured to the pillorie, and his head being in, he raised himself on his tippe-toes, and the foot-ledge brake, being old, rotten, and disus'd, and there the poore wretch hung by the necke in danger of his life; after his penance, he brings his action against the towne for the insufficience of the pillorie, and recovers against them.

'A GREAT DIFFERENCE.

'In Lynne their Maior is always chosen out of the twelve aldermen, and they out of eighteen others. One of the eighteen being at Rising (an ancient but decayed burrow-towne), and the then Maior a mechanicke man, a butcher or the like, sayes he: 'Mr. Maior, I hear you have a very odd forme and manner of election here of your Maior.' 'Why how is that?' sayes the Maior. 'Why, they say for certain that you and all your brethren goe into a barne, where every man hath his bottle of hay layde him for a cushion: then ther's a calf turned in at the barne dore, and look to what bottle the calfe goe first, hee's the man.' 'Why, then,' sayes he, 'I see the difference betwixt us and our brethren at Lynne; wee choose with one calf, and you with eighteene.'

'A REASONABLE MOTION.

'A motion being made in the House of Commons that such as were chosen to serve in the parliament troopes should be faithfull and skillfull riders, Mr. Waller's opinion was demanded, who approved the forme of it as excellente, 'for,' sayes he, 'it is most necessary the riders be faithfull least they runne away with their horses, and skilfull least their horses runne away with them!'

'THE RETORT UNCOURTEOUS.

'A gentleman that had mighty large and retorted Austrian lipps, comming from the barber's, ask't his familiar friend how he lik't his trimming, 'Y'faith very well,' sayes he, 'but that he has turned up thy lipps instead of thy beard.'

'A POOR NOBLEMAN.

'Sir Jostlin Percy, being told that the Councell had fined him 1000 markes, laught exceedingly at it. One ask't him the reason. He answered that 'The Privy Councell were so wise as they knew where to find 1000 markes; for hang me if I know where to find 1000 pence,' sayes he.

'ARCHEE, THE JESTER.

'King James was complaining one time of the leannesse of his

Hunting Horse, and swore by his sole he could see no reason but his should be as fat as any of his subjects; for he bestow'd upon him as good feeding, keeping, and as easy riding as any one did, and yet the jade was leane. Archee his foole, standing by, told him, 'If that be all, take no care: I'll teach your Majestie a way to raise his flesh presently; and if he be not as fat as ever he wallow, you shall ride me.' 'I pry'thee, foole, how?' sayde the king. 'Why, doe but make him a Bishoppe, and I'll warrant you,' sayes Archee.

'A DRAUGHT HORSE.

'A scholler riding his horse hott into the water to drinke, scarce up to the fetlock, one wisht him to goe in deeper (least he foundered his horse); 'Hang him, jade;' sayes he, 'let him drink up this first.'

'A GLASS TOO LITTLE.

'Capt. Robert Bacon, revelling at Sir W. Paston's, had his sack served him in a curious Venice glass, but very much under the size that he us'd to trade in. And after a long contemplation of his measure 'Sir William,' sayes he, 'if you value this glasse (as I beleeve you doe), tye a good long string to it, to draw him up againe, for I shall swallow him down at one time or another.'

As we have already spoken at some length of Robert Bacon, in the note to No. XII., our fittest illustration to the present story will, perhaps, be found in a somewhat similar anecdote.

'The manager of a Scotch theatre, at which Kean was playing Macbeth, seeing him greatly exhausted towards the close of the performance, offered him some whiskey in a small thistle-glass, saying at the same time, by way of encouragement, 'Take that Mr. Kean; take that, sir. It is the real mountain dew; that will never hurt you, sir!' 'No,' said Kean, with a significant glance at the *homœopathic* dose, 'No; that I'll be sworn it would'nt—*if it was* vitriol!'

'A PROFITABLE EXPERIMENT.

'A sturdie vagrant, on the high way, begged good-sawcily on Sir Drue Drurie. 'Ay, sirrha,' sayes he, 'such as you make all your kinne fare the worse; for this is your fashion, deny ye but once (though happily not in earnest), a man's back is no sooner turn'd but ye curse him to the pitt of hell.' 'Ah, sir,' sayes he, 'your worship is mistaken in me, I am none of those.' 'I 'faith,' sayes Sir Drue, 'I'le try thee for this once,' and away he rides.

'WHERE THE WISE MEN CAME FROM.

'Sands, a gentleman of a bold spirit and witt, being called to shrift by Lenthall (then Speaker to the House of Commons), and some ridiculous and impertinent interrogations put to him, was ask't at last what countriman he was. 'Of Kent,' sayes he, 'for I will neither blush at my name or native soyle; and now, sir, I pray let me demand the same from you?' 'I am out of the West,' sayes Lenthall. 'By

my troth,' sayes Sands, 'so I thought, for I am sure all the *wise men* came out of the East.'

'AN ILL PROPHECY.

'Old Fram. Gawdey, walking with a young gallant in London streets, that us'd to be most vainly prodigall in his habit and dresse, and finding that the splendour of his comrade drew such a goodly traine of beggars, whose broken consort quite confounded the harmonie of their private and their serious discourse; and perceiving that they would not desist or disperse, after many thundering oaths and execrations from the gallant, Fram turns about very soberly, and sayes, 'Good people, be quiet, and let the gentleman alone, for hee's a very sociable and sweet natured man; and I'll be bound he shall keepe you company within one twelvemonth.'

'A GOOD SERMON BAD IN ITS EFFECTS.

'A minister having preached a very long sermon, as his custom was, some hours after ask't a gentleman his approbation of it; he replyed that, 'Twas very good, but that it had spoyled a goose worth two of it.'

We think the Camden Society likely to prove eminently useful to literature; especially if they proceed in their selection of the MSS. to be published, with due deliberation. We beg leave to suggest to them the propriety of publishing some of the hitherto unedited Anglo-Saxon MSS., than which they could not confer a greater benefit on Anglo-Saxon scholars. Interspersed with their graver works, they might now and then publish a volume from the immense mass of familiar letters of distinguished men, hitherto concealed in the archives of the British Museum. Familiar letters are always amongst the most amusing portions of literature, and besides being amusing, seldom fail to contain interesting matter, both biographical and historical. We heartily wish the Society all success.

Art. VII. *Travels in South Eastern Asia, with notices of Missionary Stations, and a full account of the Burman Empire.* By the Rev. Howard Malcom, of Boston. 2 vols. London: Tilt, Fleet Street, 1839.

PERHAPS no country under the wide expanse of heaven, possesses so many powerful claims on the attention of the student of the world's great family as Hindustan. The extent of her territory, the luxurious prodigality of her soil, the magnificence of her ocean streams, the unparalleled altitude of her

mountain precipices, the riches and splendor of her mineral and fossil kingdoms, and her almost incalculable resources in carrying on commercial intercourse with other nations, render her a fit subject for philosophical contemplation. If we trace the long line of her population through the dim vista of ancient history, we shall behold it maintain one continuous march from the very birth-place of nations to this moment, connecting in one unbroken succession the wanderers of the plains of Shinar with the men of modern days. In looking at her moral state, we see a yet more wonderful—an awful spectacle—a scene of horrific grandeur! In the swollen and loathsome decrepitude of her gigantic superstitions, we discern the identical features of that spiritual domination which, in its more vigorous age, gave birth to the mythology of Egypt and of Greece, combining at the same instant in one shapeless mass of impurity, the gross licentiousness of an early, with the impotence of a declining age. Her chamber of imagery exhibits a huge frame-work composed of the broken and disjointed particles of original tradition, in which is grouped together all that is mystic in the Cabiric, Eleusinian, or Dionysiac systems; one lurid light, and one alone, illumining the chaotic darkness, the light which glares from surrounding putrescence. Her religious theory, possessing exactly that degree of energy which awakens the susceptibilities of her devotees, in order to plunge them into all the horrors of a cruel and debasing superstition: gratifying, and at the same time degrading the mighty and universal love of man for the supernatural, by the exhibition of deities distinguished from man alone by the greater impurity and more unrestrained gratification of their passions; completes the whole process of mental degradation by substituting a rigorous code of reiterated ablutions, bodily contortions, and self-inflicted torments, for the great realities of man's moral existence. Nothing can exceed the interest, the mournful interest of such a spectacle! India is the great temple of the world's idolatry, and prone before her obscene and colossal gods, lie her debased millions, soulless, and lifeless, as though the retributive justice of an offended deity had changed them into stone, in the very moment of their earliest superstition, and left them an existing but a breathless monument of the folly of idolatry,—a pillar of salt to survivors.

Nevertheless, to a student of the great family of mankind, Hindustan presents an unequalled range of observation. In no portion of the globe are there presented to the view so many different types of our species. The effeminate Bengalee, the courtly Cingalese, the crafty Siamese, the fierce Malay, the majestic Afghan, the athletic Bundella, the hardy Goorkha and Nepaulese, the sturdy Burman, and the semi-barbarous aborigines of the mountains of Rajamahl, all inhabit the two peninsulas

which pass under the common name of India, besides innumerable smaller tribes who shade down, with every possible variation, the greater distinctions to which we have particularly referred. Here dwell the worshippers of Mahomet, the worshippers of fire, the devotee of the great Lama, the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Sain, and the several seceders from each system, whom either caprice, or the anxious search, after a more rational and more consistent creed, has induced to leave the ranks of orthodoxy. To the philologist this land is a mine of learning. Already have the industrious sons of Germany wrought here with great success; and deduced, on principles which cannot be doubted, that the languages of Greece and Rome borrowed much of their structure from that *officina linguarum*, the Sanscrit, and there is but little doubt that future Scaligers will trace, through the meanderings of its many dependent streams, the origin of other dialects which at present appear to spring up without a parent.

To Britons, above all, the plains of India have associations of the most solemn and affecting nature. There are but few families in this land who do not look to it as the sepulchre of some of their dearest relatives. To its spirit-kindling shores the loftiest and most vigorous of our youth have departed in pursuit of wealth or honor, and in that pursuit have perished. The laurels of British India grow on the tombs of those we loved. Even now as our pen traces this memorial of the land where we passed some of our earliest and most buoyant years, we behold with an interest which the lapse of twenty years has scarcely softened, the lonely spot almost hidden amongst the bold mountains of Bundlekund, where lies the brave and rugged soldier of many battles, whose fostering care directed and controlled the energies of our early enthusiasm. He fell on that neighbouring hill, a bloody sacrifice to war! And if we dared trust ourselves to the mournful remembrance, we could tell of others, and they too dear to some we love, who in the first bloom of manhood left the widowed mother and the sorrowing sister, and sought on the same blood-stained field the same phantom of honor, and found an early tomb. We forbear the melancholy subject. We have bade a long, a last farewell to the land watered by the hundred arms of Ganga, and protected by the snow-capped peaks of gigantic Himalaya. But still she is dear to our hearts; there we left the brave, and those we loved.

And in a still higher sense is India interesting to our better feelings. Consigned to the care and to the moral influence of our country for many years by the over-ruling providence of God, how much do we owe her! How much for the sad omission of a right use of our mental superiority! How much more for the awful exhibition of a moral example differing only from the vice of home production by the superior energy of

our physical and mental constitution. India has long known the prowess of our troops in the struggle of war, and has acknowledged the extent of our scientific applications; she has yet to learn that any thing of a moral or religious power can be associated with our name. On every plain, on every mount of her great peninsula, wave the trophies of Britain's valor, but alas, the monuments of her benevolence are yet to be erected. Yet we believe a new era of India's history is about to be begun. The names of Martyn, Buchanan, and Carey, and those of our trans-Atlantic countrymen, Boardman and Judson, will be mentioned by future ages as those of the real benefactors of that country, and Britain will be remembered by the annalists of Hindustan, not only as the birth-place of her conquerors, but as the guardian angel, whose divine instructions first dispelled the thick darkness under whose influence her children had been so long enslaved and debased, and imparted the salutary direction of true religion to lead them back again to God.

The present volumes are the record of a missionary voyage undertaken by some of our brethren of the United States of America, for the purpose of visiting the stations under their direction in the south-eastern parts of Asia. As the result of this design, the author, Mr. Howard Malcom, a minister of Boston, in New England, records his voyage to Burma, and thence to Calcutta, with his visits to the different stations in the vicinity of those places, as well those under the auspices of other religious bodies, as those immediately connected with the society to which he belongs. It is a pleasing feature of the production, that no trace of a sectarian spirit is discernible in these accounts; in truth, so little of any thing denominational is apparent, that we are left to infer from some incidental allusions, that the writer is of the Baptist persuasion.

The missionary press has, within a few years past, presented to the reading public many volumes of a very interesting character, containing the observations of Ellis, Stewart, Williams, Medhurst, Gutzlaff, and others, on several portions of the world hitherto little known; but we venture to say, that never has it produced a work of more interest or utility than the present. We are not sure that any two volumes of an equal size in the whole circle of British literature, contain so much useful and correct information on the several countries of India, in the various relations of their natural productions, and their population, considered as to their political and religious diversities.

On the occasion of coming in contact with an English vessel voyaging to Australia, Mr. Malcom observes;—'They belonged 'to our father-land; they came from the noblest nation earth 'ever saw; they were but lately engaged against us in horrid war; 'they bore to a distant home a motley crew of refined and vulgar,

'educated and ignorant, now reduced by sin to common convicts 'and exiles. . . . . O that this native land may long re- 'main the pillar of freedom, the source of noble missionary en- 'deavour; that her stupendous navy may rot in peace; that the 'ship may have souls born to God among her crowd; and that 'the convict colony may soon be a part of Christ's precious church.' —pp. 8, 9. This is kind in a Bostonian, and intimates that the most English portion of the States has not forgotten the land whence the 'Plymouth pilgrims' sailed, the soil where the tree of liberty first grew and flourished alone, till a scion was transplanted to the shores beyond the Atlantic.

The first volume is mainly devoted to an account of the Burman Empire. The statistical information given by Mr. Malcom respecting the natural productions and the social and political institutions of this country, is, as far as our information extends, beyond what is conveyed in any single volume in our language. The account of Buddhism, the professed religion of the Burmese, is also judicious, and accurate, so far as the author has thought it necessary to explain that extraordinary specimen of heathen mythology: as, however, this system is abundantly explained by many modern writers, we shall forbear making any extracts from this excellent summary. In truth, valuable as is the information thus collected on the spot by our missionary brethren, and highly as on this account their labors will be appreciated by the student of natural history, and the philosophic observer of the political and religious state of different portions of the earth's great family, we confess that our author's account of the work and success of his fellow-laborers, in the great design of evangelizing this portion of the world is to us most interesting. Thus of the different sections of this valuable work, we should select that portion which gives an account of the triumph of the gospel amongst the degraded and almost barbarous tribe of Karens, as decidedly the most pleasing. It should be observed, that these people, formerly in the rudest state of nature, and living in a degree of cultivation removed but the slightest possible shade from the habits of savage life, had been for some years before Mr. Malcom's visit, under the superintendence of the brethren of one of the American missionary Societies; and by the means of the civilization which invariably results from the reception of the gospel, had been constrained to change their wandering locomotive habits, into those more congenial with the decencies of humanity. Amongst other objects of our author's missionary visit, he was instructed to enter into a minute inquiry into the state of these new converts; and the following is an account of his first interview with them.

'Two days' journey from Tevoy, a considerable number of Karens, converted in different places, have been brought together, and formed

into a Christian village; the heads of every family being members of the church. These Christians now amount to about two hundred, and conduct themselves with exemplary rectitude. By the aid of the missionaries they have obtained goats, bullocks, oil-mills, seeds, &c.; and with these, and still more by the increased industry they have been taught to practice, they have been enabled to cease their wanderings, and acquire many comforts to which their countrymen are strangers. Cleanliness, in which Karens are universally deficient, has been attained in no small degree. The men have been exhorted to raise plenty of cotton, and the women induced so to apply themselves to spinning and weaving, as to furnish every one of their families with a change of raiment. They now wash their garments often, which before they never did. . . . . But it is the spiritual change visible at Mata (literally, love, the Christian name of the village), which is most delightful. In this respect, they present a most attractive spectacle. Punctual in all public services, they fill a large zayat on the sabbath, and manifest a decorum and devotion far superior to any thing ordinarily seen in America. Being a musical people, and having a book of over a hundred hymns composed by Mr. Mason, they almost without succession unite in the singing, and to my ear their psalmody was correct and sweet. After a prayer or a benediction, they all utter an audible '*Amen*,' remain silent on their knees for the space of half a minute, and retire in perfect silence—a practice which would greatly improve our meetings. Mr. Wade has been in the habit of holding daily a prayer-meeting with them at sun-rise. Almost every morning, before day-light, many gather at the zayat, and commence singing hymns. As soon as Mrs. Wade is seen issuing from her door at sunrise, they strike the gong, and presently the multitude come together. It is remarkable, that not one man or woman refuses to pray when called upon. On Sunday, a Sunday-school is held in the morning, at which all the children of proper age attend; those that are not professors being formed into one company, and the others into another, superintended by the missionary and his wife alternately. Public worship and preaching are held morning and evening. The afternoon is frequently employed in baptizing, or administering the communion; and when this is not the case, prayer-meetings are held at the houses of the sick. Some fifty or more members of the church live at different distances in the country, as far round as five or six miles. These attend punctually, generally walking in on Saturday afternoon, that they may lose no part of the blessed day.

It will of course be supposed that this people, so lately wild and wandering, without books, without even the forms of religion, and furnished as yet with no part of the word of God in their own tongue, and but a single manuscript copy of the gospel of Matthew, would be exceedingly ignorant of the claims of christianity. They are indeed so. But it is exhilirating to see the readiness and cordiality with which they enter into the performance of every duty, as soon as it is made known to them. Time would fail to describe all the instances which illustrate this remark, but one or two may be named. Mrs. W. had on one occasion read to them that chapter in Matthew, which,

describing the judgment, speaks of visiting Christ (as represented in his disciple) when sick, or in prison, &c. They at once said how regardless they had been of persons under sickness and sorrow; and the very next day began to perform services to the sick, such as they had never thought of doing before. A poor widow, who had a leprous sort of disease, and a child about two years old, similarly affected, were visited by many of them the very next day. They performed many repulsive offices for her and her child; brought water, cleaned the house, gave them rice and other articles, and so enriched and comforted the poor creature, that she was bewildered with delight. These attentions have continued constantly. Another, who was bed-ridden with loathsome sores, was attended to in the same way. Since that time, no one is suffered to want any thing which the rest enjoy. These kindnesses are done with studied concealment, and can be learned only from the beneficiaries themselves.

'On being told of the persecution of Moung San-lone and others at Rangoon, and how they had been chained, imprisoned, and excessively fined, they unexpectedly proposed subscribing toward paying his fine, and releasing them from prison; and out of their deep poverty actually sent to Rangoon fifty rupees for this purpose. They have built of their own accord a sufficient house for the residence of their missionary and his family, and a zayat. A greater evidence of Christian generosity is seen in their missionary zeal. Those whose abilities, as assistants or schoolmasters, warrant the missionaries in sanctioning it, are ever ready to part with their families, and go wearisome journeys of six months at a time, among distant villages, where they are utterly unknown, carrying on their backs tracts and food, sleeping on the way in trees, or on the ground, and enduring many privations. Young men, whose services are very important to their aged parents, in cleaning jungle, and planting paddy, are readily spared, and go to various points, during the rainy season, teaching school, for which their salary is from 8s. to 12s. sterling a month—half what they could earn in other employ. About twenty schoolmasters and assistants are now thus employed. Mr. Mason has in his excursions baptized many converts who were brought to the knowledge of the truth by these assistants. His last journey among the retired villages between Tavoy and Mergui, has been cheered by the reception of a number of such.

'The change in regard to temperance is not less remarkable. Unlike the Burmans, whose religion utterly forbids strong drink, and who scarcely ever use it, the Karens use it universally, and generally to excess: every family makes arrack for themselves, and from the oldest to the youngest partake. Drunkenness, with all its train of horrors is rife among them of course. But no sooner do any become serious inquirers, and consort with the disciples for further instruction, than they totally abandon the accursed thing. In Mata, therefore, not a drop is made or drunk. The children of the very men who were sots, are growing up without having tasted or seen it. The consequences to domestic peace and general welfare may be supposed.

'It will be recollected, that they knew nothing of letters, or books, till Mr. Wade reduced their language to writing about three years ago.

It is found that the system he has adopted is eminently philosophical, and so easy for learners, that, in a few weeks pupils who have never seen a letter learn to read with facility.'—pp. 37—40.

The following account of the caves in Burmah, which are used as temples for the worship of their many-shaped deities, is an affecting monument of the folly of idolatry.

'Most of these mountains contain caves, some of them very large, which appear to have been, from time immemorial, specially devoted to religious purposes. The wealth and labour bestowed on these are of themselves sufficient to prove how great the population has been in former ages. I visited in these excursions, three of the most remarkable,—one on the Dah Gyieng, and two on the Salwen. They differed only in extent, and in the apparent antiquity of the idols they contained. Huge stalactites descended almost to the floor in many places, while in others, stalagmites of various magnitudes and fantastic shapes, were formed upon the floor. In each, the bats occupied the lofty recesses of the ceiling, dwelling in deep and everlasting twilight. In one they seemed innumerable. Their ordure covered the bottom, in some places, to the depth of many feet. Throwing up some fragments of idols, we disturbed their noon-tide slumbers, and the effect was prodigious. The flutter of their wings created a trembling or pulsation in the air like that produced by the deepest bass of a great organ. In the dusk of the evening, they issue from the cave in a thick column, which extends unbroken for miles. The natives all affirmed this to be the case every evening: and Mr. Judson himself, when here with Major Crawfurd and others, saw the almost incredible fact. This cave has evidently been long deserted, except that a single large image at the entrance is kept in repair, before which were some recent offerings. I might therefore have easily obtained images for my friends, but Mr. J., being afraid of an injurious influence on the native Christians who were with us, I abstained, and afterwards obtained a supply by regular purchase.

'The last one we visited is on the Salwen, about fifteen or twenty miles above Maulmain. The entrance is at the bottom of a perpendicular but uneven face of the mountain, enclosed in a strong brick wall which forms a large vestibule. The entrance to this enclosure is by a path, winding along the foot of the mountain; and nothing remarkable strikes the eye till one passes the gate, where the attention is at once powerfully arrested. Not only is the space within the wall filled with images of Gaudama, of every size, but the whole face of the mountain, to the height of eighty or ninety feet, is covered with them. On every jutting crag stands some marble image, covered with gold, and spreading its uncouth proportions to the setting sun. Every recess is converted into shrines for others. The smooth surfaces are covered by small flat images of burnt clay and set in stucco. Of these last there are literally thousands. In some places they have fallen off, with the plaster in which they are set, and left spots of naked rock, against which bees have built their hives undisturbed. Nowhere in the

country have I seen such a display of wealth, ingenuity, and industry. But imposing as is this spectacle, it shrinks to insignificance, compared to the scene which opens on entering the cavern itself. It is of vast size, chiefly in one apartment, which needs no human art to render it sublime. The eye is confused, and the heart appalled, at the prodigious exhibition of infatuation and folly. Everywhere, on the floor, overhead, on the jutting points, and on the stalactite festoons of the roof, are crowded together images of Gaudama—the offerings of successive ages. Some are perfectly gilded; others incrusted with calcareous matter: some fallen, yet sound; others mouldered; others just erected. Some of these are of stupendous sizes; some not larger than one's finger; and some of all the intermediate sizes; marble, stone, wood, brick, and clay. Some even of marble, are so time worn, though sheltered, of course, from changes of temperature, that the face and fingers are obliterated. In some dark recesses, bats were heard, and seemed numerous, but could not be seen. Here and there are models of temples, kyoungs, &c., some not larger than half a bushel, and some ten or fifteen feet square, absolutely filled with small idols, heaped promiscuously one upon another. As we followed the path which wound among the groups of figures and models, every new aspect of the cave presented new multitudes of images. A ship of five hundred tons could not carry away the half of them.

'Alas! where now are the successive generations whose hands wrought these wonders, and whose hearts confided in these deceits? Where are the millions who came hither to confess their sins to gods that cannot hear, and spread their vain oblations to him that cannot save? The multitudes are gone, but the superstition remains. The people are left like the gleanings of the vintage, but the sway of a senseless, hopeless system, is undiminished. Fewer bow in these dark recesses, but no better altars witness holier devotions. May we not hope better things from the effect of a full toleration secured by the present rulers, and a full tide of missionary effort set forward by American churches. Thanks be to God, that a Christian nation rules these provinces, and a Christian community sends forth light and truth! Happy and auspicious is the mental dawn which now begins to break! May Christians pray it into perfect day!'—pp. 61—63.

The second volume of this work is occupied with an account of the author's visit to Bengal. In this portion of his labors, Mr. Malcom has had many precursors, and though he cannot be said to have added much to the information already possessed, yet his statements are so judiciously selected, and so pleasingly presented, that we are constrained to give him much praise for the manner in which he has exhibited the principal features of British India. The following account of the arrival at Calcutta is exceedingly graphic; we vouch for its faithfulness.

'As the ship ascends the river (generally a slow and difficult process), objects of interest multiply. Fishermen's villages and scattered

huts appear on each side, embosomed in stately palms. Trees of shapes unknown before, fields of sugar-cane, wide levels of paddy ground, and a universal greenness keep up an interest, till, on reaching Gloucester, European houses begin to be seen, and the ear once more catches the sounds of machinery and commerce. The cold emotions of wonder, and the pain of reflecting that one has arrived in the regions of degradation and idolatry, now give place to a sense of exhilaration and homeness. On every side is the evidence of the presence of those who stand with the highest amongst the civilized, the free, the scientific, and the religious nations of the earth. Hope pourtrays the future, benevolence stands ready to act, and discouragement is cheered by assurance of co-operation.

'At length, in passing a bend in the river called 'Garden Reach,' a superb array of country seats opens on the eastern coast. Luxury and refinement seem here to have their home. Verdant and quiet lawns appear doubly attractive to a voyager, weary of ocean and sky. Buildings coated with plaster, and combining Grecian chasteness with oriental adaptation, lift their white columns amid noble trees and numerous banks. Steam-boats, budgerows, and dingeys ply about upon the smooth water. The lofty chimneys of gas-works and factories rise in the distance, and every thing bespeaks your approach to a great city.

'We passed just at sunset. The multiform vehicles, for which Calcutta is famous, stood before the doors, or rolled away through the trees, followed by turbaned servants in flowing muslin. Ladies and children, with nurses and bearers, lounged along the smooth paths; and it was difficult to realize that this beautiful climate should prove so insidious. The general observation, however, is, that death owes more victims to high living, indolence, exposure at night, fatigue in shooting excursions, &c., than to the positive effects of climate. Indeed, some affirm India to be as salubrious as England; and the aspect of some who have been long in the country would seem to countenance the assertion.

'A farther advance brings an indistinct view of the fort and the fine buildings of the Chowingy suburb, all presented in one great curve, which is soon relinquished for a more minute and inquisitive contemplation of 'the Course.' This is a broad road on the bank of the river, passing round the esplanade and fort, to which the English residents drive every evening at sunset. As every clerk in the city keeps his buggy or palankeen carriage, the crowd of vehicles rivals that at Hyde Park. The sight is even more imposing. Most of the higher classes use stately tandems or open barouches; and the ladies are without bonnets. Crowds of gentlemen are on horseback. Indian side-runners give a princely air to the slow procession. The shipping of every nation, the clear horizon, the noble fort, the city front, the pleasure boats, the beautiful ghauts, &c., make it a scene which always pleases; and the citizens repair thither from day to day, and from year to year, without weariness or satiety.

'On passing Garden Reach, the river becomes covered with boats, of every conceivable form, from which a dozen different languages meet the ear. A multitude of vessels lie at anchor; steam-engines pour

from their towering chimneys volumes of smoke ; beautiful ghauts slope into the water ; palankeens, tonjons, buggies, coaches, phaetons, gares, caranches, and hackaries, line the shore, and before us spreads out the great city, containing, with its suburbs, almost a million of souls.

'All who die in or beside the river, and even those whose dead bodies are committed to it, being deemed certain of future bliss, multitudes are brought to die upon the banks, or are laid at low water on the mud, whence the return of the tide washes them away. These and the half consumed relics from the funeral pile, in every variety of revolting aspect, are continually floating by. Government boats ply above the city to sink these bodies ; but many escape, and we daily saw them float by, while vultures stood upon them, contending for the horrid banquet.

'There being no wharfs, no docks, you are rowed to a ghaut in a dingey, and landed amid Hindus performing their ablutions and reciting their prayers. No sooner does your boat touch the shore, than a host of bearers contend for you with loud jabber, and those whom you resist least, actually bear you off in their arms through the mud, and you find yourself at once in one of those strange conveyances, a palankeen. Away you hie, flat on your back, at the rate of nearly five miles an hour, a chatty boy bearing aloft a huge palm leaf umbrella, to keep off the sun, whom no assurances that you do not want him will drive away, but who expects only a para or two for his pains. The bearers grunt at every step, like our southern negroes when cleaving wood ; and though they do it as a sort of chorus, it keeps your unaccustomed feelings discomposed.

'Arrived at the house, you fine it secluded within a high brick wall, and guarded at the gate by a durwan, or porter, who lives there in a lodge, less to prevent ingress than to see that servants and others carry nothing away improperly. The door is sheltered by a porch, called here a veranda, so constructed as to shelter carriages—a precaution equally necessary for the rains and the sun. The best houses are of two stories, the upper being occupied by the family, and the lower used for dining and store rooms. On every side are contrivances to mitigate heat and exclude dust. Venetian blinds inclose the veranda, extending from pillar to pillar, as low as a man's head. The remaining space is furnished with mats (tatties), which reach to the floor, when the sun is on that side, but at other times are rolled up. When these are kept wet they diffuse a most agreeable coolness.

'The moment you sit down, whether in a mansion, office, or shop, a servant commences pulling the punka, under which you may happen to be. The floor is of brick and mortar, covered with mats, the walls of the purest white, and the ceilings of great height. Both sexes, and all orders, dress in white cottons. The rooms are kept dark, and in the hottest part of the day shut up with glass. In short, every thing betrays a struggle to keep cool.'—Vol. ii. pp. 4—6.

We had marked several other passages for quotation, on account of the faithful portraiture of the manners and customs of

the natives presented in them, but we have already perhaps given these volumes a greater degree of attention than the relation they bear to our increasing literature warrants.

We have no wish to point out faults where the intention is so benevolent, and the general composition is so respectable; else we should spend a few critical remarks on the patois of New England, and a few vulgarisms which we know not how to classify. Perhaps they also are idiomatic to our trans-Atlantic brethren. Our author in the course of his volumes incidentally mentions a difficulty which he feels as it regards the etymology of the word Pagoda. He will perhaps permit us to inform him that, it is the corrupt Portuguese spelling of a Persian word by which, the Mahometans characterize the idol temples of the Hindus. The word (beet koda) literally signifies the house of the idol, and being pronounced in the manner in which we have endeavoured to represent it in roman letters, was easily corrupted by the Portuguese into the form in which we now use it. To all our readers wishing to have a general knowledge of our Indian empire, and especially to those who have an interest in the progress of our holy religion in that country, we heartily and strongly recommend these two volumes, as intrinsically valuable, and as embodying a mass of intelligence on India which so far as our information extends, will be sought in vain in an equal number of pages of any volumes of British Literature.

Art. VIII. 1. *Debate on Mr. Duncombe's Motion to relieve Dissenters from the Payment of Church Rates; February 11th. Report of Morning Chronicle.*

2. *The Whigs and the Dissenters. A Letter to Edward Baines, Esq., M.P.* London: Jackson and Walford.

IN a brief article on the Ecclesiastical Courts, inserted in our last number, we took occasion to admonish the Dissenters of Great Britain 'against that easy credence and implicit trust of men 'in office, which, as recently exhibited, has gone far to render us 'a laughing-stock to our neighbours.' We little thought when penning this passage, that events would so speedily occur to render further admonition on this subject unnecessary; that the debates of the Commons' House, within the short space of a fortnight from the publication of our advice, would place beyond all doubt, the ecclesiastical policy of her Majesty's present government, and the absurdity of looking for any enlightened and vigorous measure of relief at their hands. We wrote in the simple recollection of the

past, and with no unkindly feeling—as our remarks testify—to Lord Melbourne's administration. We might have our surmises, but we did not think it just to give them utterance. We were willing to exercise a generous, though not an unlimited confidence, and had our hopes—faint it may be, yet not wholly to be abandoned,—that the advocacy of religious liberty, so long the glory and the strength of the Whig party, would yet be adhered to, and be steadily followed up. We regret to say, and truth wrings from us the acknowledgment, that recent events have gone far to revolutionize our feelings, and to give a substantive form to the suspicions which had previously been floating in our minds. We do not, as Dissenters, regret the occurrence. It was just the lesson we needed, and it will not be without its benefits. It is painful to generous minds to have confidence in old friends shaken, but it is a thousand-fold better that this should occur, than that false hopes should be entertained, and our position be misunderstood.

We refer, as our readers will anticipate, to the debate which has recently taken place in the lower house, and more especially to the speech of Lord John Russell, the ministerial leader. To that debate we must now briefly direct attention, as its bearing on our interests as Dissenters—on our actual position and prospects—is more direct and important than any thing else which has occurred for some time past. It is not to the merits of the particular question mooted by Mr. Duncombe, that we now specifically refer, but to the whole tone and spirit of the opposition by which his motion was met by the ministerial leader; the cold-heartedness and want of all generous sympathy with suffering conscience, however erroneous that conscience might be deemed, which his lordship's speech evinced; the obvious effort to conciliate opponents, even at the expense of common courtesy to a body once professedly respected, and certainly much relied on in times of need; the new-born zeal rising to a flame under the stimulating influence of Tory cheers; the hauteur of the aristocrat mingling itself with the prejudices of the churchman, and, in combination, seeking an excuse for the abandonment of an effort deemed no longer needful for the retention of office, and the success of party warfare; the contempt, scarcely suppressed, yet never distinctly and honestly embodied in words;—these are the matters to which we refer, when expressing our conviction of the importance which attaches to the debate in question. It is as though his lordship were supremely concerned to disencumber himself of the confidence of the Dissenting body, yet was restrained by the mannerism of his rank from plainly telling them to be gone. Their intellects, if we mistake not, are sufficiently clear to understand his meaning, and he may yet find that they have complied with his desire.

Before proceeding to notice the prominent features of the debate, we wish to guard ourselves against a misconstruction, to which some of our remarks may possibly be liable. We find no fault with Lord John Russell for speaking as a churchman; it was natural that he should do so; we should not have respected him had he done otherwise. His views on this matter are well known, and have been often expressed, and we had no other expectation than to find him, on every befitting occasion, the advocate and zealous upholder of the endowed church. It would have been more than Utopian—the very height, in fact, of absurdity—to entertain any other expectation; and the Eclectic, at least, is free from the suspicion of having done so. So long since as August, 1837, we stated our conviction, that it was 'idle for Dissenters to expect the admi-'nistration should commit itself to the advocacy of their principles. 'Lord Melbourne and his colleagues,' we then remarked, 'are 'members of the dominant church, and their propositions will, 'doubtless, respect its welfare, and be designed to strengthen its 'hold on the popular mind. We have no right to censure them 'on this account. With their principles and views such a pro-'cedure is perfectly befitting. It is honest in them to make the 'attempt, though we are satisfied that it will prove an utter fail-'ure.'* Such are our recorded sentiments, and we adduce them on the present occasion, to guard ourselves from the suspicion of being influenced by the disappointment of unreasonable hopes, and the chagrin consequent thereon. What we complain of is, not that Lord John avowed himself a churchman, and showed himself to be but little acquainted with our principles; but that his opposition to a measure for our relief was conducted in the worst spirit of a Tory opponent; that the matter was not allowed a hearing, but was at once and heartily opposed, upon grounds and with professions which, if admitted, must rivet for ever an unrighteous and tyrannical impost, by which conscience is outraged, and the decencies of social life impaired. Gloss the matter as he may, the *animus* of his lordship's speech was indicative of the abandonment of former pledges, and of a settled determination, on the part of himself and his colleagues, to encumber themselves no more with the advocacy of our rights. Well, let it be so. The friends of religious liberty have never suffered by being thrown on their own resources; and should his lordship's policy but have the effect of driving us to a more thorough investigation and hearty confidence in our principles,—and such we believe will be its result—we shall have no cause for regret.

The bill which Mr. Duncombe asked permission to introduce, was entitled, 'A bill to relieve from the payment of Church-

* New Series, II., 213.

'rates that portion of her Majesty's subjects who conscientiously 'dissent from the rites or doctrines of the Established Church.' The first clause of the bill enacts that John Thorogood, and all other persons now imprisoned for non-payment of Church-rates, 'shall be immediately discharged.' The second prohibits the future incarceration of persons like-minded; and the third exempts from the payment of Church-rates, all persons who shall make 'before one or more of her Majesty's justices of the peace' the following declaration:—

'I A. B., do solemnly declare that I am not of the 'Communion of the Church of England as by law established, 'and that in my conscience I do dissent therefrom; and do also 'solemnly declare that in objecting to pay Church-rates, I do so 'from no pecuniary motives, but solely and sincerely for con-'science sake.' It being however expressly enacted, 'that any 'person who shall have made the aforesaid declaration, and shall 'thereby have relieved himself from the payment of Church-'rates, such person should be disqualified from voting or taking 'any part whatsoever in the proceeding of any vestry convened 'for the purpose of making or considering the propriety of mak-'ing a Church-rate, or for any other matter or question connected 'with the support or maintenance of the Established Church.'

Such were the main features of the measure which the honorable member for Finsbury sought to introduce. Let us now look at the manner in which it was received. Immediately after the proposition had been seconded by Mr. Gillon, Lord John arose, and in what the Times calls a 'smart and sensible speech,' announced his opposition to it, as 'not founded on sound 'principles, and calculated to lead to dangerous consequences.' Many parts of his lordship's speech would have well befitted Sir Robert Inglis, or Lord Roden, but they sound strange from the lips of the noble member for Stroud. We pass by the cold-heartedness with which the case of John Thorogood is treated, and the sneer—so truly aristocratic and churchman-like—with which the poor man's assessment is referred to, and come to such parts of his lordship's oration, as assumed the character of reasoning. The mere fact of law is, of course, adduced as settling the question, so far as the prisoner is concerned; but we take leave to differ from his lordship, nor can we see how the following language is more conclusive, as used by Lord John in 1839, than it was in Queen Mary's time, when employed by Gardiner and Bonner, or in Charles II., when urged by Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and other advocates of a State Church. But let his lordship exhibit his own—or rather his adopted—argument.

'Much, therefore, as he (Lord J. Russell) thought of the hardship of John Thorogood's case, and believing as he did that he was a very

sincere person, and anxious only to do what his conscience dictated to him, he nevertheless did not think that there was sufficient in his case to justify the character given of it by the hon. gentleman. No doubt he was led by conscientious motives to support the voluntary principle. In his petition he declared that he believed the existence of a state church to be repugnant to the principles of the Holy Scriptures, and detrimental to the cause of religion; that he thought he ought not to contribute to its support; and that he, therefore, refused voluntarily to pay Church-rates. Now this might be a very conscientious opinion on the part of John Thorogood, but as long as that house recognized the laws by which a state religion was established in this country, and so long as such was the law, no individual was at liberty to disobey it.'

If this reasoning be conclusive, on behalf of a protestant establishment, by what dialectic skill shall we evade its force when employed by a papist on behalf of his church, or by a Mahomedan on behalf of the mosque. It will not do to have one law for ourselves and another for an opponent. Our principles, to be conclusive, must hold in all analogous cases, and must be equally valid, however various the circumstances to which their application is required. Tried by this test, the argument of law is evidently untenable, and has consequently been abandoned by every party in its turn. There is, in truth, a primary question on which the whole turns, and on the settlement of which the decision of this controversy mainly hinges. That question respects the sacredness of conscience, the high obligations of religious duty, the responsibility under which we are held to consult the divine will in preference to the human, and to measure our obedience to the latter by the consistency of its requirements with the laws of the former.

We are well aware of the reply which will be made to this reasoning, nor are we ignorant of the fact that, it is held to be conclusive by many of our friends. If we admit, it will be urged, the right of an individual to refuse obedience on the ground of conscience, to any particular law; we open the door to all possible anarchy and confusion. Each one, according to the dictates of caprice, or the suggestions of self-interest, will be urging the same plea, and be demanding a similar exemption. One will except to one impost, and another to another, and thus all order will be destroyed, and the whole body politic be subverted. There is much seeming force in this objection, nor are we disposed to treat it lightly. On the contrary, we would give it the gravest consideration, and if it cannot be fairly met, we will honestly admit the untenableness of our position.

But we take leave to remark, that there is one simple principle capable of application to this case, which seems to us to settle the

moral of the question, and at the same time to guard effectually against the political evils which are apprehended from the admission of our views. That principle is based on the inherent and essential distinction between political and ecclesiastical legislation, between the laws of any human government,—whether monarchical, aristocratical, or democratic,—affecting the civil rights of its subjects, and those which assume to regulate their ecclesiastical affairs. In the former case, government is absolute, its decision is final, and the duty of the subject is obedience,—in the latter case legislation is invalid *ab initio*, and has no other title to obedience than that which force supplies. In the one case, a rightful authority is exercised over a legitimate and recognized province, in the other an authority is usurped to the detriment of religion, and in defiance of the paramount claims of the God of truth. The beautiful axiom of our divine Master—so simple and at the same time so comprehensive—to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's, is equally applicable to both these cases: enforcing a prompt compliance with the laws of the one, and a conscientious and high-minded refusal of subjection to the other. In civil matters the only question which an individual has to determine respects the *fact* of law. This being ascertained, his obedience must follow, not through fear, but 'for conscience sake.' But it is different in religion. He owes supreme subjection to God, and must regulate his conduct towards other and subordinate authorities, by the harmony of their requirements with his revealed will. To recognize an authority incompatible with the divine supremacy, is to fail in discharging the first duty of Christian faithfulness, and to encourage the encroachments of an antichristian power, which 'opposeth and exalteth himself above all 'that is called God, sitting in the temple of God, showing himself 'that he is God.'

Such unhappily has been the conduct of the majority even of religious reformers in past times, and we need not say what perplexities and discords, what inconsistencies and wastings of strength, have followed in consequence. The enemy which ought to have been met on the frontier, has been permitted to establish himself in the very heart of the country, and the character of the struggle has thus been changed; its nobler features have been merged; and the vindication of truth, the assertion of heaven's high rights have been lost sight of, in the maintenance of a party warfare, and the defence of some isolated and unimportant posts. Let the validity of the plea urged by Lord John be once conceded, and the advocates of religious liberty are in a false position. There is no medium course. It is vain to inquire after, or to endeavour to discover one. We must take our stand on the cardinal principle we advocate, and refuse to admit the

validity and binding obligation of ecclesiastical legislation, or must be content to struggle, under manifest disadvantage, and with ever repeated failures, on behalf of what we deem the cause of God and truth.

We are not so ignorant of our times as to anticipate the speedy adoption of these views. We know them to be in advance of the day, and that they will be misunderstood and descried in many quarters, where better things might be expected. But we give them utterance, and wait patiently the issue. They will work their way, silently it may be, but still surely, till, the public mind being prepared for their reception, they will come forth with the majestic simplicity of truth, to point out, to a bewildered and agonized people, the secret of their strength, and the solemn requirement of their God. We find no fault with such of our brethren as refuse to adopt and act on our principles. With their views it would be wrong for them to do so. Let us co-operate so far as we are agreed, and where we differ, let us commend ourselves, and commend each other, to the guidance and controlling agency of the God of truth. May he by the inspiration of his Spirit correct every error into which either of us has fallen, and lead us to the faithful and diligent exhibition of the 'truth as it is 'in Jesus.'

We now recur to Lord John, whose reasoning was hailed with cheers from the Tory benches, which so stimulated his oratory as to induce his lordship to assure the house, 'He would go fur-'ther than that, and declare his belief that the Established Church 'of England was founded *on just, wise, and fair principles.*' 'Here,' says the Examiner, and with this simile we shall dismiss his lordship's marvellous faith, 'we have before us the crow, the 'cheese, and the fox. At the first note of the crow, reynard 'is in raptures. He claps his paws, he wags his bushy tail in an 'ecstacy, he cries 'Bravo, bravissimo! what a voice! what execution! ''how he takes the C above the line!' Upon this, quoth the delighted 'crow, 'I can go farther than that, higher than that,' and he strains 'another harsh discord to the unbounded delight of reynard—but 'beware, oh Corby, lest you drop the cheese—it trembles in your 'mouth while you are indulging in those half-note shakes which 'make all your party shake, ay, and your opponents shake too, in 'other fashions—your friends with fear, and your foes with 'laughter.'

Having thus pandered to his opponents, Lord John proceeded to discuss the merits of Mr. Duncombe's proposition, and his reasoning is worthy of being placed on record.

'He (Lord John Russell) must at once say that he could not approve of this plan. In the first place, there was the obvious temptation to fraud by holding out a pecuniary benefit arising out of the

avowal of conscientious dissent. He could very well understand the admission of a declaration, where the object of it was to admit the person making it to a participation in equal privileges to those enjoyed by other persons in the realm. Such, for instance, as the declaration required of certain Protestants, in order to entitle them to the enjoyment of privileges enjoyed by other Protestants, or the declaration required of Roman Catholics, in order to entitle them to certain immunities and privileges granted to them by act of parliament. But in those cases the object was to entitle them to an equal share in benefits already enjoyed by others. In the present case, however, the person making the declaration would by so doing entitle himself to a greater benefit. As a member of the Established Church he would be obliged to pay the church-rate—to pay certain sums for the repairs of the churches: but if he declared himself a conscientious dissenter from the Established Church, then, by making a declaration to that effect, he could free himself from the pecuniary obligation. So with regard to this sum of 5s. 6d., which every man of equal station to John Thorogood in his parish would be compelled to pay by law, Thorogood according to the plan of the honorable gentleman, would be able to evade the payment by declaring himself a conscientious Dissenter. Here was obviously a pecuniary snare. A man might be ostensibly a member of the Established Church; but he might be a lukewarm member, or indifferent, yet the temptation was held out to him to relieve himself from the payment of the 5s. 6d. church-rate, by simply making a declaration that he conscientiously dissented from the doctrines of the Church.'

The distinction which his lordship thus attempted to draw between former declarations and that proposed in Mr. Duncombe's bill is clearly fallacious, since no such inequality as he alleges, would follow from the latter. All that Dissenters ask for is to be placed on the same level as their neighbours. More than this they would not accept—whatever Church-zealots may allege—and with less they will never be satisfied. How stands the case at present? why just thus. The Churchman has his religion furnished to him, and paid for, by the state, the Dissenter has to support his own. The contributions of the latter to religion are manifold more than the former;—in some cases ten times, in the most twenty times as much. And yet, while thus exerting himself on behalf of what he deems the most scriptural form of Christianity, he is called upon to contribute—yea is threatened with the seizure of his goods or the imprisonment of his person, if he does not contribute—to the repair of the church edifice, the washing of the clergyman's surplice, and the furnishing of the sacramental elements for its worshippers. If there be inequality in the world that inequality exists at present; if there be injustice—gross, crying injustice—it is found in this miserable impost, which is now defended from one end of the kingdom to the other, not for its

own sake, but as 'an outward and visible sign,' of the subjection of this kingdom to the rule of an antichristian and soul-deluding system. And yet there would be inequality in relieving men, who say—and their word is entitled to credence—that the assessment violates their conscience, and is repugnant to their sense of religious duty. So reasons his lordship now, for a marvellous change has come over the spirit of his philosophy.

But the noble member for Stroud is distrustful of his own followers, and Sir Robert Inglis shares his alarm. These zealots for the church have so little confidence in the attachment of the people, so slighting a view of the hold of their venerable mother on the affection of her numerous offspring, that they are apprehensive of a general defection; a forsaking of her altars; a base apostasy from her, if the paltry inducement of a few shillings be proffered. We thank Lord John and the member for the Oxford University for the admission, and shall not forget it in the future discussions of the voluntary controversy. But his lordship attempted to enliven the debate by something of joke and pleasantry. His wit, however, was pointless, for it was founded in misconception and ignorance, and betrayed the bad *animus* of the speaker without aiding his cause.

'He for one,' remarked Lord John, 'would say, that he would 'be sorry to see the time when those who preached the gospel in 'this country would be obliged to look for support to the voluntary 'contributions of their congregations. He could understand, with 'regard to the lighter arts, the principle embodied in those lines 'of Dr. Johnson:—

> 'The drama's laws the drama's patrons give,
> For those who live to please must please to live.'

'But sorry would he be to hear that

> 'The pulpit's laws the pulpit's patrons give,
> And those who live to preach must preach to live.'

'Sorry, indeed, would he be if those who filled the pulpits now 'filled by members of the Established Church, were to become 'claimants on the voluntary contributions of their congregations, 'on the score of their being taking, eloquent, pleasing preach-'ers.'

If this miserable witticism was intended to describe our *system*, it was low-minded, and utterly unworthy even of a second-rate debater; but if it were designed for our *ministers*, it was a gratuitous insult, and a gross libel. They are not the men this language would represent them to be, and his lordship knows them not to

be so.* Poor they may be, or rather of limited possessions, but if there be one class of our countrymen more distinguished than any other, by moral courage and independence of character, they constitute that class. There may, doubtless there are, exceptions, but we speak of them as a whole, and no man who knows them will deny the truth of our assertion.

His lordship, it appears from the close of his speech, is prepared either to introduce, or to support a bill, transferring the cognizance of church-rate cases from the ecclesiastical to the civil courts, and providing that the payment of such rates should be proceeded for, 'against the goods and not against the person,' of the defaulter. Does his lordship think he could carry such a proposition through the Upper House; nay, is it quite certain, that it would be supported in the Commons, by a larger majority than that which sealed the fate of the last church-rate bill? We have our doubts, but let these rest; we do not expect to see his lordship make the trial. Such a suggestion might very well befit the close of such a speech, and there, we apprehend, the matter will end. Nor are we much concerned about it. We should, doubtless, as patriots, rejoice in the subversion of an incompetent, anomalous,

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* We learn from the *Patriot* of February the 20th, that the Dissenting constituents of his lordship have conveyed to him, in respectful but strong language, their sense of the injustice he has done to their religious teachers. At a public meeting of the members of various Dissenting congregations in the borough of Stroud, held February 17th, it was resolved to transmit to Lord John Russell the following Memorial, which we transcribe for the information of our readers, and as a model of temperate, but firm and dignified remonstrance. We should like to see how his lordship will reply.

'That this Meeting has learned with deep regret that Lord John Russell has not only refused to support a Bill for the liberation of John Thorogood from prison, and for relieving Dissenters from liability to pay Church-rates, but has also uttered in the House of Commons gratuitous insinuations against the independent character of the whole body of Dissenting Ministers.

'That these proceedings on the part of Lord John Russell are matter of much regret on many grounds:—First, because the insinuations in question are untrue; Dissenting Ministers, generally, being well known to be inferior to no class of Englishmen, either Lay or Clerical, in honesty or independence; and this Meeting feel assured that, had Lord John's connexions and prepossessions allowed him to become better acquainted with Dissenting Ministers, his opinion of them would have been widely different: Secondly, because Lord John Russell went altogether out of his way in instituting a comparison, on such an occasion, between the Ministers of different religious bodies; it being obvious, that if he deemed it expedient to avow his attachment to the State-Church, the avowal might have been made without any such invidious comparison: Thirdly, because this Meeting cannot but entertain the apprehension that the conduct and language of Lord John Russell, on the evening in question, will tend to alienate from him not merely numerous individuals in this Borough (which circumstance alone would be of small importance), but an immense body of Dissenters in every part of the island; whereby, it may be feared, the cause of civil and religious liberty will be damaged, and its enemies made to rejoice.'

and unconstitutional court, but the *gravamen* of our complaint would remain untouched.

On the whole we regret, as much on his lordship's account as on our own, the impression his speech has made. We would gladly rid ourselves of that impression, but we cannot do so. It abides upon us, and gathers depth and distinctness with every fresh perusal.

'On the case of Thorogood,' says the *Examiner*, and we cannot better describe our own feelings, 'Lord John Russell has 'delivered a speech of supreme *bon ton*, which, for the occasion 'at least, quite separates him from the *low party*, and wonder-'fully exalts him in the opinion of the high Church. The *Times* 'praises his Lordship's performance as 'smart and sensible;' 'but smart is not the word for it, it was dainty and dis-'dainful. It was seasoned with contempt of weakness and poverty, 'and a lofty scorn of grievances. It was thus thoroughly aristo-'cratic, and what in Tory coteries will be emphatically called 'gentlemanly. The speech indeed seems to have been made for 'recovery of the speaker's favor with his caste, and for his resto-'ration to the bosom of the Church.'

Of the other speakers in this debate, honorable mention must be made of Mr. Hume, Mr. Baines, and Mr. Hawes. The first of these gentlemen told the ministerial leader some home truths, and specially contrasted the different treatment experienced by John Thorogood—a man poor, and therefore to be despised,—from that of the Scotch clergy, in their present struggle with the civil power.

'Was John Thorogood,' inquired Mr. Hume, 'the only man now doubting the laws and institutions of the country in regard to the church? What were one half of the clergy of Scotland doing at the present time? They laughed at the authority of the quarter sessions, and they defied the House of Lords. They claimed to act on conscientious scruples—they threw all other considerations on one side—and they were still determined to resist the intrusion of any person presented by the patrons of livings, and therefore as much entitled to those livings as the Church was to Church-rates. Why did not the noble lord grapple with those persons? Because John Thorogood was a poor shoemaker the noble lord had no sympathy for him, but he did entertain sympathy for the clergy in Scotland. He would tell the house the reason why. John Thorogood was a single and simple individual, but the Scottish clergy formed a powerful party, who were tearing the country up. Indeed proceedings were going on which were disgraceful to the country. He (Mr. Hume) maintained that those proceedings were doing as much hurt to the church as ever John Frost had done to the state. Their language was as violent, and their proceedings were in defiance of the law. What more had John Frost done, or any of the leaders of the Chartists?

They had not done so much in openly defying the law, and exhorting thousands to defy it, as these persons had done. He repeated that the noble lord sympathized with the Scotch clergy because they were powerful, but he did not sympathize with John Thorogood because he was poor and humble. The noble lord abolished Church-rates in Ireland—why? Because he could not help it.'

Of the part taken by Dr. Lushington in this debate, we cannot too strongly express our regret, and we call upon him to reconcile it with his former professions, more especially with some which we have received from himself, on the eve of a contested election. Ranking among his constituents, and believing him, up to the limit of his convictions, to be an honest and consistent politician, we have labored zealously on his behalf. It was therefore with no little surprise, that we read his speech on this occasion, and our surprise was any thing but diminished, when his own words in April last, recurred to our memory. Speaking at that period, on Mr. Hawes's motion, Dr. Lushington affirmed, 'The abolition of 'these courts is necessary on three grounds; first, for the sake of 'justice; secondly, for the sake of their own character; and 'thirdly, for the sake of religion itself, which they tend, day after 'day, to desecrate and debase!' It may be possible to reconcile these, to harmonize his present conduct with such past declarations, but we confess our incompetency to the task; and wait till the proper time comes to ask our representatives—for Mr. Clay voted also in the majority—to vindicate themselves from the charge of having betrayed our interests.

Our strictures on the debate have extended beyond our design, and have left us little space for some remarks which we are desirous of addressing to our dissenting readers. Our position is manifestly different from what it was a few years since; whether better or worse is another matter, and different views will, probably, be entertained on this point. Our own opinion is the former, and our reason for thinking so is this;—the course of events has been for some time past disengaging us *as dissenters* from that political partizanship to which we have been so prone, and from which some of our number have entertained very delusive hopes. Our efforts have consequently been misdirected. We have lost sight of the legitimate and accessible sphere of our operation, and have expended our strength on unpractical and utopian schemes. Rising from the depression consequent on a long period of Tory domination, and feeling our importance in the party struggles of the day, we have imagined that we could barter our services for the concession of our rights; that we could obtain, as the reward of our zealous cooperation with the Whig ministry, the overthrow of the strongholds of prelatical usurpation and Church power. The supposition was not unnatural. It was

the sudden growth of our altered circumstances and augmented power, and for a time it has deluded and misled us. A little reflection, a little forethought, a little reading of the past, a little attention to the dove-tailing of parties, and the thousand ramifications of Church influence around us, would have sufficed to prevent the blunder. But so it was, and we gave ourselves to the delusion; trusted to statesmen rather than to principles; and looked for the triumph of our cause from the friendly disposition of political partizans, rather than to the omnipotence of truth, and the promised aid of the God of Heaven. *Experientia docet*, says the old proverb, and in our case it has proved true.

Our first duty at the present moment is, calmly, and in a religious temper, to review our position; to retrace our course for the past few years, marking its wisdom and its folly, its successes and its failures. We shall thus gather up much invaluable instruction, and be better prepared for the right direction of our future efforts. We must reconsider our principles, and determine—solemnly and prayerfully determine—whether they are worthy of the homage they claim, whether they merit the sacrifices they demand, whether, in a word, they bear the impress of the Divine mind, and may be cherished, and their diffusion be sought, as the discharge of a sacred and responsible trust. These are not times for hesitancy, and doubt, and half-heartedness. We must be men of action, with our principles well fixed, and thoroughly understood, and with all our aspirations and sympathies in hallowed harmony with them. A protracted discussion is before us, which will tax our decision to the utmost, and it is therefore the dictate of common prudence, to say nothing of the higher requirements of Christian duty, that we sit down and soberly count the cost. Having made up our minds on the merit of the 'great 'argument' in debate, we must be prepared, 'in simplicity and 'with godly sincerity,' to follow it out to its legitimate and practical issues, regardless of the counsels of timid friends, and spurning the suggestions of a temporizing and heartless expediency.

In the particular question of Church-rates, our whole policy must be changed, and the sooner it is so the better. The appeal we have made to parliament has been met by resistance and reproach, and it were folly to expect the administration of the day to urge its adoption any further. Account for the fact as we may, it is now placed beyond all question, that the strength of political parties is too nearly balanced to allow of the remotest hope of success in this quarter. But there is another and more legitimate sphere where our principles may be advocated, and our claim for exemption be enforced. It would have been wiser to have confined ourselves to this from the first, but we are now shut up to it by the course of events, and the whole bent of our policy should be directed to its successful occupation. We refer, as our

readers will anticipate, to the parish vestry, where the law allows a free expression of opinion, and authorizes a rate only on the vote of a majority. We are aware of the strong aversion felt by many dissenters, to an attendance at such vestries, and for many years we sympathized with it, and abstained in consequence from joining with our neighbours on these annual occasions. Increasing reflection, however, has convinced us of the impropriety of the feeling in question, and we now purpose, and exhort the dissenters of Great Britain to join with us in the resolution, to avail ourselves of the opportunity which the constitution gives to resist an impost which, being founded in injustice, violates the laws of Christian charity, and tramples conscience in the dust. What Sir Robert Peel said in reference to the registration courts, may with equal propriety and force be applied to the parish vestry. It is *here* that the battle of religious liberty must be fought, and thanks be unto God, it may be fought in security and with triumph. A large number of the parishes of the kingdom have already succeeded in resisting the impost, and it requires but organization, and forethought, and mutual concession, to increase the number tenfold.

One great advantage will most certainly be gained by such a procedure, whatever doubt may accompany the attainment of others. We shall have an opportunity of stating, in the presence, and within the hearing of our opponents, what our principles are, and of showing the appearance of support which—to say the least—they obtain from the legislation of Christ, and the practice of his inspired apostles. The parish vestry is the only opportunity we possess of coming into contact with those from whom we differ. They will not read our publications, they do not attend our lectures, they are shut up within a circle where the dissenting advocate is not permitted to enter, but where prejudice, and misrepresentation, and a thousand forms of apprehended danger, haunt their imaginations and steel their hearts against us. Hence then the desirableness—yea, the solemn obligation—of meeting them once a year, to expound the verities of God's book, and to vindicate the insulted supremacy of our Lord.

Moreover, it should be borne in mind that, on these occasions, we meet our neighbours and daily associates, men by whom we are known, and who can testify respecting us whether our manner of living be such, as to entitle us to urge the sacred plea of conscience. It may do well for the infuriated disputant to dip his pen in gall, and to describe us to his fellows as rebels in politics, and atheists in religion; but the men who meet us face to face, and are acquainted with our daily life, will do justice to our integrity, even though they remain unconvinced by our arguments. At any rate, we shall have delivered our own souls, and borne an honorable testimony on behalf of neglected and insulted truth.

Should any Dissenters be still disposed to urge their disin-

clination to attend the vestry, on account of the stormy discussions which sometimes occur, we take leave to remind them, that the courtesies of the gentleman, and the mild temper of our holy faith, need not be relinquished on such occasions. We would have Dissenters to be present, and to speak openly and without reserve; but we would have them, at the same time, to maintain a dignified deportment becoming the advocate of truth; never damaging their cause by an irritable and petulant temper, nor shading the mild lustre of their principles by the fumes of an unsanctified and worldly passion. We know some neighbourhoods in which Dissenters are sufficiently numerous to prevent the passing of a rate, could they be induced to give their attendance at the vestry; but this they have hitherto refused. Whether their motives are creditable or otherwise, we shall not now stop to inquire. One thing, however, is apparent, and to this we beg their candid and most serious attention. Some of their brethren, whose conscience is touched on this matter, are, in consequence of *their* remissness, subjected to an impost, the payment of which they feel bound,—erroneously, it may be, but still honestly bound—to refuse. If all Dissenters had attended, the necessity for this would not have occurred; and is there not, therefore, a disregard of the claims of the Christian brotherhood; a violation of the law of Christian love; a practical setting at naught of our Saviour's rule, 'to do unto others as we would have others do 'unto us,' in their procedure? Brethren, we are in no mood to censure, but we commend this case to your considerate and prayerful attention. Look it fairly in the face; consult the word of God, invoke the guidance of Infinite Wisdom, and then say whether you are not bound, on every occasion, and by every legitimate means within your power, to protect your brethren, fellow-heirs with you of 'the grace of eternal life,' from the spoiling of their goods, and the imprisonment of their person.

There is another topic to which we must briefly refer before we close, inferior to none in practical importance, and calling for prompt and judicious measures. Our cause has been seriously damaged by the appearances of division which have recently shown themselves among us. The author of the letter to Mr. Baines refers to these, yet not exactly in the way we could have wished. His praise and his censure are too general and indiscriminate. The case does not admit of the simple and easy settlement which he attempts, but requires a patient investigation of many facts, requiring larger space than we can now devote to the subject. It is we believe the fact,—and we give not utterance to a hasty judgment, nor one formed on a limited knowledge —that a feeling of mistrust, a want, at least, of thorough confidence in London committees, and London management, does prevail extensively in the country. We are not surprised that such should be the case, and are persuaded that, if the position of

the two parties were changed, the same state of things would substantially exist. Our brethren in the country, flushed with their local victories, and confident in their strength, have no adequate conception of the difficulties which have encompassed their London representatives. They have, consequently, attributed to supineness, to negligence, to treachery, what was the inevitable result of the ill-digested schemes and premature efforts which have been made. Want of success has been traced to want of fidelity, and hard words and uncharitable surmises have been uttered. We confess that it was with feelings of bitter sorrow, we read some time since, the report of a public meeting held at Leicester. We refrain to comment on the language uttered, on that occasion, by a reverend speaker — language involving in one sweeping condemnation, men whose services in the cause of religious liberty, have been a hundred-fold more abundant than those of their traducer. It is not often that such wholesale condemnation contains much truth,—still less is it characterised by the discrimination and candor in which honorable men delight. It would, to say the least, have better befitted the character of a modest man to have done something himself, before he ventured so authoritatively to denounce all others.

Let it not be supposed that we are believers in the infallibility of London committees or of London 'leaders,' if we must have the term. Far from it; our pages bear witness to the contrary. There has been too much of mere Whiggery, too much of the leaven of ministerial influence among us. Our energies have been depressed by political partizanship. There has been a want of open, manly expression of opinion; an unworthy attempt to wrap up our principles in ambiguous phraseology, and to merge the advocacy of truth in the effort to obtain redress of our practical grievances. Many things have happened in this great city to prove that wisdom doth not dwell here pre-eminently, but we are in no mood to follow out the details of such a matter. We say rather, let there be a friendly conference, that past misconceptions may be corrected; false impressions be mutually removed; the objects at which we are to aim be clearly defined; and the whole machinery of our future operation be sketched out and settled. These are not times in which brethren should be content to mistrust, much less to defame and caricature each other. There is wisdom in the country, there is zeal in town. Neither can claim a monopoly of either of these qualities, nor can a more serious damage be done to our cause—the cause, be it remembered, of evangelical truth, of Christ's rightful sovereignty—than by leading us to suspect each other, and to refuse in consequence that cordial co-operation, for which the identity of our spirit and principles fits us, and in which our opponents will be wise enough to discern the certain omen of our approaching triumph.

Brief Notices.

A Dictionary, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of the Various Countries, Places, and Principal Natural Objects in the World. By J. R. M'Culloch, Esq. 8vo. Part I. London: Longman and Co.

We need not say one word to dispose the public for a favorable reception of this work. The established reputation of the author supersedes the necessity of our doing so, and we shall, therefore, content ourselves with a brief extract from his prospectus, and a promise to report progress from time to time. 'It is necessary to observe, that we have not attempted to supply the reader with a complete Geographical and Statistical Dictionary. Such a work would necessarily extend to many volumes, and would embrace multitudinous details nowise interesting to the great majority of readers. Our object has been of a more limited kind. Being intended for the especial use of Englishmen, we have dwelt at greatest length on those articles, and on those parts of articles, we thought most likely to interest them. Hence we have appropriated a much larger space to articles connected with our Eastern possessions, and our colonies in different parts of the world, than they may appear, on other grounds, properly entitled to. On the same principle, we have lengthened the accounts of those countries and places with which our countrymen have the greatest intercourse, or which have acquired celebrity by the historical associations connected with them; and have proportionally shortened the others.' The work is to appear in monthly parts, and will be 'confined within the smallest possible compass.'

Emendations of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament. By Selig Newman, Author of the 'Abridged Hebrew Grammar,' and the 'Complete Hebrew and English Lexicon.' Pp. 72. London: Wertheim. 1839.

Whatever objections may be made against a new version of the Bible which should supplant the version in general use, no well grounded objection can be urged against its defects or inaccuracies being pointed out, for the benefit of those whose inclination and profession lead them to study the original. And if, in such examination and comparison of the English with the Hebrew, we avail ourselves of the labors of German rationalists, we may surely hail those of the Israelitish believer, though not yet converted to Christianity. Mr. Newman does not appear before the public now for the first time; his Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon are well known, and have received from us the commendation they deserve. The work now before us will be found useful by those for whom it is intended. The authorized version of the passages handled, is put in one column, and the amended

version opposite. There is, of course, no room in so small a volume for discussing or defending the version proposed; still the work will be useful as showing the *opinion* entertained by a good Hebrew scholar and a student of the Hebrew Scriptures, on many obscure or difficult passages.

The Mysteries of Revelation, no solid Argument against its Truth. A Dissertation which obtained the Hulsean Prize, for 1838. By Daniel Moore, Librarian and Scholar of Catherine Hall. Cambridge. 1839, pp. 115.

Some of our readers may not be aware that in 1777, the Rev. John Hulse directed that one sixth part (of a certain portion of his rentals) 'should be paid to such learned and ingenious person, in the Univer-'sity of Cambridge, under the degree of Master of Arts, as shall com-'pose for that year, the best Dissertation in the English language, on 'the Evidences in general, or on the Prophecies, or Miracles in parti-'cular, or any other particular argument, whether the same be direct 'or collateral proofs of the Christian Religion, in order to evince its 'truth and excellence.' The Essay before us obtained the prize for 1838; no small distinction, when we recollect the competition is open to the whole University.

It is a masterly production, discovering no small share of diligent investigation, polemical aptitude, and general attainment. The style is chaste and beautiful, without any lack of energy; and there is a tone of deep earnestness pervading the whole composition, which, without violating the proprieties of scientific discussion, throws the charm of sincerity, the hallowed lustre of a reflected experience, over the whole dissertation. The present essay must not be considered as a mere college exercise. Considering the argument well sustained throughout, we cordially recommend the publication to the perusal of any of our friends who wish for a clear, able, and concise view of a difficult and important subject.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter. Under the Sanction of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. No. 1.

The African Colonizer. No. 1.

We are desirous of calling the early attention of our readers to both these Journals, each of which in its appropriate sphere, is eminently adapted to serve the interests of an enlightened and humane policy. They are both designed to appear once a fortnight, and may be ordered through any news-vender, so as to be obtained with the utmost regularity. The former 'will be devoted exclusively to topics connected with the twin abominations yet desolating the earth—Slavery and the Slave-Trade. It will also be the official organ of the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society, and the habitual Reporter of its proceedings; maintaining, consequently, unequivocally, the *pacific* principles of that Society. Our columns,' remarks the editor, 'will con-

tain further, as much of the general information which will be continually arriving on our appropriate topics, as we may be able to condense into them; together with original articles on the various important questions which will naturally arise for discussion. While the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* cannot be considered as in any way (the mere accident of time excepted) succeeding to the *British Emancipator*, from which its general scope and character will be found to differ, it will not be forgetful of the happily emancipated population of the British Colonies, a watchful regard to whose interests is one of the specific duties of the Anti-Slavery Society.'

The *African Colonizer*, has a more circumscribed, but scarcely less important sphere. It is 'published, not only under a strong impression that the affairs of Africa, generally, are of deep concern to Great Britain, but, under a still stronger conviction that some of the most dearly cherished British interests will incur the greatest hazard, if steps be not speedily taken to enlighten and rouse the public respecting British Africa in particular. Although, within a few months, attention has been called to Colonial topics with great ability; and praiseworthy efforts are making for the same object in other periodicals, it is quite plain that space must always be wanting in them for the details indispensable to be PUBLISHED in order to get justice for Africa.' It is, therefore, proposed to make the *Colonizer* a depository of every kind of information bearing on the interests—whether moral, social, commercial, or political—of Africa, and thereby to secure from the British people that degree of attention to which this interesting but neglected portion of our globe is entitled. We heartily wish success to both Journals, and shall be forward, from time to time, to repeat our commendation.

Prince Albert, His Country and Kindred. London: Ward and Co.

A well-timed and meritorious publication which will be sought with eagerness, and be read with deep interest by a large class of our countrymen.

Literary Intelligence.

Preparing for Publication.

What Cheer? or Roger Williams in Banishment; a Poem. By Job Durfee, Esq., with a recommendatory Preface by the Rev. John Eustace Giles, Leeds.

Just Published.

Travels in the West. Cuba; with Notices of Porto Rico and the Slave-Trade. By David Turnbull, Esq., M.A.

Discourses on Special Occasions, by the late Rev. Robert S. M'All, LL.D. With a Sketch of his Life and Character, by the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. Two volumes 8vo.

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History of Ireland. By Thomas Moore, Esq. Vol. III. (Lardner's Cyclopædia.)

Ward's Library. Christian Moderation. In two books. By Joseph Hall, D.D. Reprinted from the edition of 1640.

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Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland, and of the Influence which the Scriptural doctrines have exercised on that Country, in Literary, Moral, and Polical respects. By Count Valerian Krasinski. Vol. II.

A Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament: especially adapted for the Use of Colleges and Schools: but also intended as a convenient Manual for Students in Divinity and Theological Readers in General. By the Rev. S. T. Bloomfield, D.D.

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A Dictionary Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of the Various Countries, Places, and Principal Natural Objects in the World. By J. R. M'Culloch, Esq. Part I.

A Treatise on Man's Responsibility. By J. Howard Hinton, M.A.

The Primitive Doctrine of Justification Investigated: relatively to the several definitions of the Church of Rome and the Church of England; and with a Special Reference to the Opinions of the late Mr. Knox, as published in his Remains. By George S. Faber, B.D. Second edition.

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A Treatise on Baptism; designed as a Help to the due Improvement of that Holy Sacrament, as administered in the Church of England. By the Rev. E. Bickersteth.

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The Christian Visitor: or Select portions from The Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, with Expositions and Prayers. Designed to assist the Friends of the Sick and the Afflicted. By the Rev. W. Jowett, M.A.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR APRIL, 1840.

Art. I. 1. *Proceedings at a Meeting for the Formation of the Evangelical Voluntary Church Association, held on Wednesday Evening, Dec.* 4, 1839.

2. *Advocacy of the Voluntary Principle on Religious Grounds only. No.* 1. *The Church of England and the Church of Christ. a Lecture delivered in the Town Hall, Hertford. By the Rev.* JOHN BURNET. London: J. Dinnis.

'THE stars in their courses fought against Sisera;' and the time of the turn of battle will come, whatever temporary disadvantages or defeats the cause of God and truth may have to sustain. Instead of being alarmed by the fierceness of the conflict, the boasting of the foe, or the occasional tergiversations of lowly or *lordly* friends, we are disposed to feel encouragement and to cherish hope. The raging elements will the sooner subside from their present vehemence; vociferation will only produce hoarseness and silence; and a change of policy in the doubtful rouse into renewed action a needful excitement. The warfare of the voluntary with the compulsory principle, we deem to be eminently a 'good warfare.' It is literally *pro aris et focis;* for, as the one or the other prevails, we shall witness the purity or corruption of Christianity, the vigor or the feebleness of personal religion, the dominion of righteousness, or the reign of exaction and tyranny. The great questions at issue now are, whether the mind shall be free or fettered; whether conscience shall be let alone or coerced; whether the building of churches, and the promotion of religion, are identical; whether the church of Christ requires for its support the prop of human authority, and the aid

of state patronage? And these again involve other and momentous inquiries; such as, what was Christianity in its primitive, unsophisticated character, as taught by its Divine founder, and diffused under his guidance by its original propagators? What was its theory—what its practice—what its weapons—what its effects, and how accomplished?—what its history—when it became associated with worldly administrations, obtained the protection, and spoke through the enactments of princes and potentates; exchanged the simplicity of the upper room at Jerusalem, and the cottage, and the highway, and the mountain-side, and the seashore, for the pomp of the palace and the cathedral—what its moral power when men began to persecute, and assume the right to tolerate others in the exercise of their faith, and the conduct of their worship—what its progress when the sword, but not the 'sword of the Spirit;' its sceptre, but not the sceptre of the 'Prince of Peace,' made martyrs of its apostles, and slaves of its subjects?

Upon a review of the past three hundred years, there will be found much, very much to furnish matter for grave and even melancholy reflection. Considering the noble struggles of the great promoters of the reformation, it was to have been expected that emancipated religion would have gone on conquering and to conquer. It was not unreasonable in the reformers to think, as they did think, that the bright æra of the millennium was beginning to burst upon a long-oppressed and misguided world, and that the principles of moral freedom and eternal truth, for which they contended, were about to march triumphantly through the length and breadth of the earth. It was natural, having struck so severe a blow, and inflicted so deep and deadly a wound on the man of sin, to look for the downfall of popery, and the irresistible success of a purer faith and practice. In truth, fair and glorious were the prognostications of the future at that auspicious period. There seemed to be men of the right spirit in action; the crushing encumbrance of resistless authority had been removed; the holy Bible was given to rejoicing millions in the German language. If ever it could be said, in any case, that the direct interposition of Providence was manifest, apart from mere visible and palpable displays to the senses, it may surely be affirmed, that it was then indisputable and obvious. As well in the singular origination of that great measure, as in all the circumstances of its early advancement, till the bravery and mastery of truth in its humble advocates subdued the power and discipline of the hosts of error and corruption, was to be seen a movement that extorted from ten thousand tongues the exclamation, 'What 'hath God wrought!' But, after the lapse of three centuries, what do we now find; and why do we find it? We find popery vigorous, and Protestantism turning pale at the sight; we find

the spirit of an Eckius reviving, and that of a Luther almost ready to quail. The christian world has been surprised at the resuscitation of exploded doctrines; the extravagant demands of newly constituted authorities; the plain and palpable stagnation of the Protestant mind. After this great lapse of time, during which so many controversies have been agitated, so many books written, so many mental giants have fought and bled in the field of illustrious strife for freedom and religion, what do we find, but christendom overspread with moral darkness, and even in this the most enlightened part of it; yea, even in this the nineteenth age of the christian æra, the very question which ought to have been settled long ago, which one would think to be of no very difficult solution, which is absolutely an elementary question, and fundamental to christianity, still in warm and rancorous discussion,—namely, whether the establishment of religion by the state, or the propagation of it by its own voluntary and truth-loving agents, be the legitimate and scriptural mode? One would think this is like debating whether the religion of Jesus has any intrinsic virtue and force, or whether he, perceiving the natural inefficiency of his own principles, called upon princedoms and potentates to prop his cause by their legislation, and provide for its increase by their countenance. It is like asking whether christianity is an outward ceremony, or an inward principle; if the former, it needs a worldly sustenance; if the latter, it must and can triumph alone by its self-sustained and self-propagating energy.

But why, we have inquired, do we find things in their present position? Why do men of note and talent betray the grossest inconsistencies, puzzle themselves and others with a labyrinth of theological perplexity, and pour forth their periodical denunciations upon those who conscientiously differ from their opinions, and deny their fallacies to be axioms; and why, in the form not only of what are technically denominated '*grievances*,' but in that of secret, insidious, petty persecutions, and less secret calumnies, do men continue to disparage the gospel, and disgrace the mitre? The answer, and the only answer, so far as we can discern, is—*the reformation itself was essentially defective.* It went deep, but not deep enough; it soared high, but not high enough. It was both less pure in its principle, and less perfect in its details, than it might have been. It did wonderful execution in lopping, and barking, and tearing asunder even the main stem, but did not lay the axe at the root of the great upas-tree of corruption. If ever christians were called in providence to the discharge of a high and most responsible duty, we believe it to be at the present crisis. Never was duty plainer—perhaps, never was difficulty greater; and the difficulty will be found, not merely in the formidable array of antagonist principles and combinations, but in the conflict which, in the fulfilment of their high vocation, Christ-

ians have to maintain with their own spirits. The perfection of a moral achievement is to do a great and good thing, and to do it in the right spirit. Before we take the sword of the Spirit in our grasp, we should 'wash our hands in innocency;' so that every thrust shall be a triumph before we gain the ultimate victory. The grand defect of the reformation was, that it did not aim at the subversion, nay, it even confirmed by the advocacy and practice of its leaders, the compulsory principle in religion. It sought the ruin of a popish, but upheld the scheme of a Protestant establishment. Its theory was unfounded; or rather, perhaps, it had no theory. The reformers, with all their sagacity, did not perceive that *they* were no more entitled to impose on the faith of others, than others had the right to impose on theirs: that Luther ought no more to judge and condemn Zuingle for his sacramentarian sentiments, or Calvin to burn Servetus for his heresy, than Leo X., or his successors, to give Luther to the magistrate or to perdition. Lutheranism ought no more to have been *established* than popery; for whether the authority in question was pope, monarch, or elector, it was a *human authority*, and religion, which sought to be untrammelled, was only allowed to serve a better master. But heaven has designed her for rule and not for servitude; and her appropriate and predestined dominion is over the mind and the heart. Her glorious crown is the affections of her subjects.

The vast and peculiar enterprise to which all enlightened christians are called in the present day, is to seek, by every proper and practicable means, to obtain the separation of the church from the state. Their business is to carry out and go beyond the reformation. It is not with a Carlodstadt's violence to pull down images or altars, but with the argument of a Paul to convince, and with the love of a John to constrain. It is to demand inquiry; to pursue evidence; to explain Scripture; to oppose false theories, and resist vicious intrusions into the church of Christ; to ascertain and declare essential, long hidden, or much mutilated principles; to restore primitive practice, and to lay an unsparing hand upon soul-destroying corruptions. But we again say, and fearlessly maintain, that the one chief labor to which an enlightened church is now called, for which its members ought to pray and strive to unite, is to effect a separation of the true church from all its worldly adhesions, and to do this with all personal kindness to individuals who adhere to systems hostile to a primitive christianity: to make this their distinct and paramount object, that religion may stand forth in her unrivalled grandeur, in the majesty of her truth, and the power of her charity, and thus appear 'clear as 'the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with ban-'ners.'

And this we say the rather, because we perceive in the consti-

tution of the Evangelical Voluntary Church Association precisely that element which, in combination with others, apparent in prior institutions kindred in fundamental principle, will tend to promote good-will as well as good sentiment, and make the triumph in question substantially the victory of love. But before coming to the details of this society, we must be allowed a few more general observations.

The timid of all parties, but especially those whose interest it is to retain their present elevation, are alarmed at controversy and agitation, for the same reason that the rooks are afraid of tempestuous winds that may blow them out of their nests. But is there one reason in Scripture why we should conceal our views from any apprehension of immediate consequences; and can an overawed conscience be a peaceful one? Did any deference to existing authorities in the apostolic times prevent the teachers of christianity from going into the places of most public resort to urge their doctrines, though they were decried as aiming 'to turn 'the world upside down?' Besides, the agitations of controversy, to which in the yet conflicting state of opinions we are necessarily forced, tend to purify the moral atmosphere.

The evils incident to discussion have induced many to sacrifice the interests of truth to the desire of peace. The desire of peace is, doubtless, natural to every well constituted mind, and is accordant with the scriptural injunction, to 'seek peace and ensue 'it.' But neither reason nor scripture justify that morbid sensibility which is more alive to the feelings of individuals than the principles which should govern the world; and more concerned about personal repose than public good. If tranquillity can be obtained in connexion with the advancement of truth and religion, it is well; but if the alternative be, that peace or *principle* must be abandoned, the path of duty is clear, or apostles, martyrs, and reformers, have labored and died in vain.

An eminent writer has remarked, with regard to the duties of patriotism, 'Christianity, I allow, is a religion of peace; and 'whenever it universally prevails, in the spirit and power of it, 'wars will be unknown. But so will every other species of in-'justice: yet while the world is as it is, some kind of resistance 'to injustice is necessary, though it may at some future time 'become unnecessary. If our Saviour's command, that we resist 'not evil be taken literally and universally, it must have been 'wrong for Paul to have remonstrated against the magistrates at 'Philippi; and he himself would not have reproved the person 'who smote him at the judgment seat.' The applicability of this sentiment is obvious when Christianity is prevalent in all orders of society and throughout the world,—that is, pure, enlightened, biblical Christianity—religious controversies, as well as sectarian animosities, will cease; but while the world, and it may be added

the church, *is as it is*, opposition to error is requisite, though at some future period—some 'formosissimus annus' of the universe —it will terminate with its lamented cause.

Controversy is not, then, the unmixed evil which it has been incautiously pronounced to be; on the contrary, in the existing state of things, it is likely to prove, as upon the whole it has hitherto been, notwithstanding attendant inconveniences, a real good. It has elicited truth—enlarged the boundaries of human thought—purified the motives of human action—generated the spirit of free inquiry—emancipated the mind from the bondage of educational prejudice, the subtlety of sophistical plausibilities, and the thraldom of traditional and hereditary opinions—and called forth those intellectual giants and heroes of our race, who have conquered in the field of argument, and strengthened the fortifications of our faith. But for the moral conflict which the opponents of sound principle and scriptural knowledge have tempted to their own discomfiture, we might still have had battles to fight which are already won, and victories to achieve which are now only to be celebrated. But all is not yet accomplished; many a struggle is yet to be maintained: many an entrenched error is to be dislodged ere the fervors of controversy can subside into the glow of a heartfelt union and a universal peace.

The question about establishments may be regarded as a truly national one; and this, in fact, constitutes one of the difficulties of the discussion. It is already so intimately associated with the prejudices and passions of the community, that it is next to impossible for any one to investigate it with a cool head and an independent feeling. The spirit of sound inquiry which may easily be cherished in the pursuit of a metaphysical or mathematical thesis, is liable to deterioration in a thousand ways when the highest temporal or eternal interests are concerned, and when antecedent prepossessions have made men partizans rather than inquirers. There might be some chance of an unbiassed state of mind if there were no ecclesiastical establishment, and if without the parchments of parliament and an ecclesiastical soldiery, the question were simply, What is the divinely authorized constitution of a state with reference to its religious concerns? The case having been prejudged by the legislature, and the secular having been entwined with the spiritual interests of the people, so as to place the field of controversy in the midst of the most deeply rooted and widely spreading prejudices of successive generations, it is impossible not to perceive, *ab initio*, the disadvantages of the assailant's position. He is made to wage a warfare rather than to ascertain a principle; he must fight a system, rather than discuss a question.

But inasmuch as there is a church and a hierarchy as by law established, the present debate necessarily assumes a character of

national importance. The decision as to the right or wrong of this establishment must affect the welfare of the entire British community; and that in their most valued relations, and with regard to their far distant posterity; for it enters into the present constitution and framework of society; while on the one side it is affirmed and on the other denied, that our ancestral wisdom is the model and ought to be the undisputed guide of their children's and their children's children's religion in all future ages. We feel that it touches the very core of prejudice, that it involves exposure to the severest reproach, that it hazards reputation and peace to inquire —not whether the Church Establishment of England is the best--but whether (for that is the question) there ought to be an establishment of religion, that is, an alliance between church and state. Questions of property, and what have been denominated 'vested 'rights'—questions of rank, title, law, and of hereditary power or precedence, with a thousand others are more or less connected with this great debate; sufficiently appalling, it is granted, to weak nerves and doubtful claimants, but not to be on that account abandoned. The startling terms of innovation and revolution ought not to frighten us from the course of duty, or alarm us from the investigation of truth; for apostles were revolutionists, and reformers were innovators. 'These men that have turned the 'world upside down, are come hither also.' The political changes of modern times have induced mankind to attach arbitrary ideas to words; incorporating a meaning not original to them, and investing them with horrors drawn from particular events and passing scenes. Hence innovation has been viewed as tantamount to rebellion, and revolution has been but another name for bloodshed and frenzy. These notions, too, have been transferred from politics to religion; and the opponents of corruption in the Church, pleading for the re-establishment of a pure, New Testament faith and practice, have been classed with the fiercest demagogues and wildest enthusiasts. With a strange inconsistency and sufficiently characteristic of weakness, the venerable Establishment has been lauded as impregnable in her foundations, and invulnerable to the attacks of her enemies; strong in all her bulwarks and consolidated by time; and yet as in extreme danger—and from what? A contemptible and ever jarring fanaticism! If it be fanaticism, it will fail; if it be contemptible, it may be let alone. But, in fact, it cannot be deemed, and is not, in spite of pretences, either the one or the other; and is only so represented by sycophancy or terror. The growing intelligence of the present age has brought into prominent view a question of mighty interest, the great debating parties are preparing for the onset, and have had already many a vehement skirmish; and neither will gain, but may greatly loose, by pouring obloquy on

the other; for no weapons will ultimately prevail but those of reason and of truth.

The importance of the question is further apparent from considering that it is essentially connected with the interests of personal religion, and with the promotion of practical Christianity. The advocates of state establishments have again and again urged the consequences of abandoning their principle, predicting as with an oracle's authority or a seer's foresight, the results, the fearful results to piety as well as to episcopacy, of the severance of Church and State. But this is what logicians term a petitio principii; for it is one of the points at issue, whether vital and personal Christianity would or would not be promoted by the non-establishment of religion, or by its emancipation when it is established, from the bondage of endowments. An appeal to consequences may or may not be a proper ground of argument according to circumstances, but it should be ultimate rather than primary.

Be it further observed, that the contest in which we are engaged is not about ceremonies but principles; and this enhances its importance. The form of church government and discipline, the arrangement of offices, and the disposal of funds, though not on some accounts insignificant questions, are here of subordinate interest: they form branches of the subject, but are not vital. It is not the assumptions of a hierarchy or the denials or severities of a strict nonconformity that demand discussion; for the main point would be left untouched whether we opposed or conceded the rights of ecclesiastical etiquette, decoration, and dress, whether it were permissible to wear the gown, or bow to the east, or bend at the altar; the point on which the controversy really turns, is the scriptural or unscriptural nature of an alliance between the Church and the State. This is not simply a dissenting,—it is truly a Protestant question, and is necessarily the most important subject of debate with the advocates of the catholic faith. This has not been and cannot, in fact, be the point in debate between the Catholic church and the Church of England, because here they are agreed, while they unitedly differ from the nonconformists of the present day; but this agreement is a bad omen, as we apprehend, for the great interests at stake, because, though the Protestant churchman may triumph over the Catholic in the argument upon many doctrines and ceremonies, it is impossible on this ground to overturn the system of Catholicism. Widely as they differ in various respects, yet here they are one, resting their pretensions on a similar basis; the first party pleading for a modified infallibility, if so incongruous a term may be allowed, which in the other is maintained without the same restrictions. On the main question it is only the Dissenter that can succeed. On any other ground than that which he assumes, the most prac-

tised logician must fail. It is the denial of the right of secular establishments of religion, and the enforcement of the Saviour's declaration, 'My kingdom is not of this world,' that can alone avail against the bold assertions and complicated sophistries of either communion. And let the giant of the Vatican or the giant of the Cathedral boast as he may, with this simple truth drawn from the pages of inspiration, the Dissenter feels that he has a stone and a sling that will achieve the victory.

Nor, indeed, is he single-handed; for the episcopalian may consistently enough sustain and sympathize with his efforts. Though the Church and the State were disunited, episcopalianism might survive, and that too in a purified state. In point of fact, there are multitudes already within the pale of the Establishment who, having discernment enough to perceive, and candor enough to confess, that as the interests of vital religion would not suffer but might be promoted, and as besides, the discipline as well as the essential doctrines of our ecclesiastical code might still be secure, though Church and State were separated, do not participate in the fear of consequences which so many others entertain at the possible dissolution of the alliance. In their judgment as well as in that of their Dissenting brethren, it would divest episcopalianism of its offensive character, abate the hostility of its enemies, and compensate in its glory as a sect for what it lost in its power as a hierarchy.

Were it not for the virulence of party feelings, from which it is but fair and candid to admit neither the advocates nor the opponents of an endowed establishment have been wholly exempt, it would be superfluous to remark that the contest is not with men, but systems. Dissenters have repeatedly expressed their admiration of individuals, and their sense of the importance of those services which, as literary or theological champions, many from whom they differ on the great question respecting a church and state religion, have rendered to the cause of Christianity; and Churchmen too have with an impartial integrity sometimes, though in our apprehension less frequently and less frankly, paid homage to the talents and labors of distinguished men who have been hostile to their ecclesiastical constitution. But these honorable concessions to truth and virtue ought not to hinder the investigations which a just regard to our highest interests demands, while they tend to check the wantonness of zeal and the pride of victory. It is easy to perceive *how* these mutual exasperations arise, for while human nature is what it is, resentment will be enkindled by an assault upon dear and long cherished opinions; and the more likely they are to yield to the assailant's force of argument and evidence, the stronger frequently will be the tenacity of adherence to them. Hence the fiercest persecutions that have ever disturbed the peace and shed the blood of the church,

have originated less in faith than in fear; the cause of the persecutor has not so much been maintained because it was felt to be true, as because it was believed to be endangered.

Still it ought to be observed, that the hostility is against *systems.* Instead of regarding this hostility as malignant, it ought to be viewed, if properly conducted, as an expression of Christian benevolence; and consequently, invective on the one side and recrimination on the other, are inapplicable and misplaced. The effort in argument, though it be even somewhat rude and vehement, when we believe our fellow Christian to be cherishing a serious error, resembles the zeal of him who should snatch and hurry a man from a precipice he did not perceive, or a quicksand on which he had ignorantly planted his foot. Whatever be the method adopted, the aim at least is kind; and though it should ultimately appear that the person who acted as a deliverer was himself suffering a delusion, charity should appreciate, as philanthropy must applaud his motive. But, unhappily, there are those, and often they are chiefs in this controversy, who can see nothing in the opposition offered to their nursed and dandled prejudices, but pure evil and bad passion. They view inquiry as an insult, and resistance to a favorite dogma or a well patronized scheme, as a treason against heaven. What is hoary with age is of course venerable; what is emblazoned with pomp, and patronage, and distinction, is unhesitatingly to be received; what is transmitted from distant times or comes sustained by the wisdom of our ancestors, is, necessarily, true. Thus men *reason,* or rather thus men *think;* till they are tempted to glory in the very shame of endeavoring to load with obloquy that which ought to be contemplated with esteem and hailed as an accessory of truth. In the controversialists upon this subject we often recognize a kind of sect of anthropomorphites, who imagine that essential divinity resides in the form and structure of their creed and system, and that to seek the demolition of their theological order or principle of discipline is to attempt an outrage upon the throne of God. No difficulty can exceed that of having to contend with such a state of mind; obstacles present themselves which seem all but insurmountable, at every step; for the discussion is, as it were, determined before it is begun. Instead of that calm inquiry which religion claims, and which can alone subserve its interests, the struggle is for victory or for show; it is an olympic game or a chivalrous tournament: the whole is settled by patronage or by dexterity. But it is surely high time to view the subject in its true light, to disentangle it from the perplexities of prejudice and personality, and to fix it on the basis of reason and revelation.

We now solicit the attention of our readers to the claims of 'The Evangelical Voluntary Church Association,' whose proceedings at a meeting appointed for its formation are recorded in

the pamphlet announced at the head of this article, and the title of whose first publication is also introduced. We propose to refer to its origin, its distinctive principle, and to what we have ascertained of its present plans and prospects.

With regard to the origin of this Association, it may, if we mistake not, be traced proximately to the lectures delivered by Dr. Chalmers, and, therefore, primarily to the hostile attitude against nonconformity assumed by the Christian Influence Society, to which it is in reality the plain and legitimate antagonist. After the delivery of Dr. Chalmers's lectures, a few individuals who were deeply impressed with the unfairness of the lecturer, and the unsophisticated rancor of the party that employed him to scatter fire-brands, arrows, and death, deemed it a duty which they owed to their fellow men, to adopt some measure which might be calculated to disabuse the public mind of the delusions conjured up by the magician's wand, and to establish some permanent method of awakening the religious feeling of the community, to a sense of the necessity of a more deliberate and dispassionate consideration of the general question of state establishments of religion. After some private conferences, a public meeting was called, and an association was formed, of which we have the account before us. To the special object of the society, as laid down in the rules and expounded by the speeches of Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Dr. Leifchild, Dr. Cox, Mr. Burnet, and others, we shall presently advert. In the mean time, we cannot but be struck with the fact that, some of the very persons who have been prominent in the support of those institutions which have assumed what has been termed the political ground of nonconformity, denouncing church-rates and other dissenting grievances, and appealing to parliament on the questions of civil and religious freedom—some of these very gentlemen are the leaders in this new movement which takes exclusively the religious ground, and in the language of the general title of their tracts, stands upon 'the advocacy of the Voluntary Principle on *religious grounds* '*only*.' It may be asked, Have these gentlemen renounced their former principles, abandoned their former friends, or assumed for any party purposes a novel character? We believe no such thing; on the contrary, they are acting in perfect harmony with all their former declarations, and in unison with all their former associates. There is more than one road to the metropolis, and more than one method by which the same great end may be accomplished. They are no less voluntaries than they were, and no other in principle than they were—the steady friends of freedom—the steady opponents of a union of Church and State, in the promulgation of Christianity. Nor are they a whit the less inclined to sustain all the political bearings of the question, and the appeal to parliament if deemed necessary in other connexions

or aspects of the subject; but only *here* according to the terms of this particular union, they are more distinctly and solemnly pledged to the promotion of the voluntary principle by an advocacy specifically founded on the religious basis. It is the only instance in which this point has been so prominently exhibited, and it is calculated to help forward the general question, inasmuch as those who go to the greatest length in their views, and are most decided in their utterance, may feel an identification of interest and purpose with the principles of this Society, while others, who are afraid of reproach—afraid of being called political—may concur in operations which are primarily based in religion. The Society challenges cooperation by maintaining the axiom that the one thing ought to be done and the other not left undone.

The distinctive principle, then, of the 'Evangelical Voluntary Church Association' is thus declared in one of its fundamental rules—'This society shall not take part in any appeals to the 'legislature of the country; but its business shall simply be to 'advocate and extend by means of public lectures, through the 'press, and in every other practicable way, the principle of Vo-'luntary Churches; in the spirit of meekness and charity towards 'those of our Christian brethren, whether in or out of the Esta-'blishment, who dissent from its object,—and with the view of 'convincing and persuading their minds.' Some of the avowed opponents of church exactions and church establishments were at first a little apprehensive that this institution wore an unfavorable aspect towards them, and contained in it a tacit objection to their measures and objects; but they did not perhaps observe that without any expressed or implied reflection on them, it was only resolved that (not *they*), but *this society* should not take part in any appeals to the legislature of the country. Beside the great practical proof not only that this jealousy does not now exist, but that there is a general conviction that the Evangelical Voluntary Church Association is concurrent with the principle of all others which advocate the removal of the great grievance of a national church establishment, is, that both the Scotch and English ministers who represent other institutions, have united with this as corresponding agents to the number already, as we are given to understand, of between four and five hundred.

If the religious view of the question regarding a church establishment be not the only one that may be taken, it is at least among the most important; and not having before been brought forward with sufficient prominence, the Christian public must feel indebted to those who have united in this pious confederation. The sentiments expressed at the public meeting were worthy of the parties who gave them utterance; and we should be glad to extract largely from these speeches if our space permitted. But

other claims crowd upon us, and we must, therefore, restrict ourselves to the following remarks of the chairman.

'I feel,' observes Sir Culling Eardley Smith, 'that the grand obstacle to what I conceive to be scripturally constituted societies, is the Establishment. I am not now speaking of the vast number of places where there are ministers (so called) who do not feel the love of Christ, and therefore cannot explain it. But I speak of the generality of parishes where the gospel is preached. Every person who attends Church, imagines that as a member of the National Church, he has a certain *status* as a Christian. Much more, every communicant is induced to regard himself as a person *fully* complying with the ordinances of Christ. There is, therefore, an utter want of corporate love and corporate action in the bodies which assemble round the communion table. I think if any Churchman were to be brought to feel that such sympathy as I have described is an indispensable condition of rightly constituted bodies of communicants, he would be the first to acknowledge that there is but little of the sort in the Establishment. I know what it was to me, for several years after I became interested about religion. The sacrament was a very awful and impressive ceremony to my mind, and I hope it reminded me of the love of Christ; but there was such a contradiction in its being administered by a man of the world, and partaken in by people who made no profession of loving Christ (one or both, as might be), that I never knew the delight of it till recently.

'The great feeling, then, which I have is, that the machinery of a national establishment neutralizes the machinery of Jesus Christ. This last is a machinery so potent, that I believe if it was left to itself, it would soon send the gospel all over the world. Societies, really Christian, would have a silent eloquence, which would be worth all the professional missionaries in the world. Very much less money than is now spent, whether at home or abroad, would produce ten thousand times the effect, if all professing Christians were seen to love one another. But the consequence of establishments is, that persons who have no Christian love in their character, are deceived into thinking themselves Christians. Missionaries abroad, and pious ministers at home, have sad up-hill work, from this contradiction between the precepts of Chistianity and the practices of professed Christians. If the State would but leave religion to its own unassisted energies, Christians would soon find each other out, and the loveliness and happiness of the system would soon commend themselves to every impartial conscience. The mass of talent, too, which is now shut up into small spheres, would then be set at liberty, for the promulgation of the gospel among the thoughtless and ungodly. A large proportion of pastors would be turned into evangelists. The mountain of the Lord's house would be established on the top of the mountains, and all nations would flow unto it.

'I cannot descend from this interesting view of the question to dwell upon the injustice of establishments. I feel their injustice most strongly. They unduly elevate one set of men, and unduly depress

another, not because they are better or worse men, or better or worse citizens, but because they give, or do not give, their formal adhesion to a certain form of words. Establishments also involve taxation of one man for the spread of another man's opinions. They stand in the way of Christian co-operation. They have taken the Bible Society and the Tract Society in England, by the voluntary retirement of individuals, out of the hands and the advocacy of Episcopalians, and placed them chiefly in the hands of Voluntaries. They occasion all sorts of jealousies. If I attend a voluntary chapel in a parish, the pious clergyman of the place threatens me with the loss of his friendship. If I wish to employ a Scripture reader in a godless village, even my pious friends wonder at my audacity. I feel that the Establishment is at the root of the whole evil, and now is the time to endeavor to convince people that it is so.'

This extract may suffice, though we wish we had space to introduce portions of the other speeches, in order to exhibit still more fully the principles of this new society, and the spirit by which its supporters are prompted. They have chosen the path of conciliation, and attempt, not only to convince by argument, but to win by persuasion. Alas, how vainly! If any thing could bespeak honesty of purpose, and kindness of heart, it would be surely to say, as this association in effect says, let us calmly examine the points of difference; let us lay aside every reproachful epithet, and every suspicious feeling, and with the common standard of faith, the Bible, in our hands, let us prayerfully and perseveringly investigate the claims of the voluntary principle; let us endeavor to ascertain whether the union of church and state is compatible with the laws of our common Lord; whether he countenanced or not the principle of religious establishments, and aim to conform at once to his authority, whether our particular predilections are or are not sustained; let us lay aside selfishness, hatred, and all party politics, and take the *mind of Christ* as the polar star of our future course. One would have thought that, persons influenced by these sentiments, avowed publicly and with evident sincerity, would at least have gained respect, and have been exempted from opprobrium. But what was the fact? Instantly after the holding of this assembly, the wide mouth of calumny was opened, and poured forth unwonted scurrility in endless vociferations. The pious Record, and the impious Times, alike cursed. The former was so enamored of its own production, that nothing less would suffice than to issue it in a separate penny publication; and the latter bestowed three long and leading articles upon the egregious sinners who had dared to attempt to persuade their fellow-countrymen and fellow-christians to investigate the whole subject of church establishments on religious grounds. They tried to disparage the men; but that would not do. They tried to denounce the legi-

timacy of the argument, or basis of the reasoning, but here they failed. They bantered, but soon found, or ought to have found, that that did not befit the subject. They endeavoured to *reason*, but fairly proved they had lost their reason or their christian temper. In fact, they writhed under the torture of witnessing the popular display of a cause which is every day growing in strength, as its opponents are declining in numbers and in power.

Is it then come to this, that discussion, however honorable and however dispassionate, is not to be tolerated, if it involves the interests of a dominant establishment, or the endowments of a secular priesthood? Are men to look at truth only through the medium of their passions and their possessions, and to determine its claims by the law of patronage, and not the law of Christ? Is it come to this, that the best men are to be vilified, and the purest motives denounced at the very whisper of a wish to ascertain the will of heaven, and to settle the discords of the church at the foot of the cross? Are those who differ in opinion to be for ever divided in affection; or are differences never to be determined by the divine philosophy of reason, and the diviner inspiration of Scripture?—we weep over fallen humanity and a degraded church! A man can now be neither patriot nor christian, but at the cost of martyrdom!

The general plan of the Evangelical Voluntary Church Association, is 'to advocate and extend, by means of public lectures, 'through the press, and in every other practicable way, the prin-'ciple of voluntary churches.' It is, in fact, at once a plan of enlightenment and of conciliation. The lectures are to be gratuitous; the society defraying the entire expense of employing well qualified lecturers to pervade the country, or, at least, to occupy some of its most important places. It is undoubted that, such advocacy is much needed; for not only do the prejudiced of every class need to be instructed and won to inquiry, but multitudes of professed voluntaries themselves require to be better informed with regard to the history and the true intent of their own avowed principles. With the plan of lecturing, it is intended soon to unite that of public meetings. This is wise, inasmuch as the platform is become, in our days, a very effective instrument of awakening the popular mind to the importance of subjects of the most surpassing interest; and, moreover, it is a legitimate and necessary method of obtaining support to the society. This proceeding will, naturally, soon connect itself with the formation of local auxiliaries which will bring corresponding members into useful combination, and exhibit a delightful phalanx for the worthy *Times* to contemplate. The committee are, we understand, perfectly 'up and doing.' Besides these efforts, from which important results may be anticipated, they have engaged one

whole side of the Hertford paper, called 'the Reformer,' already a spirited journal, which, under their own superintendence and with their own title, continually pours forth intelligent communications on the voluntary system. We refer to it as, in consequence, become worthy of additional patronage.

The first of the society's series of publications is now before us in the cheap form which adapts itself to the taste of the age. It is Mr. Burnet's lecture at Hertford: and is distingushed by all his characteristic qualities. We need only say it is worthy of his reputation, and we hope it will be very extensively circulated.

The general design is to explain and illustrate two definitions; the one of what *Christianity* is; namely, 'a great moral system, 'revealed from heaven, and capable of universal application; dif-'fusing its principles by the force of their own evidence, and 'maintaining them by their moral power over the minds and con-'duct of those who feel its influence;' the other, of what a *church establishment of religion* is, namely, 'a national institution, 'dictated by the votes of the majority of the community, diffusing 'its principles by legal sanction, and maintaining them by the 'force of law.' We can only afford space for a single extract, the character of which will, doubtless, induce our readers to wish to peruse the whole.

'Suppose, then, we come to the New Testament, we find there that the maintenance of the cause of Christ is connected exclusively with the principle I have just laid down—the operation of truth on the mind. And the apostle reasons on this principle with the Corinthians throughout the ninth chapter of his second epistle to the church at Corinth. He merely reasons the case with them. Does he insist on any thing as a *right,* which he was entitled to demand? No; he had a right to support, it is true, and he says so; but rather than press that right, even by moral suasion, he would work with his own hands, and thus avoid the necessity for such a demand. And if he did so, do you think he would ever have turned to the state, had it then been Christian, and asked its sword to aid him in enforcing a demand which he would rather have worked with his own hands than even urge? Would he have asked the constable's aid to secure it? The whole tenor of the Christianity of the New Testament is against this idea. And to do our friends on the opposite side justice, they never come to the New Testament for support. If, then, they do not come to the New Testament for the support of their system—and if, as we have seen, the Old has nothing to do with their system—must not our friends allow that Christianity ought to be left to its own principles, not to the power of the state, but to its own power? and, if so left, can it not be extended through all the kingdoms of the world, by the influence and example of its professors? Let it be carried into the distant portions of the earth, in its pure and unadulterated form; not to touch upon the

politics of any kingdom. Let it thus go to Turkey; let it thus go to China; let it thus go to Japan; to any state, the most barbarous on the face of the earth; let its messengers be able to say, 'Here is a system that connects itself with no politics under heaven, that touches no state affairs, that is designed to influence solely the minds and hearts of men; and then the emperor of China, and the emperor of Turkey, and the emperor of Japan, can permit their subjects, without the least apprehension, to believe this system—finding that it touches no cabinet, that it interferes with no state movements, and that there is no connexion between the Church and State. We cannot tell them so now. We cannot address them thus on the principles of a State Establishment. What are we obliged to tell them if we tell them the truth? 'This book is part and parcel of the laws of England; the mode of supporting the ministers of religion is described in these laws; the government have the burden of raising the money with which these ministers are sustained. The churches are supported by the government.' 'What!' says the sovereign, 'have the government all this to do for their subjects? If I admit this book, then, into my dominions, I shall have to build churches and pay pastors, and do all this with state money. Why, you are coming to change my government without my consent. I imagined that you were coming to teach my people virtuous principles, and take them to heaven when they die; but you are going to change our constitution, and subvert the laws of our empire, while we are alive.' Could we refuse to allow that he reasoned soundly? 'Away, then, with Christianity; tell me what you may of that, or any other system, by which men are to be pure and happy on earth, and by which they are to rise to heaven when they die; but do not bring a system to me which will alter my government, which will raise up a band of emissaries whom I must pay. Do you expect the tithes of the Celestial Empire?' Would he not be reasoning soundly? I do not know really how it could be met. 'Why, you tell me, he would say, that these ministers have a tenth of the country to support them. Do you suppose that I should allow such emissaries to settle in China?' What reply can we make? But let us be able to say, 'This book is maintained by the congregations converted by its instrumentality—this book is maintained by the spirit of the Christianity it diffuses; it quarters no emissaries upon the country; it has nothing to do with politics; it seeks no state support for its ministers.' Then, and not till then, shall we recover from the effects of a system which has so long proved injurious to the diffusion of Christianity through the world.'

Scarcely had the ink dried upon the last page of our manuscript, when we received an intimation, that the Christian Influence Society had engaged the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, of Liverpool, to deliver a course of six lectures at the Hanover Square Rooms, 'On the Scriptural Character of the English National Church Es-'tablishment, and the Duty of the Legislature so to extend it as 'to maintain its national dimensions, together with some of the

'circumstances which impede its practical efficiency, and the best 'remedies for such defects.' This course of lectures is avowedly in continuation of the lucubrations of Dr. Chalmers in the summer of 1838, under the auspices of the same association; and, doubtless, they will all have been delivered before the issuing of this article from the press. We cannot help, however, expressing at once our unfeigned satisfaction on the occasion of this announcement. It places the matter in debate, between churchmen and dissenters, just where it should be placed; and we await the result of these lectures, and of the present movements, both in and out of the Establishment, with much joyous anticipation.

When the first rumor of the probability of these lectures being delivered, reached our ears, we are free to confess that we were full of questionings and doubts. We entertained no small apprehension that we should be compelled again to fag along the dry and dusty road which ecclesiastical polemics had so often trodden, and on which they had dragged us after them, in spite of our outcries to be conducted along a better path. We were in truth, afraid, that we should be forced to go through the everlasting iteration of common places on expediency, tradition, councils, and creeds; whereas now, it appears,—and we are refreshed at the thought—our controversialist (or lecturer) will appeal to *Scripture*. That is exactly what we want, and have never yet been able to gain from our opponents. Again and again we have said, *Scripture, Scripture*—let us come to the word and testimony. Let *that* speak, and we will hear; we will obey. It is for truth we inquire, not system; it is for christianity we plead, not party.

One word more. We trust we are not misled in our hopes, and that we shall not find we have misunderstood the purpose and plan of the lecturer. We hope he will not, like his predecessor, smother us with words; but keep to the point. We hope he will reason, and not abuse; give evidence fairly, and not pronounce judgment prematurely; but let the world determine for themselves upon the real merits of the controversy. We promise we will do our best to understand all his statements; we will give his volume—(for printing, we presume, will follow lecturing) a cool, careful, and, as far as may be, impartial examination.

Art. II. *A Lexicon of the Greek Language, for the Use of Colleges and Schools; containing*, I. *A Greek-English Lexicon, combining the Advantages of an Alphabetical and Derivative Arrangement;* II. *An English-Greek Lexicon, more copious than any that has yet appeared. To which is added, A Concise Grammar of the Greek Language.* By the Rev. J. A. Giles, LL.D. 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

TO compile an elementary vocabulary and grammar of a *modern* language with which a man is well acquainted, is no very arduous task; although it is much harder than those suppose who have never tried. But when something more perfect is aimed at;—to convey to another a full and systematic account of an entire language;—even with all the assistance derived from previous laborers in the same field, this is indeed a work of no common intellect, and needing various qualifications. If it be an *ancient* language with which we are dealing, the difficulties are vastly multiplied; especially because we are then expected to embrace the changes which it underwent in a series of ages. Beside the various dialects under the term Greek (to confine our attention to this tongue), we have to consider the altered phases which the common Greek exhibits in writers of different times and places.

No small difficulty depends on the immense number of facts to be recorded; for unless an orderly distribution of them be effected, the learner will constantly be at a loss. He may, as it were, starve in the midst of plenty. But such distribution is by no means easy of attainment: and as we apprehend that there is much confusion of thought abroad on this subject, we shall a little expand our views concerning it.

Nothing is more obvious than the primary distinction between a grammar and a dictionary. The former lays down all *general principles* discovered in a language: the pervading analogies which determine its structure and its idiom: the latter furnishes us with *details;* with the stuff or material itself of which the language is composed. It is true that neither of the two accurately preserves its own limits. Numerous details, as of irregular nouns and verbs, are ordinarily registered in a grammar: some grammatical doctrines are occasionally expounded in a dictionary. The latter circumstance is more rare, and the former is limited by convenience; so that on the whole this broad division is sufficiently intelligible and pretty well preserved.

But when so great a mass of matter presses on us as is con-

tained in a knowledge of the Greek tongue, many subdivisions are needed. This has been long recognized in grammars, which always contain different heads, nearly such as the following:—if we may venture to introduce a few new terms. (1) *Characterology:* which gives account of alphabets and the sounds of letters, with all such historical information as belongs to the subject. (2) *Pronunciation:* which should include the laws of euphony, and of accent, if they can be treated together. (3) *Rhythm:* or the laws of poetical combinations of sound. (4) *Lexipathy:* or 'Accidence,' which teaches the inflexions of words, and all modifications of their form which result from general principles. (5) *Lexigony:* which lays down the laws of derivation, or the connection of word with word; as far as general principles are discoverable. (6) *Syntax:* a vague term, but by use settled in meaning. It must include, of course, *all* the laws which guide the union of words in a sentence. Under each of these six heads, distinct remarks are needed on the different dialects, and on the changes of each in progress of time. Such remarks are generally, with much convenience, printed in a smaller type, and reserved for study after the rest has been well digested.

We think it is not equally recognized, that dictionaries need subdivisions as much as grammars, or, to speak more accurately *several* dictionaries are needed, different in kind from one another. From not attending to this, it seems to us, none of them can attain the perfection aimed at. They grasp at too much; and either become unwieldly in bulk (as the Thesaurus of Stephanus), or, in studying condensation, have no philosophical principle of rejection. There ought to be a serious difference even in so straightforward a work as a French-English dictionary; according as it is intended, on the one hand, to enable an Englishman to *understand* French, or on the other, to help a Frenchman to *talk* or *write* English. When the idiom, however, of two languages is so nearly alike as in this case, both objects may be embraced in one book without becoming very voluminous. But if there be a wide opposition of idiom and diversity of culture, it is requisite for the compiler of the work clearly to hold up *one* or *other* end to himself, and adhere to this systematically.

We now study Greek, not solely to be able to read ancient authors passably well, but to undertand the relationship of all the words in the language to one another; and moreover, to understand the connexion of Greek with Latin, with German, with English, perhaps with Persian and Sanscrit. A dictionary intended to exhibit the phenomena which fall under this last head, would be a Comparative Lexicon of a certain family of languages; and although Greek might be the standard of comparison for the rest, this would not make it exclusively a *Greek* dictionary.

Valuable as such a work would be,* if well executed, it is hardly that of which we are now talking; and we may here dismiss this subject.

But to explain the relation of Greek words with *one another* (so far as the subject is one of *detail,* and not embraced in grammar), legitimately belongs to a Greek dictionary. All the families of words ought to be seen registered in juxtaposition. To effect this, the arrangement according to roots is convenient, at least in Greek and Hebrew; indeed, in every language we believe that some other arrangement than the alphabetical should be adopted, depending on the genius of the language itself. The English explanations should be as concise as possible; just enough to identify the word. Those who have hitherto compiled Greek lexicons in this order, appear to us to have erred, in wishing to embrace the objects of an alphabetical lexicon besides. We think that each work has its own sphere: they ought to encroach as little as possible on each other, and every student should possess both.

The common alphabetical dictionary should be devoted to *lexigraphy*;† or to the description of words, with their various meanings arranged in philosophical order; adding all such details concerning their inflections and syntactical peculiarities, as do not fall under grammatical rules. It should be ordinarily confined to a particular dialect; and all words of other dialects which cannot be omitted should be marked as foreign, old, poetical: and words or senses of later origin should be carefully referred to their own time. This is a vast business, even when it has been stripped as much as possible of all that can be thrown under the other heads.

Glossography, however, we think, ought certainly to be made a separate branch; without which, the subordinate dialects never receive adequate attention. To those who can afford to purchase many books, probably nothing will supersede lexicons written for particular authors; of which Schweighæuser's lexicons for Herodotus and Polybius are admirable specimens. Indeed, in every art and science, it appears to be conceded that nothing is so instructive as a *monograph.* But while these cannot be fairly compared with general dictionaries, we have no doubt of the expediency of a separate glossary for all the peculiar words of the Ionic

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* Meidinger has published (in German and in French) a Comparative Dictionary of the *Teutogothic* languages. It requires great erudition to speak confidently on such a work; but while we acknowledge its vast research, it strikes us as deficient in severity of judgment.

† The words *Lexicography, Lexicographer,* are contrary to analogy; and should be *Lexigraphy, Lexigrapher.*

and Doric dialects, so as to leave the ordinary dictionary as a repository for the common Greek alone.

To recapitulate, the scholar needs, if possible, (1) A Comparative Dictionary embracing a Family of Languages: say, Greek, Latin, German, and English: (2) A Greek Dictionary arranged by roots, as a family-register of the genealogy of all Greek words. (3) An Alphabetical Dictionary. (4) A Dictionary for the cognate dialects. To these must be added, (5) an Inverse Lexicon; to assist an Englishman in writing Greek. We entitle these five subjects, (1) Comparative Lexignosy, (2) Lexignosy, (3) Lexigraphy, (4) Glossography, (5) Metaphrastics. Having ventured to impose so many hard words on our readers we will add a criticism on the term Philology, which is now naturalized among us. Its inventors probably intended by it, 'the love of language;' but this should have been 'Philolexy:' for 'Philology'* must mean the love of discussion. Considering also how the termination *logy* is used in the words Astrology, Mythology, Pathology, &c., it is obvious that the science of language ought to have been called *Lexilogy*, of which Lexigraphy and Lexignosy are parts, just as Geography and Geognosy are subordinate to Geology. Perhaps it is not even yet too late to introduce the expressive term Lexilogy, which is so readily understood by any intelligent Englishman.

Lexigraphers generally endeavor to embrace in a single work two or three of the above heads. Even when they confine themselves to their own most peculiar business, they have a vast undertaking, especially in the Greek language, the irregularities of which, below the surface, are far greater than upon the surface. Its irregular nouns, though rather numerous, are generally given in good grammars: moreover a copious list of irregular verbs is uniformly found. But the verbs, called Regular, are but seldom wholly so; although many students do not find this out until they endeavor to compose in Greek. We do not mean to inflict on our readers a lecture on Greek Grammar; but a few words are needed to explain this. In English we have two primary methods of forming the past tense; first, by change of vowel; secondly, by adding *ed*, *d*, or *t*. As examples of the first or older method, we have speak, spoke; break, broke; give, gave; come, came; drink, drank; run, ran; &c. The second admits of subdivisions, only that we do not now care for niceties. In it we find, rout, routed; sound, sounded; save, sav'd; gain, gain'd; read, read [better, *redd*]; sleep, slept; leap, leapt [better, *lept*]; leave, left; eat, ate [better, *ett*]; search, searcht; burn, burnt; press,

* Scapula gives the following meanings of φιλολόγος—(1) fond of discussing, (2) talkative, (3) fond of hearing discussions, (4) literary, learned.

prest. Now, what would be thought of an English grammarian who should lay down, that 'English verbs have two past tenses,' and should exhibit them thus:

See, saw, *or* seed	Live, lave, *or* liv'd
Come, came, *or* com'd	Leave, laf, *or* left
Give, gave, *or* giv'd	Search, sorch, *or* searcht
&c., &c.	&c., &c.

A foreigner would never guess that seed and com'd were not quite as good English as saw and came; and if, late in his studies, he were told that lave, laf, and sorch were all words invented 'for illustration,' he would think he had been most unfairly imposed on. Yet this is not a caricature of the mode of instruction pursued in all, at least except the most recent, Greek grammars. The Greeks, as the English, have two *modes* of forming the past tense; and this the grammarians perversely call, having *two past tenses.* The one mode, called second Aorist, is formed by change (generally shortening) of vowel; as in ληθ, ελαθ; τεμ, εταμ; λειπ, ελιπ. The other mode, called First Aorist, is to add σ; as τυπ, ετυψ; λυ, ελυσ; τι, ετισ. Now doubtless sometimes in Greek, as in English, *both* past tenses exist in one verb, especially if we embrace several centuries of time in our thought; just as we have lit and lighted, hung and hanged, brought and bringed, shone and shined: and if we rake up our old ballads, which are most analogous to the Homeric poems, we can find authority for an extraordinary mass of strange words, such as com'd, seed, lough, mough, kep (for *laughed, might, kept*). But a foreigner learning English, would *first* desire to know the common language of literature, and to master this thoroughly, before he incurred the danger of vitiating his perceptions by such vulgarisms: and it is no more true in Greek than in English, that we may indifferently employ *either* mode of forming the past tense. The like remarks apply to the two modes of forming the Greek *Future*, in verbs called regular. For all these reasons, it is highly necessary that a Greek Lexicon should inform the student concerning each verb separately, what is the past and future tense really in use; or, which method prevailed in different times and dialects.

Another source of confusion hardly paralleled in English, exists in the *Middle Voice* of the Greek verb. We have a few such idioms as, To be mistaken, for, To mistake; where the passive is used for the active. So the Greek middle voice, besides its legitimate senses, which are numerous enough, is in particular instances,—perhaps only in certain tenses,—used for the active, or for the passive; or sometimes again, it borrows passive tenses to make up its own complement. The irregularities meet one most unexpectedly, even in different compounds of the same verb; as προτρέπεσθαι and ἀποτρέπειν, ἐπιθυμεῖν and ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, ἐννοεῖν

and διανοεῖσθαι. Βουλεύεσθαι and συμβουλεύεσθαι are generally Middle; but ἐπιβουλεύομαι is Passive, almost never Middle. In all these matters we look to the Lexicon for help.

Again, since three cases of nouns may follow verbs, and it is often uncertain which of the three, the Lexicon ought here likewise to inform us. A student who knows that verbs of superiority generally govern a genitive, but sometimes a dative (which is more Ionic and Latinized), and sometimes an accusative; may wish to know whether to write κρὰτειν γῆς, or κρατεῖν γῆν, ἀνάσσειν Τρώων or ἀνάσσειν Τρῶσιν: and whether any difference of sense is involved.

It is further requisite, that the Lexicon distinguish poetical terms from common ones. To write ἀνάσσειν for βασιλεύειν, πρύπας for ἅπας, θάσσω for καθέζομαι, and so forth, would produce as ridiculous an effect on a low topic, as in English to say sway for govern, steed for horse, rampire for battlement, &c. We would almost rather not understand poetry at all, than confound its vocabulary with that of prose. But here, a peculiarly difficult task is imposed on the Lexigrapher. Numerous words occur but rarely in Attic prose (such prose at least as we most commonly read), and are tolerably common in poetry: whence the more and the less learned are alike apt to infer too hastily that they are poetical words. For example, λαῖλαψ, θύελλα, καταιγὶς, are easily mistaken for synonyms of A Storm, too high-sounding for prose; whereas, in fact, they are *specific* terms, like hurricane, squall, tornado. In these points, natives have an advantage over foreigners, difficult to appreciate in amount.

We may lastly remark, that it is yet more important in Greek than in English, to arrange the different senses of a term in their philosophical order. For our language, having received its cultivation on a foreign basis, has in very numerous instances adopted a foreign term in place of the metaphorical use of the Saxon word. Thus, in a physical sense, we say, *to wrest*; in a moral, *to extort:* in a physical, *to squeeze out;* in a moral, *to express, to imitate:* in a physical sense again, *to meet* or *come together*; in a moral, *to agree* or *make a compact.* In these, and hundreds besides, the Greeks would have but one word, where the English have two; which ought to be exhibited systematically in the arrangement of meanings.

When the vast extent of the language is considered, and the amount of reading needed to produce such a Lexicon as the age demands, it appears evident that the attempt is too arduous for an individual. If one or more persons really qualified for the work are to give up adequate time to it, they must expect to be remunerated for their labor. But the publishers cannot command the market; and to avoid actual loss, a favorable crisis must be seized, when no existing Lexicon has pre-occupied the public. Time

cannot be granted ad libitum: the author must finish it somehow, within the period prescribed; and be the book ever so valuable, there is a limit of price which it must on no account exceed. For all these reasons, we never expect a really good Lexicon, until the work is taken in hand by one of our universities. If Oxford were what she fancies herself, this would not long be wanting: but now she does nothing for us in her organized and collective capacity, except that which the Priestleys or the Talboyses with her means, would perform just as well, viz., execute judicious reprints of the German classics. The University ought to appoint a committee for compiling a Greek Lexicon; she could distribute it into a sufficient number of able hands to ensure its rapid completion, appointing a single editor, to attain uniformity: she could afford to remunerate them, and to print the work at a not extravagant price; while if composed under such auspices, it would find immediate entrance into every great library in the kingdom. It is wonderful that with all her pretensions, she has so little ambition; but tamely goes on reprinting from the Germans, whose universities she so meanly esteems.

When we form so high an idea of the arduousness of Dr. Giles's undertaking, and of the disadvantages to which he, as any other individual, is probably exposed; it is not to be expected that we should find his execution correspond to our desires. To judge thoroughly of a Lexicon, is a work of time; even if the judgment is to be one of comparison, and we are to ascertain only whether he has much improved upon other popular works of the same kind. The measure of examination which we have been able to give, leads us to believe that in the total amount of information conveyed, this dictionary will bear a comparison with any other of equal magnitude; but to estimate the author's improvements is the more difficult, since his preface does not explain to what he has specially directed his attention.

We do not, therefore, undervalue his work, nor mean to censure him for haste, when we add, that judging by an absolute standard, it seems to us very defective. As it is only by specimens that we can make an estimate, so there is no other way of setting forth the grounds of our opinion; and as no small portion of our readers are students of this noble language, we hope that those who are not, will not grudge us a couple of pages employed in verbal discussion uninteresting to *them*. We purposely looked to various words, which have some nicety of meaning not always well understood; others caught our attention in turning his pages; and thus the following miscellaneous list was produced in the course of, perhaps, twenty minutes. (We do not mean that this is the *only* portion of time which we have allotted to the book.) Our own remarks are in brackets: the rest is from Dr. Giles.

Αἰρέω.... (*αἴρω*) to take:.... Ἀγρέω, to catch in the chase. [We apprehend that Αἰρέω is not at all derived from *ἀείρω* or *αἴρω*, to lift up; but is, as Buttman states, an Attic form of *ἀγρέω*, the *γ* being guttural with the Greeks. Nor is *ἀγρέω* to catch *in the chase*, necessarily; but simply, to catch, to take; as is proved by *πυράγρη*, *tongs*, and *αὐτάγρετος*, Ionic for *αὐθαίρετος*, *chosen freely*. It ought to be noticed in the Lexicon that *ἀγρέω* is Ionic.]

'Λέγω,* to speak, say, tell, collect, gather, count, reckon, deliver, lay down, put to rest, quiet, soothe.'—[Rather: Λέγω, (1) to gather, (2) to count, (3) to recount in order, tell, (4) to speak or harangue, (5) to say or mean: chiefly in the present tense; *ἐρῶ*, *fut.* and *εἶπα* or *εἶπον*, *aorist.* There are several tenses formed from another root, with the sense of *lying down:* viz., perhaps in Attic, the 2nd aor. pass. as *κατελέγησαν*, *they lay:* certainly in Ionic, *λέξον*, *cause to lie*, *mid.* *λέξεται*, *ελέξατο*, *ἔλεκτο.* This root is connected with *λέχος.*]

'Πρόξενος, a person appointed to perform hospitality towards ambassadors.'—[Rather: a person who, in his own state, officiated as patron, or in modern language, as *consul*, for those of some other state: not for ambassadors solely.]

'Ὄπτω, for *ὄπτομαι*, to see.'—[We believe that neither word has any existence. The Greeks said, *ὁράω*, I see, *fut.* *ὄψομαι*, *aor.* *εἶδον* *perf.* *ἑώρακα*, Poet. *ὄπωπα*—which cannot be found from Dr. Giles's grammar, any more than from his Lexicon.]

'Σκέπτομαι, to behold. Σκοπέω, *ήσω*, to look out. [Σκέπτεο is found in Homer, but we believe the present is not used in Attic Greek: *σκοπήσω* is equally unknown so us. The Attics say, *σκοπῶ* or *σκοποῦμαι*, *fut.* *σκέψομαι.*]

'Θύω, to burn incense, sacrifice, make an oblation, rush impetuously, flow in torrents, be in a state of fury. Ἀποθύω, to perform sacrifices in honor of; dedicate to.'—[Rather: Θύω, (1) fumigate or burn incense, (2) fume or rage, (3) sacrifice a victim. Θυόμαι, sacrifice in order to consult the entrails; properly, as when a general *orders* a diviner *to sacrifice* (This middle sense is omitted). Ἀποθύω, to sacrifice, by way of *payment*, a vow due to a god.]

Εὐνοῦχος, from *εὐνή*, *οὐ*, *ἔχω.*—[A truly extraordinary mistake, and, we think, original to Dr. Giles. Οὐ, *not*, does not enter into the word, any more than into *κληροῦχος.* It properly means, a Chamberlain.]

Διάνοια, thought, understanding, soul, the mind, reason, consideration, resolution, thought.—[Rather, Διάνοια, (1) an intention, (2) meaning of words, (3) the intellect, as *νοῦς*, opposed to the moral sentiment.]

Ἄελλα, a tempest, hurricane, whirlwind. Θύελλα, a storm, hurricane. Καταιγίς, a sudden blast. Λαῖλαψ, a great storm, hurricane.

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* We were directed to this word by Dr. Giles's remark in the preface: 'The compiler has thought it sufficient to give only the *primary and principal meanings* of Greek verbs, and considers it worse than useless, when he has once explained such words as *καὶ*, *λέγω*, &c. . . . to extend the subject . . .' We were surprised after this to find so many meanings to *λέγω*.

'Αναφύσημα, a blast.—[Thus we do not learn any distinctions. Ἄελλα, we believe, is foreign to the Attics. Aristotle (de Mundo) says, that Θύελλα is a squall; Καταιγὶς, a *descending* squall; Λαῖλαψ, an *ascending* whirlwind; 'Αναφύσημα, a puff of wind ascending from a hole in the earth.]

Ὀρθιος, erect, &c.—[He does not explain ὄρθιος λόχος, a regiment *in file*, or with narrow front.]

'Επιτειχίζω, to wall, fortify.—[Properly, to erect a fort *for offensive purposes;* as, against another fortified place.]

Αἰσυμνάω, to assign, administer, rule, govern.—[Rather, to govern, as *elective* king. No learner will guess this sense to belong to the whole family; though, under Αἰσυμνητὴς, Dr. Giles gives, as *one* sense, 'a magistrate chosen by election.']

Σοφία, wisdom, skill, cleverness, art, prudence, knowledge, virtue. —[The three last senses, we presume, are only a fruit of Socrates's theory, that all virtue is knowledge, and all vice ignorance. But, if we may believe Aristotle, Σοφία means, (1) cleverness in the arts, (2) knowledge in the exact sciences, (3) power of abstract speculation, also erudition, concerning things superhuman and unpractical. On the contrary, *σοφία cannot* be used for practical wisdom.]'

But we find that we must not proceed, although only about half of our list is finished.* The above will suffice to show that we cannot regard this Lexicon as having made great approaches to our beau idéal. The most serious defects running through the whole book, are—the want of distinction, order, and gradation, in the different senses assigned to words, which are often far too numerous; and, the total neglect to mark the dialect to which words belong; or, generally, the aorists and regimen of particular verbs. Such neglect, no thoughtfulness and examination on the part of him who consults the Lexicon, can remedy; the book itself provides him with no materials.

But it would be unjust to finish our remarks thus, since we have not yet noticed a part of the work on which Dr. Giles has, doubtless, spent much labor, probably more than on all the rest; viz. the English-Greek Lexicon. The importance of composing in any tongue which we desire to learn, is now generally recognised; and hence the value of Inverse Lexicons, even for the dead languages. We have observed, also, that in the Greek Lexicons which have been published successively in the last fifteen years, this department has been more and more carefully cultivated. To exhibit

* As a specimen concerning the *tenses* of verbs, we looked out *ἀκούω to hear*. We had noted, that in his grammar, he first gives *ἀκούω* future, *ἀκούσω* (active), and *ἀκούσομαι* (middle); and afterwards states that *ἀκούω* has *only* a future middle. We do not know whether a learner will understand that *ἀκούσω* is a fictitious word, which is the fact. In the Lexicon, he gives *ἀκούω, ἀκούσομαι, ἤκουκα.* Is not *ἤκουκα* another fictitious word? We do not remember any other perfect than *ἀκήκοα,* which is not down at all.

the fulness of Dr. Giles's information, we select, at random, a single paragraph:

'Astonish, ἐκπλήττω, φοβέω, ἐκφοβέω, καταφοβέω, ἀτύζω, καταπλήττω, καταθορυβέω, ἐκφοβέω.* Astonished: ἐμβρόντητος, c. ἀπόπληκτος, c. ἐκστατικὸς, ἄψυχος, c. ἄπνοος, c. ἐκπλαγὴς. To be astonished: δεδίττομαι, ἐμβεβρόντημαι, ἐκπλήσσομαι, θαμβέω, ταράττομαι, ἀναισθητέω. Astonishment, κατάπληξις, f. ἐμπληξία f. ἔκπληξις, f. θάμβος, m. λειποθυμία, f.'

More could not be wished than this, as regards the number of words; and we could dispense with information concerning dialects in this part, if it were given in the Greek-English Lexicon. At present, if a student doubts whether ἀτύζω and θάμβος (or any other of these terms), are Attic, he cannot gain a reply from this work; it therefore does not furnish him with the materials for composing in Greek. It is indeed evident, that an Inverse Lexicon is always merely *suggestive*. The student who is of opinion that a certain word which it offers to him will suit his purpose, must turn to the other Part in order to ascertain more minutely its meaning. Thus for composition in Greek, each Part is equally needed; and, assuredly, few occupations of the mind exercise discrimination more, and cultivate the logical faculty more usefully, than the being thus forced to consider the shades of meaning by which words of languages so diverse are distinguished.

Dr. Giles has distributed the words into paragraphs, according to their families. While this makes a student a little slower in finding what he wants, the plan has some advantages. It would be a great improvement in the Greek-English part, to print the most elementary words of each family with some distinction of type which might catch the eye.

A Greek grammar also is prefixed to the Lexicon, but we do not feel called on to criticise it in detail. The author says, that 'it may be found useful to those who do not wish to multiply 'books;' but herein we think he miscalculates. No one who learns Greek, in our belief, will practically find this grammar tend to diminish the number of books which he needs. It appears to us too ample and too unexplanatory for a beginner, and inadequate to the wants of an advanced student. But even if it were a perfect grammar, it would be more convenient to have it separate from the Lexicon, than bound together with it. When a language has peculiarities, such that a Lexicon cannot be well understood without some grammatical preliminaries, then these must be prefixed; but we think the extent of such an introduction should be limited by the needs of the Lexicon itself.

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* This word is accidentally repeated; as is the word 'thought,' under διάνοια, quoted above.

Art. III. *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries.* By Henry Hallam, F.R.A.S., &c. Vols. II., III., IV. London. 1839.

IT is now more than two years and a half since we reviewed* the first volume of this extraordinary work. In that review we passed a high, but no more than merited eulogium on the author. After pointing out the gigantic magnitude of the undertaking, and the very various qualifications it demanded;—immense knowledge both of languages and of books; erudition, at once solid and multifarious; a capacity for appreciating whatever is good or beautiful in every department of literature, without any disproportionate partialities for any; talents alike for philosophical reflection and just criticism—the one to speculate on the causes which have advanced or impeded the progress and development of literature—the other to ensure a sound judgment on the authors who come under review; and last, though not least, exquisite powers of selection and arrangement,—skill in the most approved methods of *packing*,—in order that the multifarious matters of which such a work must consist might be exhibited in a moderate compass, yet in just symmetry and without mutilation;—we stated our sincere conviction, that Mr. Hallam united these various qualifications in as great a degree as could be expected in any man, and in a far greater measure than any one of his contemporaries. We remarked—'Of many of 'these qualifications his former works sufficiently show that he 'was possessed. They evince his indefatigable research, his 'extensive erudition, his sound judgment, his impartiality and 'candor, in every page. But it will astonish some readers to 'find, that while Mr. Hallam was pursuing those studies which 'were necessary for exhibiting the political, social, and civil state 'of Europe during the middle ages, or for tracing the constitu-'tional history of our own country, he was paying attention at the 'same time to polite literature, and that in his present volume he 'shows himself almost as much at home in poetry and the *Belles* '*Lettres*, in discussing the merits of different schools of taste, in 'examining the works of great poets, in canvassing matters of 'diction and of metre, as (in his other works) the principles of 'politics and legislation, or the progress of wars and negotiations. 'He is apparently as much at his ease in discussing the con-'stituents of the chivalrous and romantic spirit of the middle 'ages, as he would be in tracing the history of the Reformation,

* See Eclectic Review. New Series. Vol. II. 1837, pp. 298—315.

'or in criticising the merits of Boiardo and Ariosto, as the cha-'racters of Henry VIII. and Cromwell."

After inspecting the remaining volumes of Mr. Hallam's work, we do not feel disposed to withdraw one particle of the praise we bestowed on the first. In some respects, indeed our admiration is increased by the manner in which he has completed his task. While the rapid accumulation of materials, as he descended the stream of ages, rendered his work incomparably more difficult, he has shown himself fully equal to its exigencies. It may at first sight be thought, that, as he navigated his vessel out of the narrow straits and tortuous creeks of early European literature, and launched forth on the bosom of wider waters, his course would be more easy, and his perplexities rapidly diminish. In some respects this conjecture would undoubtedly be well founded; but the advantages derived from this exchange are, we apprehend, rather apparent than real; and are more than counterbalanced by other considerations. If, as he proceeded, research became less difficult, it was necessary that it should be far more extensive; if materials were more accessible, they were also prodigiously increased in quantity; if investigations became less tedious, they must needs be also more enlarged and profound; if the authors were less obscure, and their writings less dry and uncouth, the importance and variety of their works demanded a more deliberate and subtle examination. To criticise them in a philosophical manner, and yet to compress all that was to be said within a few pages, required no ordinary skill. In a word (and to recur to the metaphor with which we set out above), if the navigation in these latter volumes has become less difficult and tedious, that advantage is more than outweighed by the extent of the voyage and the novel dangers of the deep.

As we think the last three volumes fully entitled to the commendation we bestowed upon the first, we shall say no more on the general merits of this truly great work, or on those of its author. Referring our readers for a more full expression of our opinions and feelings to the review already mentioned, we shall content ourselves with giving a brief abstract of the voluminous contents of the second, third, and fourth volumes, and then justify our praise by a few extracts.

In general, it may be said, that the perusal of these volumes will prove far more interesting to the bulk of readers than the first possibly could. How indeed can it be otherwise? In these volumes, we come to those periods in the history of European literature, which may justly be called its *epochs*, and which are at the same time epochs in the history of the mind of the species. In gorgeous and imposing procession, all those mighty minds pass before us, which have been the great instruments of instruction and delight—the objects of universal veneration and

wonder to all succeeding ages; the great luminaries of science and philosophy, of poetry and eloquence, of learning and criticism — Bacon, Galileo, Des Cartes, Locke, Grotius, Jeremy Taylor, Barrow, Shakspeare, Milton, Tasso; and a host of others, who, if secondary, are secondary only as compared with these. By the way, we may here just remark, that we have been particularly struck with the nice sense of *proportion*—of the relative importance of the authors whose merits are discussed—of the space they occupy in the public eye, and the influence they have exerted on literature,—which Mr. Hallam has evinced, and according to which he has determined the extent of disquisition and criticism, he has allotted to each. By this we do not mean, of course, that there has been as much said upon the character and works of each author as would be demanded, if *he* alone were the subject of criticism; for many of the above-mentioned names would require each a volume to do them justice, and, we may add, have often had it without getting justice even then. But we mean, that the space allotted to them is always admirably proportioned to their importance, viewed in relation to the limits of the work. All the criticisms are reduced to the same scale; it is a scale of proportionate parts. But though the space allotted to each name, however great, is necessarily small, many of the criticisms are expressed with such weighty and pregnant brevity —with such condensation both of thought and expression—with such a cautious abstinence from vain repetitions and superfluous epithets, that they convey far more than many a fluent disquisition of ten times the bulk. Indeed it is one of the most singular and felicitous peculiarities of our author, that he can express himself worthily on a great subject within a very moderate compass; can be concise, yet give us something more than a few vague or obvious generalities. This is an admirable art, and of very rare attainment. Indeed, we were not without some apprehensions, we must confess, that when Mr. Hallam came to the names of Bacon, Locke, Milton, Shakspeare, and others like them, even he would fail. Our satisfaction at his success has been proportionate to our fears of his failure. Many of the critical disquisitions on celebrated writers are not only far more ample than could be reasonably expected, considering the limits of the work in which they appear, but would be considered masterly sketches anywhere. The criticisms on Bacon and Shakspeare, besides many incidental notices of these great men in other parts of the work, extend, the one to sixty-two pages, the other to nearly forty; that of Grotius (De Jure Belli et Pacis), occupies sixty pages; Hobbes has thirty-seven pages, and Descartes forty.

We now proceed to give a brief analysis, chapter by chapter (we shall take no notice of *sections*), of the principal contents of

these three deeply interesting volumes; in fact we shall do with them just as we formerly did of the first.

The *second* volume is divided into eight chapters, and embraces the latter half of the sixteenth century; that is, from 1550 to 1600.

The first chapter contains the history of 'Ancient Literature' during this period, and relates the progress which was made in the study and elucidation of classical authors. Here the characters and critical labors of many of the greatest scholars, philologists, and antiquaries which Europe has ever produced come under review; amongst the rest, Muretus, Gruterus, Lipsius, Henry Stephens, Scapula, Sanctius, Buchanan, Joseph Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon, Saville. This chapter of course includes the history (deeply interesting to a large class of readers) of the first editions of the classics, and of the compilation of the earliest grammars and lexicons.

The second chapter contains the 'History of Theological Literature in Europe' during this period, and is occupied with the progress of Protestantism after the diet of Augsburg, 1556; the reaction of Catholicism, with the history of the Jesuits, their colleges, and the tremendous and to a great extent successful efforts they made to restore the balance of power; the rise and progress of the various religious controversies maintained either between the two great parties, or between the sects into which they were divided. This chapter includes an admirable sketch of the great champion of Rome, Bellarmin.

The third chapter contains the 'History of Speculative Philosophy' during this period, and is occupied with an account of the state of the scholastic philosophy, and of those now obscure writers who ushered in the dawn of a brighter day in this department of science. The principal works reviewed here are those of Bruno, the 'Principles' of Nizolius, and the 'Logic' of Ramus.

The fourth chapter relates the history of Moral and Political Philosophy, and of Jurisprudence. The chief works noticed, are the Ecclesiastical Polity of Hooker, so far as his 'Theory of Natural Law' is concerned; the Essays of Montaigne, of whom a delightful sketch is given; the Essays of Bacon; Buchanan's 'De Jure Regni;' an extensive analysis is also given of the 'Republic' of Bodin. This chapter contains some powerful and philosophical remarks on the 'spirit generated by the oppression of the governments of this period,' and on the discussions respecting politics and law, to which it naturally gave rise.

The fifth chapter contains the history of Poetry, and is rich in literary information and criticism. It comprises a review, amongst many others, of Tasso, of whom there is a very spirited sketch, though if any thing rather too favorable; of Camoens and his

Lusiad; of Sackville; of Spenser, to whose Faery Queen ten pages are worthily devoted; of Chapman, Marston, Hall, and Donne. These notices are interspersed with many valuable observations on matters connected with diction and metre; on the history of the early translations from the classics; on the Scots and English ballads; and on the state of Latin poetry during this period.

The sixth chapter embraces the history of Dramatic Literature. It opens with an account of the Italian and Spanish drama, and contains criticisms on Tasso, Lope de Vega (of whom a full account is given), and Cervantes. It then passes on to the early English drama; and after a rapid review of inferior writers, closes with a compressed but philosophical and profound critique on the early plays of Shakspeare.

The seventh chapter contains the history of Polite Literature in prose, during the above-mentioned period. Here Tasso again passes under review in treating of the Italian writers, and Montaigne in treating of the French. Amongst the English writers, and those viewed principally with reference to style, are Ascham, Sydney, and Hooker. This chapter contains many valuable remarks on the state of the language and the chief peculiarities which then prevailed in diction and style, together with an account of the rise and progress of poetical criticism and rhetoric amongst us. The merits of the earliest works on both these subjects are ably discussed. In particular, there is a very full account of Scaliger's once celebrated Poetics.

The eighth chapter is taken up with the history of Physical and Miscellaneous Literature. The principal names in natural philosophy, are those of Copernicus and Tycho Brahe. There is also a full account of the state of optics, mechanics, natural history, botany, medicine, and anatomy, and of the precious additions which were made during this period in all these departments. The 'miscellaneous' matter contains discussions on many subjects amongst the most interesting which can be found in any literary history: as for example, the rise and progress of universities and academies, of literary and antiquarian societies, the state of literary correspondence, the earliest bibliographical works, and the condition of the press.

The *third* volume extends from 1600 to 1650, and is divided into seven chapters.

The first is taken up with the history of Ancient Literature. Here Casaubon, Viger, Salmasius, Saville, Grotius, Scioppius, Vossius, Claverius, and a host of other voluminous contributors to classical criticism, philology, and antiquities, are subjected to a rapid and succinct, but perspicuous and discriminating criticism.

The second chapter is on 'Theological Literature' during this period. We need only mention the names of Father Paul

Sarpi, Perron, Daillé, Grotius, Chillingworth, Hales, Usher, Jeremy Taylor, Hall, Donne, and Lord Herbert, in order to show that this must prove to theological readers one of the most interesting in the whole work. Nor is this all; it contains notices as usual of all the most important controversies of the period, as well as remarks on the state of sacred criticism, on the English commentators, on the style of preaching, and on the character of English sermons.

The third chapter is by far the most important and interesting in this volume. After a few remarks on the state of the scholastic philosophy, on 'the methods of the universities,' on Campanella, on Jacob Behmen, Lord Herbert's De Veritate, and Gassendi's Defence of Epicurus, our author commences his eminently beautiful and comprehensive critique on the character, genius, and writings of Lord Bacon, to whom not less than sixty pages are devoted. This is followed by a scarcely less elaborate review of Descartes, and this again by another of very considerable merit on the Philosophy of Hobbes.

The fourth chapter contains the history of Moral and Political Philosophy, and of Jurisprudence. Our author commences it by some remarks on casuistry, on the attention which was paid at this period to this species of literature, and on the causes of it. He then proceeds to notice Suarez De Legibus, and the English casuists, Perkins and Hall. Then follow notices of Selden De Jure Naturali juxta Hebræos; of Hobbes' political writings; and above all, a very long and able critique on Grotius' great work, De Jure Belli et Pacis. This chapter contains some brief notices of Bacon's Essays, Feltham's Resolves, Browne's Religio Medici, Selden's Table Talk, and several other works of minor importance.

The fifth chapter contains the history of Poetry. After a rapid review of Italian, Spanish, French, German, Dutch, and Danish poetry, which do not present during this period very much of interest, he comes to the English poets, who appeared in great numbers, and furnish some names of great merit. The principal which attract the eye of the reader here, are Phineas and Giles Fletcher, Brooke, Denham, Crashaw, Cowley, Beaumont, Ben Jonson, Wither, Suckling, Lovelace, Herrick; the early poems of Milton, are also noticed. To the last poet on whom a brief though splendid eulogy is pronounced, but whose great work had not yet been published, a more lengthened criticism is devoted in the next volume.

The sixth chapter resumes the history of Dramatic Literature. The names of Calderon and of Corneille are the principal ones in the former part of the chapter; of the character and principal productions of the latter a very full and detailed account is given. Our author then proceeds to the English theatre, and

having criticised those plays of Shakspeare which appeared after the commencement of the century, favors us with a noble though very brief disquisition on his genius. This is followed by a masterly criticism on Ben Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Massinger, all whose principal productions pass under review. Ford, Shirley, Heywood, and Webster, bring up the rear.

The seventh chapter carries on the history of Polite Literature. It opens with remarks on the decline of taste in Italy, the state of the language, and the style of the principal writers; on the character of Spanish and French prose; on the writings of Balzac, and the state of the French language; and on the French academy. Our author then proceeds to pass some valuable criticisms on the character of English style at this period, and illustrates his observations by reference to the writings of Knowles, Raleigh, Bacon, Milton, Clarendon, Burton, Bishop Earle, Overbury, and Ben Johnson. After this he gives us some delightful and succinct criticism, full of sagacity, on one of the most wonderful books ever published—the Don Quixote of Cervantes. The chapter closes with an account of the Spanish novels and romances, and of the few and meagre works of fiction which appeared during this period in England.

The *fourth* volume commences with a further history of the Literature of Europe from 1600 to 1650, in two chapters. The first of these (chapter eighth) contains the history of mathematical and physical science. Considering the great difficulty of presenting any thing like a clear view of the subject, without symbols, and to unscientific readers, it undoubtedly possesses great merit. The principal topics are the invention of logarithms by Napier; the applications of algebra to geometry; the progress made in this latter science; the discoveries and improvements in astronomy, mechanics, dynamics, optics. The men whose labors are recorded, are amongst the greatest that ever devoted themselves to mathematical and physical science. They are Napier, Briggs, Kepler, Galileo, Cavalieri, and Descartes.

Chapter ninth is entitled 'other provinces of Literature,' from 1600 to 1650, and, like the last chapter on the preceding period, is very miscellaneous. The first part contains an account of botany, and several branches of natural history and physiology. Another portion, and a very interesting one, is devoted to the state of Hebrew learning, and of oriental literature generally. The latter part gives an account of universities, libraries, and academies.

The next (and unhappily the last) period of which Mr. Hallam has undertaken to treat, is from 1650 to 1700. We say *unhappily*, as we would have fain seen this great work carried on by the same masterly hand to the close of the last century.

The first chapter contains as usual, the history of Ancient

Literature. It is a short one, but nevertheless records the labors of many of the most eminent names in philology and criticism; as Gronovius (father and son), Grævius, Isaac Vossius, Spanheim, the Port Royal Writers, the Daciers, Gataker, Stanley, Mill, Bentley, and Usher.

The second chapter is devoted to Theological Literature, and contains an account of the great controversies on Popery, Arminianism, Socinianism, and Deism, and a view of the English and French pulpit-eloquence during this period. The principal names which attract the reader, are Dupin, Fleury, Bossuet, Taylor, Barrow, Limborch, Le Clerc, Bishop Bull, Hammond, Wilkins, Locke, Fenélon, Pascal, Bourdeloue, Fléchier, South, and Tillotson; to theologian readers, a tolerably attractive bill of fare.

To the lovers of speculative philosophy, the third chapter will prove not less inviting. It contains a review, amongst others, of the systems and opinions maintained by Gale, Cudworth, More, Gassendi, Malebranche, Spinosa, Dalgarno, and Locke. We are sorry to miss here the name of Leibnitz.

The fourth chapter is nearly related to the third. The chief works reviewed, are Pascal's Provincial Letters, Taylor's Ductor Dubitantium, Cudworth's Immutable Morality, Cumberland's 'De Legibus Naturæ' (of which an analysis is given quite proportioned, in our opinion, to its merits); Puffendorf's 'Law of Nature and Nations;' various treatises, more especially that of Locke on 'Education;'—Spinosa, Harrington, Sydney, and Locke, on government, and several works on the then infant science of 'political economy.' Towards the close of this chapter a few pages are given to Leibnitz's works on Roman law; the longest notice which, we regret to say, is bestowed upon this wonderful genius in these volumes.

The fifth chapter contains the history of Poetry. That of Italy, Spain, and France, presents little worthy of notice; but this chapter contains some able critiques on Milton and Dryden, whose principal works are carefully examined. The history of dramatic literature, to which the sixth chapter is devoted, includes the golden age of the French theatre; and the principal works of Racine and Thomas Corneille pass under distinct review. To the plays of Dryden, and those of Otway, Congreve, Wycherley, and Farquhar, a scanty but in our opinion quite sufficient space is given. Who indeed could dwell with any complacency on a period which will ever be infamous in the annals of English dramatic literature?

The seventh chapter resumes the history of Polite Literature, and contains as usual a good deal on the state of language, style, and criticism, in France and England. Our author here makes some remarks on the prose style of Hobbes, Cowley, Dryden, and others.

Another topic of interest are the French novels and romances; amongst others, Scarron's Roman Comique, and the Télémaque of Fénélon. The chapter closes with a notice of the few works of which English literature had yet to boast in the department of prose fiction; more especially of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' and 'Swift's Tale of a Tub.'

The eighth and last chapter contains the history of 'Physical and other Literature,' and is too miscellaneous to permit us to enumerate the topics. The principal subjects treated of are those of chemistry, zoology, botany, and anatomy; and the chief names which occur in it are those of Boyle, Ray, Swammerdam, Grew, and Burnet. The closing sections of this chapter are on oriental literature, and on geography and history.

We think our readers will agree with us, that there have been few books published in modern times which can furnish a table of contents so copious and rich.

But this very variety and opulence perplex us in the selection of extracts. We will, however, do our best, and shall begin with the following sketch of Chillingworth's great work, 'The Religion of Protestants.' We put this first not so much for the criticism, as for the bearing it has on the Oxford Tract controversies. The note, especially, is in itself a valuable testimony, and yields a forcible argument against our 'Romanizing Anglicans.'

'This well-timed and important book [Daillè 'on the Use of the Fathers'] met with a good reception from some in England, though it must have been very uncongenial to the ruling party. It was extolled and partly translated by Lord Falkland; and his two distinguished friends, Chillingworth and Hales, found in it the materials of their own bold revolt against church authority. They were both Arminians, and, especially the former, averse in all respects to the Puritan school. But like Episcopius, they scorned to rely, as on these points they might have done, on what they deemed so precarious and inconclusive as the sentiments of the fathers. Chillingworth, as is well known, had been induced to embrace the Romish religion, on the usual ground, that a succession of infallible pastors, that is, a collective hierarchy, by adhering to whom alone we would be secure from error, was to be found in that church. He returned again to the Protestant religion, on being convinced that no such infallible society could be found. And a Jesuit, by name Knott, having written a book to prove that unrepenting Protestants could not be saved, Chillingworth published, in 1637, his famous answer, 'The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation.' In this he closely tracks the steps of his adversary, replying to every paragraph, and almost every sentence.

'Knott is by no means a despicable writer; he is concise, polished, and places in an advantageous light the great leading arguments of his church. Chillingworth, with a more diffuse and less elegant style, is

greatly superior in impetuosity and warmth. In his long parenthetical periods, as in those of other old English writers, in his copiousness, which is never empty or tautological, there is an inartificial eloquence springing from strength of intellect and sincerity of feeling, that cannot fail to impress the reader. But his chief excellence is the close reasoning, which avoids every dangerous admission, and yields to no ambiguousness of language. He perceived and maintained with great courage, considering the times in which he wrote, and the temper of those he was not unwilling to keep as friends, his favorite tenet, that all things necessary to be believed are clearly laid down in Scripture. Of tradition, which many of his contemporary Protestants were becoming as prone to magnify as their opponents, he spoke very slightingly; not denying of course a maxim often quoted from Vincentius Lirinensis, that a tradition strictly universal and aboriginal must be founded in truth, but being assured that no such could be shown; and that what came nearest, both in antiquity and in evidence of catholic reception, to the name of apostolical, were doctrines and usages rejected alike by all denominations of the church in modern times.* It will be readily conceived, that his method of dealing with the controversy is very different from that of Laud in his treatise against Fisher; wherein we meet chiefly with disputes on passages in the fathers, as to which, especially when they are not quoted at length, it is impossible that any reader can determine for himself. The work of Chillingworth may at least be understood and appreciated without reference to any other; the condition, perhaps, of real superiority in all productions of the mind.

'Chillingworth was, however, a man versed in patristical learning, by no means less so, probably, than Laud. But he had found so much uncertainty about this course of theological doctrine, seducing as it generally is to the learned, 'fathers,' as he expresses it, 'being set against fathers, and councils against councils,' that he declares, in a well known passage, the Bible exclusively to be the religion of Protestants; and each man's own reason to be, as from the general tenor

* 'If there were any thing unwritten which had come down to us with as full and universal a tradition as the unquestioned books of canonical Scripture, that thing should I believe as well as the Scripture; but I have long sought for some such thing, and yet I am to seek; nay, I am confident no one point in controversy between Papists and Protestants can go in upon half so fair cards, for to gain the esteem of an apostolic tradition, as those things which are now decried on all hands, I mean the opinion of the Chiliasts and the communicating infants,' chap. 3, § 82. He dilates upon this insecurity of tradition in some detached papers, subjoined to the best editions of his work. Chillingworth might have added an instance if he had been writing against Romanizing Anglicans. Nothing can come so close to the foolish rule above mentioned, as the observation of celibacy by bishops and priests, not being married before their ordination, which, till the time of Luther, was, as far as we have reason to believe, universal in the church; no one, at least, has ever alleged an instance or authority to the contrary. Yet those who talk most of the rule of Vincentius Lirinensis set aside, without compunction, the only case in which we can truly say that it may, with some show of probability, be applied. Omnia vincit amor.'

of his volume it appears that he held it, the interpreter of the Bible.' —Vol. iii. pp. 74—77.

Our next extract shall be the close of the long critique on Bacon. In comparing him with Galileo, our readers will perceive how different is the judgment of Mr. Hallam, from that given in the well known and superficial passage of Hume.

'It is evident that he had turned his thoughts to physical philosophy rather for an exercise of his reasoning faculties, and out of his insatiable thirst for knowledge, than from any peculiar aptitude for their subjects, much less any advantage of opportunity for their cultivation. He was more eminently the philosopher of human, than of general nature. Hence he is exact as well as profound in all his reflections on civil life and mankind, while his conjectures in natural philosophy, though often very acute, are apt to wander far from the truth, in consequence of his defective acquaintance with the phenomena of nature. His Centuries of Natural History give abundant proof of this. He is in all these inquiries like one doubtfully, and by degrees, making out a distant prospect, but often deceived by the haze. But if we compare what may be found in the sixth, seventh, and eighth books De Augmentis, in the Essays, the History of Henry VII., and the various short treatises contained in his works, on moral and political wisdom, and on human nature, from experience of which all such wisdom is drawn, with Rhetoric, Ethics, and Politics of Aristotle, or with the historians most celebrated for their deep insight into civil society and human character, with Thucydides, Tacitus, Philip de Comines, Machiavel, Davila, Hume, we shall, I think, find that one man may almost be compared with all of these together. When Galileo is named as equal to Bacon, it is to be remembered that Galileo was no moral or political philosopher, and in this department Leibnitz certainly falls very short of Bacon. Burke perhaps comes, of all modern writers, the nearest to him; but though Bacon may not be more profound than Burke, he is still more copious and comprehensive.

'The comparison of Bacon and Galileo is naturally built upon the influence which, in the same age, they exerted in overthrowing the philosophy of the schools, and in founding that new discipline of real science which has rendered the last centuries glorious. Hume has given the preference to the latter, who made accessions to the domain of human knowledge so splendid, so inaccessible to cavil, so unequivocal in their results, that the majority of mankind would perhaps be carried along with this decision. There seems, however, to be no doubt that the mind of Bacon was more comprehensive and profound. But these comparisons are apt to involve *incommensurable* relations. In their own intellectual characters they bore no great resemblance to each other. Bacon had scarce any knowledge of geometry, and so far ranks much below not only Galileo, but Descartes, Newton, and Leibnitz, all signalized by wonderful discoveries in the science of quantity, or in that part of physics which employs it. He has, in one of the profound aphorisms of the Novum Organum, distinguished the two species of

philosophical genius, one more apt to perceive the differences of things, the other their analogies. In a mind of the highest order neither of these powers will be really deficient, and his own inductive method is at once the best exercise of both, and the best safeguard against the excess of either. But upon the whole it may certainly be said, that the genius of Lord Bacon was naturally more inclined to collect the resemblances of nature than to note her differences. This is the case with men like him of sanguine temper, warm fancy, and brilliant wit; but it is not the frame of mind which is best suited to strict reasoning.

'It is no proof of a solid acquaintance with Lord Bacon's philosophy, to deify his name as the ancient schools did those of their founders, or even to exaggerate the powers of his genius. Powers they were surprisingly great, yet limited in their range, and not in all respects equal; nor could they overcome every impediment of circumstance. Even of Bacon it may be said, that he attempted more than he has achieved, and perhaps more than he clearly apprehended. His objects appear sometimes indistinct, and I am not sure that they are always consistent. In the Advancement of Learning, he aspired to fill up, or at least to indicate, the deficiencies in every department of knowledge, he gradually confined himself to philosophy, and at length to physics. But few of his works can be deemed complete, not even the treatise De Augmentis, which comes nearer to it than most of the rest. Hence the study of Lord Bacon is difficult, and not, as I conceive, very well adapted to those who have made no progress whatever in the exact sciences, nor accustomed themselves to independent thinking. They have never been made a text-book in our universities; though after a judicious course of preparatory studies, by which I mean a good foundation in geometry and the philosophical principles of Grammar, the first book of the Novum Organum might be very advantageously combined with the instruction of an enlightened lecturer.

'The ignorance of Bacon in mathematics, and, what was much worse, his inadequate notions of their utility, must be reckoned among the chief defects in his philosophical writings. In a remarkable passage of the advancement of learning, he held mathematics to be a part of metaphysics; but the place of this is altered in the Latin, and they are treated as merely auxiliary or instrumental to physical inquiry. He had some prejudice against pure mathematics, and thought they had been unduly elevated in comparison with the realities of nature. 'I know not,' he says, 'how it has arisen that mathematics and logic, which ought to be the serving maids of physical philosophy, yet affecting to vaunt the certainty that belongs to them, presume to exercise a dominion over her.' It is surely very erroneous to speak of geometry, which relates to the objective realities of space, and to natural objects so far as extended, as a mere handmaid of physical philosophy, and not rather a part of it. Playfair has made some good remarks on the advantages derived to experimental philosophy itself from the mere application of geometry and algebra. And one of the reflections which this ought to excite is, that we are not to conceive, as some

hastily do, that there can be no real utility to mankind, even of that kind of utility which consists in multiplying the conveniences and luxuries of life, springing from theoretical and speculative inquiry. The history of Algebra, so barren in the days of Tartaglia and Vieta, so productive of *wealth*, when applied to dynamical calculations in our own, may be a sufficient answer.

'One of the petty blemishes which, though lost in the splendor of Lord Bacon's excellencies, it is not unfair to mention, is connected with the peculiar characteristics of his mind; he is sometimes too metaphorical and witty. His remarkable talent for discovering analogies seems to have inspired him with too much regard to them as arguments, even when they must appear to any common reader fanciful and far-fetched. His terminology, chiefly for the same reason, is often a little affected, and, in Latin, rather barbarous. The divisions of his prerogative instances in the Novum Organum are not always founded upon intelligible distinctions. And the general obscurity of the style, neither himself nor his assistants being good masters of the Latin language, which at the best is never flexible or copious enough for our philosophy, renders the perusal of both his great works too laborious for the impatient reader. Brucker has well observed, that the Novum Organum has been neglected by the generality, and proved of far less service than it would otherwise have been in philosophy, in consequence of these very defects, as well as the real depth of the author's mind.

'What has been the fame of Bacon, 'the wisest, greatest, of mankind,' it is needless to say. What has been his real influence over mankind, how much of an enlarged and exact knowledge may be attributed to his inductive method, what of this again has been due to a thorough study of his writings, and what to an indirect and secondary acquaintance with them, are questions of another kind, and less easily solved. Stewart the philosopher, who has dwelt most on the praises of Bacon, while he conceives him to have exercised a considerable influence over the Englishmen of science in the seventeenth century, supposes on the authority of Montucla, that he did not 'command the general admiration of Europe,' till the publication of the preliminary discourse to the French Encyclopædia by Diderot and D'Alembert. This, however, is by much too precipitate a conclusion. He became almost immediately known on the continent. Gassendi was one of his most ardent admirers. Descartes mentions him, I believe, once only, in a letter to Mersenne in 1632; but he was of all men the most unwilling to praise a contemporary. It may be said that these were philosophers, and that their testimony does not imply the admiration of mankind. But writers of a very different character mention him in a familiar manner. Richelieu is said to have highly esteemed Lord Bacon. And it may in some measure be due to this, that in the Sentimens de l' Académie Française sur le Cid, he is alluded to simply by the name Bacon, as one well known. Voiture, in a letter to Costar, about the same time, bestows high eulogy on some passages of Bacon which his correspondent had sent to him; and observes that Horace would have been astonished to hear a barbarian Briton discourse in

such a style. The treatise De Augmentis was republished in France in 1624, the year after its appearance in England. It was translated into French as early as 1632; no great proofs of neglect. Editions came out in Holland in 1645, 1652, and 1662. Even the Novum Organum, which, as has been said, never became so popular as his other writings, was thrice printed in Holland, in 1645, 1650, and 1660. Leibnitz and Puffendorf are loud in their expression of admiration, the former ascribing to him the revival of true philosophy as fully as we can at present. I should be more inclined to doubt whether he were adequately valued by his countrymen in his own time, or in the immediately subsequent period. Under the first Stuarts, there was little taste among studious men but for theology, and chiefly for a theology which, proceeding with an extreme deference to authority, could not but generate a disposition of mind, even upon other subjects, alien to the progressive and inquisitive spirit of the inductive philosophy. The institution of the Royal Society, or rather the love of physical science out of which that institution arose, in the second part of the seventeenth century, made England resound with the name of her illustrious chancellor. Few now spoke of him without a kind of homage that only the greatest men receive. Yet still it was by natural philosophers alone that the writings of Bacon were much studied. The editions of his works, except the Essays, were few; the Novum Organum never came separately from the English press. They were not even much quoted; for I believe it will be found, that the fashion of referring to the brilliant passages of the De Augmentis and the Novum Organum, at least in books designed for the general reader, is not much older than the close of the last century. Scotland has the merit of having led the way; Reid, Stewart, Robinson, and Playfair, turned that which had been a blind veneration into a rational worship; and I should suspect that more have read Lord Bacon within these thirty years than in the two preceding centuries. It may be an usual consequence of the enthusiastic panegyrics lately poured upon his name, that a more positive efficacy has sometimes been attributed to his philosophical writings than they really possessed; and it might be asked, whether Italy, where he was probably not much known, were not the true school of experimental philosophy in Europe, whether his methods of investigation were not chiefly such as men of sagacity and lovers of truth might simultaneously have devised? But, whatever may have been the case with respect to actual discoveries in science, we must give to written wisdom its proper meed; no books prior to those of Lord Bacon carried mankind so far on the road to truth; none have obtained so thorough a triumph over arrogant usurpation without seeking to substitute another; and he may be compared with those liberators of nations, who have given them laws by which they might govern themselves, and retained no homage but their gratitude.' —Vol. iii. pp. 217—228.

The criticism on Shakspeare's intellectual character is not long; and as it is one of the very best in the whole work, we shall give it entire. We like it the better that while it gives a

comprehensive view, and indicates a profound admiration of this unrivalled genius, it is full of discrimination; it does not scruple to admit that his works have blemishes. It has been the fashion, with many critics, to convert in their blind idolatry his very faults into excellencies, and to discover that he had inimitable reasons even for his mistakes and errors. With these men, it is not enough to admit that he is the 'greatest of the sons of men,' and that language is all too weak to express the wonderful variety and inexhaustible fertility of his mind; if there be the slightest disposition to impute a fault, it is asserted that what appears a fault is no fault at all, and the very possibility of conceiving it such only argues an incapacity of perceiving the secret object or the profound art of this great genius. We have no sympathy with these refined 'æsthetics.'

'The name of Shakespeare is the greatest in our literature—it is the greatest in all literature. No man ever came near to him in the creative powers of the mind; no man had ever such strength at once, and such variety of imagination. Coleridge has most felicitously applied to him a Greek epithet,—given before to I know not whom, certainly none so deserving of it—*μυριονους*, the thousand-souled Shakespeare. The number of characters in his plays is astonishingly great, without reckoning those, who although transient, have often their individuality, all distinct, all types of human life in well defined differences. Yet he never takes an abstract quality to embody it, scarcely, perhaps, a definite condition of manners, as Jonson does; nor did he draw much, as I conceive, from living models; there is no manifest appearance of personal caricature in his comedies, though in some slight traits of character this may not improbably have been the case. Above all, neither he nor his contemporaries wrote for the stage in the worst, though most literal, and of late years the most usual sense; making the servants and handmaids of dramatic invention to lord over it, and limiting the capacities of the poet's mind to those of the performers. If this poverty of the representative department of the drama had hung like an incumbent fiend on the creative power of Shakespeare, how would he have poured forth with such inexpressible prodigality the vast diversity of characters that we find in some of his plays? This it is in which he leaves far behind not the dramatists alone, but all writers of fiction. Compare with him Homer, the tragedians of Greece, the poets of Italy, Plautus, Cervantes, Moliere, Addison, Le Sage, Fielding, Richardson, Scott, the romancers of the elder or later schools,—one man has far more than surpassed them all. Others may have been as sublime, others may have been more pathetic, others may have equalled him in grace and purity of language, and have shunned some of its faults; but the philosophy of Shakespeare, his intimate searching out of the human heart, whether in the gnomic form of sentence, or in the dramatic exhibition of character, is a gift peculiarly his own. It is, if not entirely wanting, very little manifested in comparison with him, by the English drama-

tists of his own and the subsequent period, whom we are about to approach.

'These dramatists, as we shall speedily perceive, are hardly less inferior to Shakespeare in judgment. To this quality I particularly advert, because foreign writers, and sometimes our own, have imputed an extraordinary barbarism and rudeness to his works. They belong, indeed, to an age sufficiently rude and barbarous in its entertainments, and are of course to be classed with what is called the romantic school, which has hardly yet shaken off that reproach. But no one who has perused the plays anterior to those of Shakespeare, or contemporary with them, or subsequent to them down to the closing of the theatres in the civil war, will pretend to deny that there is far less regularity, in regard to every thing where regularity can be desired, in a large proportion of these (perhaps in all the tragedies), than in his own. We need only repeat the names of the Merchant of Venice, Romeo and Juliet, Macbeth, Othello, the Merry Wives of Windsor, Measure for Measure. The plots in these are excellently constructed, and in some with uncommon artifice. But even where an analysis of the story might excite criticism, there is generally an unity of interest which tones the whole. The Winter's Tale is not a model to follow, but we feel that the Winter's Tale is a single story; it is even managed as such with consummate skill. It is another proof of Shakespeare's judgment, that he has given action enough to his comedies without the bustling intricacy of the Spanish stage. If his plots have any little obscurity in some parts, it is from copying his novel or history too minutely.

'The idolatry of Shakespeare has been carried so far of late years, that Drake and, perhaps, greater authorities, have been unwilling to acknowledge any faults in his plays. This, however, is an extravagance rather derogatory to the critic than honorable to the poet. Besides the blemishes of construction in some of his plots, which are pardonable, but still blemishes, there are too many in his style. His conceits and quibbles often spoil the effect of his scenes, and take off from the passion he would excite. In the last act of Richard II., the Duke of York is introduced demanding the punishment of his son Aumale for a conspiracy against the king, while the duchess implores mercy. The scene is ill conceived and worse executed throughout; but one line is both atrocious and contemptible. The duchess having dwelt upon the word *pardon*, and urged the king to let her hear it from his lips, York takes her up with this stupid quibble:

'Speak it in French, king; say, Pardonnez moi.'

It would not be difficult to find several other instances, though none, perhaps, quite so bad, of verbal equivocations, misplaced and inconsistent with the person's, the author's, the reader's sentiment.

'Few will defend these notorious faults. But is there not one, less frequently mentioned, yet of more continual recurrence; the extreme obscurity of Shakespeare's diction? His style is full of new words in

new senses. It is easy to pass this over as obsoleteness; but though many expressions are obsolete and many provincial, though the labor of his commentators has never been so profitably, as well as so diligently employed, as in tracing this by the help of the meanest and most forgotten books of the age, it is impossible to deny that innumerable lines in Shakespeare were not more intelligible in his time than they are at present. Much of this may be forgiven, or rather is so incorporated with the strength of his reason and fancy, that we love it as the proper body of Shakespeare's soul. Still we can justify the very numerous passages which yield to no interpretation, knots which are never unloosed, which conjecture does but cut, or even those, which, if they may at last be understood, keep the attention in perplexity till the first emotion has passed away. And these occur not merely in places where the struggles of the speaker's mind may be well denoted by some obscurities of language, as in the soliloquies of Hamlet and Macbeth, but in dialogues between ordinary personages, and in the business of the play. We learn Shakespeare, in fact, as we learn a language, or as we read a difficult passage in Greek, with the eye glancing on the commentary; and it is only after much study that we come to forget a part, it can be but a part, of the perplexities he has caused us. This was no doubt one reason that he was less read formerly, his style passing for obsolete, though in many parts, as we have just said, it was never much more intelligible than it is. It does not appear probable that Shakespeare was ever placed below, or merely on a level with the other dramatic writers of this period. That his plays were not so frequently represented as those of Fletcher, is little to the purpose; they required a more expensive decoration, a larger company of good performers, and above all, they were less intelligible to a promiscuous audience. But it is certain that throughout the seventeenth century, and even in the writings of Addison and his contemporaries, we seldom or never meet with that complete recognition of his supremacy, and that unhesitating preference of him to all the world, which has become the faith of the last and the present century. And it is remarkable, that this apotheosis, so to speak, of Shakespeare was originally the work of what has been styled a frigid and tasteless generation, the age of George II. Much is certainly due to the stage itself, when those appeared who could guide and control the public taste, and discover that in the poet himself which sluggish imagination could not have reached. The enthusiasm for Shakespeare is nearly coincident with that for Garrick; it was kept up by his followers, and especially by that highly gifted family which has but recently been withdrawn from our stage.

'Among the commentators on Shakespeare, Warburton, always striving to display his own acuteness and scorn of others, deviates more than any one else from the meaning. Theobald was the first who did a little. Johnson explained much well, but there is something magisterial in the manner wherein he dismisses each play like a boy's exercise, that irritates the reader. His criticism is frequently judicious, but betrays no ardent admiration for Shakespeare. Malone and Steevens were two laborious commentators on the meaning of words and

phrases; one dull, the other clever; but the dulness was accompanied by candor and a love of truth, the cleverness by a total absence of both. Neither seems to have had a full discernment of Shakespeare's genius. The numerous critics of the last age, who were not editors, have poured out much that is trite and insipid, much that is hypercritical and erroneous; yet collectively they not only bear witness to the public taste for the poet, but taught men to judge and feel more accurately than they would have done for themselves. Hurd and Lord Kaimes, especially the former, may be reckoned among the best of this class; Mrs. Montagu, perhaps, in her celebrated essay, not very far from the bottom of the list. In the present century, Coleridge and Schlegel, so nearly at the same time that the question of priority and even plagiarism has been mooted, gave a more philosophical, and at the same time a more intrinsically exact view of Shakespeare, than their predecessors. What has since been written, has often been highly acute and æsthetic, but occasionally with an excess of refinement which substitutes the critic for the work. Mrs. Jameson's essays on the female characters of Shakespeare are among the best. It was right that this province of illustration should be reserved for a woman's hand.'

—Vol. iii. pp. 574—581.

The remaining extract shall be from the critique on the Don Quixote of Cervantes; and here again we have to record our satisfaction that Mr. Hallam's sound judgment has led him to discountenance that over-subtle, transcendental criticism which finds out that Cervantes contemplated certain exquisite and refined objects in the composition of the work, which criticism has but just disclosed—that the views entertained of its character by ninety-nine out of every hundred who read it are quite erroneous, and that, in fact, instead of being one of the most mirthful, it is one of the most melancholy books ever written.

'The first part of Don Quixote was published in 1605. We have no reason, I believe, to suppose that it was written long before. It became immediately popular; and the admiration of the world raised up envious competitors, one of whom, Avellenada, published a continuation in a strain of invective against the author. Cervantes, who cannot be imagined to have ever designed the leaving his romance in so unfinished a state, took time about the second part, which did not appear till 1615.

'Don Quixote is the only book in the Spanish language which can now be said to possess much of European reputation. It has, however, enjoyed enough to compensate for the neglect of all the rest. It is to Europe in general, what Ariosto is to Italy, and Shakespeare to England; the one book to which the slightest allusions may be made without affectation, but not missed without discredit. Numerous translations and countless editions of them, in every language, bespeak its adaptation to mankind; no critic has been paradoxical enough to withhold his admiration, no reader has ventured to confess

a want of relish for that in which the young and old, in every climate, have age after age taken delight. They have doubtless believed that they understood the author's meaning; and, in giving the reins to the gaiety that his fertile invention and comic humour inspired, never thought of any deeper meaning than he announces, or delayed their enjoyment for any metaphysical investigation of his plan.

'A new school of criticism, however, has of late years arisen in Germany, acute, ingenious, and sometimes eminently successful in philosophical, or as they denominate it, æsthetic analysis of works of taste, but gliding too much into refinement and conjectural hypothesis, and with a tendency to mislead men of inferior capacities for this kind of investigation into mere paradox and absurdity. An instance is supplied, in my opinion, by some remarks of Bouterwek, still more explicitly developed by Sismondi, on the design of Cervantes in Don Quixote, and which have been repeated in other publications. According to these writers, the primary idea is that of a 'man of elevated character excited by heroic and enthusiastic feelings to the extravagant pitch of wishing to restore the age of chivalry; nor is it possible to form a more mistaken notion of this work than by considering it merely as a satire, intended by the author to ridicule the absurd passion for reading old romances.' 'The fundamental idea of Don Quixote,' says Sismondi, 'is the eternal contrast between the spirit of poetry and that of prose. Men of an elevated soul propose to themselves as the object of life to be the defenders of the weak, the support of the oppressed, the champions of justice and innocence. Like Don Quixote, they find on every side the image of the virtues they worship; they believe that disinterestedness, nobleness, courage, in short knight-errantry, are still prevalent; and with no calculation of their own powers, they expose themselves for an ungrateful world, they offer themselves as a sacrifice to the laws and rules of an imaginary state of society.'

'If this were a true representation of the scheme of Don Quixote, we cannot wonder that some persons should, as M. Sismondi tells us they do, consider it as the most melancholy book that has ever been written. They consider it also, no doubt, one of the most immoral, as chilling and pernicious in its influence on the social converse of mankind, as the Prince of Machiavel is on their political intercourse. 'Cervantes,' he proceeds, 'has shown us in some measure the vanity of greatness of soul and the delusion of heroism. He has drawn in Don Quixote a perfect man (un homme accompli), who is nevertheless the constant object of ridicule. Brave beyond the fabled knights he imitates, disinterested, honorable, generous, the most faithful and respectful of lovers, the best of masters, the most accomplished and well educated of gentlemen, all his enterprizes end in discomfiture to himself, and in mischief to others.' M. Sismondi descants upon the perfections of the knight of La Mancha with a gravity which is not quite easy for his readers to preserve.

'It might be answered by a phlegmatic observer, that a mere enthusiasm for doing good, if excited by vanity, and not accompanied by common sense, will seldom be very serviceable to ourselves or to others;

that men who in their heroism and care for the oppressed, would throw open the cages of lions, and set galley-slaves at liberty, not forgetting to break the limbs of harmless persons whom they mistake for wrong-doers, are a class of whom Don Quixote is the real type; and that the world being much the worse for such heroes, it might not be immoral, notwithstanding their benevolent enthusiasm, to put them out of countenance by a little ridicule. This, however, is not as I conceive, the primary aim of Cervantes; nor do I think that the exhibition of one great truth, as the predominant, but concealed moral of a long work, is in the spirit of his age. He possessed a very thoughtful mind and a profound knowledge of humanity; yet the generalization which the hypothesis of Bouterwek and Sismondi requires for the leading conception of Don Quixote, besides its being a little inconsistent with the valorous and romantic character of its author, belongs to a more advanced period of philosophy than his own. It will at all events, I presume, be admitted that we cannot reason about Don Quixote except from the book, and I think it may be shown in a few words that these ingenious writers have been chiefly misled by some want of consistency which circumstances produced in the author's delineation of his hero.'—Ib. pp. 666—669.

Here we must conclude our extracts, and our review. We have not spoken a word of censure; not, of course, that in a work so voluminous and of such a miscellaneous character, we can approve of every sentiment or subscribe to every statement; but because the things to which we object are for the most part inconsiderable. We must, however, justify our title to be considered reviewers (who probably never saw a book with which they could find no fault), by mentioning two of considerable magnitude. They are not sins of 'commission,' but of 'omission;' we complain not of what Mr. Hallam has done, but of what he has left undone.

In the first place he has not given us the history of mathematics during the last period treated of; that is from 1650 to 1700. His reasons, indeed, for the omission are stated with great modesty. He tells us not only that 'the length to which he has 'found himself compelled to extend these volumes might be 'an adequate apology,' but 'he has one more insuperable in the 'slightness of his own acquaintance with subjects so momentous 'and difficult, and upon which he could not write without pre-'sumptuousness and much peril of betraying ignorance. The 'names, therefore, of Wallis and Huygens, Newton, and Leib-'nitz, must be passed with distant reverence.' We are disposed to think the former apology rather the stronger of the two; for from the manner in which Mr. Hallam has treated the same subject from 1600 to 1650, we cannot help thinking that with the same free and pardonable use of professed writers on the history

of this department of science, he might have given a very tolerable summary of the matters now passed over, and in this way have secured the completeness of his work.

The other deficiency is, that he has not carried on his history beyond 1700, and what is worse, he appears to have made up his mind never to do so. Considering the gigantic nature of his undertaking, how much he has achieved, how long he must have been oppressed by it, and with what delight he must have recovered his freedom, we cannot wonder at the decision he has come to. When we consider, however, the many men who flourished during the last century (more especially in England, France, and Germany), on whose writings and genius we should have been glad to have the judgment of one so well qualified to pronounce it, we cannot help strongly regretting that we must hope for no more from his pen. At the same time, it becomes the world of letters to express their sincere gratitude for what he has done.

Art. IV. 1. *Continental India.* By J. W. Massie, M.R.I.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Ward and Co. 1840.

2. *British India, in its Relation to the Decline of Hindooism and the Progress of Christianity, &c.* By the Rev. W. Campbell. 8vo. pp. 596. London: John Snow. 1839.

3. *Sketches of a Missionary's Travels in Egypt, Syria, Western Africa, &c.* By R. Maxwell Macbrair, Author of the Mandingo Grammar, &c. 8vo. pp. 332. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1839.

FOURTEEN pounds and a few odd shillings to convert to Christianity some hundred millions of idolaters! and a shoemaker for the apostle, who, of course, poor man, amid the profound mysteries of his craft, had never heard the motto, *Ne sutor*, &c. Such were the taunts that followed the first English missionaries, Carey and Thomas, to the Indian shores; and loud and bitter was the laugh of scorn which a clerical reviewer assisted to raise, while gentle and simple, the learned and the rude, joined most heartily in his sport. Very ludicrous, certainly, that an obscure Christian should be affected with compassion at the awful condition of his fellow men; and, not leaving such matters to his betters, should himself meditate mighty deeds of enterprising benevolence. Of course, there was no elevation of soul, no loftiness of purpose, nothing resembling boldness or magnanimity in the mind that could revolve such thoughts. 'These workings pro-
'duced a sermon at Northampton, and the sermon a subscription

'to convert four hundred and twenty millions of pagans!' It was all sheer folly, and so the scourge was prepared and was vigorously wielded by a reverend hand; but alas! the drivellers who were bent on converting the mild, the gentle, the innocent Hindoos, were an incorrigible set. The miserable creatures whose hearts were set on introducing the gospel into India, were 'quite insane 'and ungovernable: they would deliberately, piously, and con- 'scientiously, expose our whole Eastern empire to destruction for 'the sake of converting half a dozen Brahmins, who, after stuff- 'ing themselves with rum and rice, and borrowing money from 'the missionaries, would run away, and cover the gospel and its 'professors with every species of impious ridicule and abuse.' Remonstrances, very pathetic and very indignant, were made against the unhappy exhibition of Christian truth which would be inevitable in such hands. 'Who wishes,' it was touchingly demanded, 'to see scrofula and atheism cured by a single sermon in 'Bengal? Who wishes to see the religious hoy riding at anchor 'in the Hoogly river? or shoals of jumpers exhibiting their nim- 'ble piety before the learned Brahmins of Benares?'

But thirty years have elapsed since these sentences were penned; and the laugh and the sneer at 'Indian Missions,' in which a reverend reviewer deemed it befitting to indulge, have happily died away amid the prayers and rejoicings of the church. But we must drop this strain, and proceed to notice the volumes before us.

Our readers will allow us, then, to introduce to their notice Mr. Massie, a gentleman with whom his book seems to have made us acquainted as with a friend; and having passed some pleasant and profitable hours in his society, we wish to communicate the pleasure we have received. Without intruding personal or relative circumstances on our notice, Mr. Massie succeeds in interesting the reader at the first introduction, and securing his confidence and sympathy. He sailed from England in the year 1822: we sigh with him as the last farewell is pronounced, and when, after the lapse of a few months, the second volume opens with a touching reference to the desolation of his heart, as the desire of his eyes was removed as by a stroke, we turned back to the page which recorded their embarkation, all in all to each other, and closing the book—but no matter; the communion of saints is more intimate than some imagine.

The fourth chapter, devoted to the antiquity and commerce of the East, affords a valuable epitome of the proofs which illustrate the claims of the Hindoos to be considered among the earliest, if not, indeed, *the* earliest, civilized nation on the earth; their antiquity rising to a period which throws us back almost upon the infancy of the world. Comparatively unchanged, they are the living mummies of long past ages; for the city we read of in 'The

Arabian Nights,' whose inhabitants were turned to stone, has, to a great extent, its parallel in all India, which is one unburied Herculaneum, offering to the eye of an observer in the nineteenth century, the same appearances as when the Macedonian madman pushed his conquests thither. The reader who is not acquainted with the works of Heeren and others, will be much interested by our author's able condensation of the various illustrations of Indian antiquity. Mr. Massie, however, has had the advantage which the German philosopher had not, of investigating the subject on the spot, and is, moreover, an independent witness. His chief references are to its articles of *merchandise*,—the same when Ezekiel mused by the river Chebar, when Moses prescribed the use of certain spices in the religious offerings of the Jews, and when the son of Jacob was transferred to a company of merchants bearing the spices of India into Egypt, as they are now; to its *literature*, for 'the language which is now the depository of their 'religion, and the organ of their institutes, was a dead language 'long ere any modern European language was spoken; while the 'dialects now used by the Hindoos contain works of undoubted 'antiquity, not as translations, but original productions:' to its *religion*, 'the innovations on which may be traced in the transmu-'tations of their sculptured monuments, in their obsolete temples, 'and their scattered and persecuted sectaries, pointing to a very 'remote antiquity.' Temples are there, deserted and time-worn, whose sculptured figures bear no resemblance to any of the idols that have for ages received the homage of the people, and whose inscriptions are in characters which none can decipher, even the Sanscrit itself furnishing no key. Other temples exist, reared or excavated from the solid rock, to Buddha, and in which Buddhist emblems are found exclusively. Another class, long fallen into disuse too, presents a mixture of Brahminical emblems with the former ones, denoting the transition stage; while in a fourth class every thing is purely Brahminical.

The commerce of India is then treated of, and the sketches are indeed 'interesting, not merely as the subject of antiquarian re-'search, but as links for connecting the wide spread nations with 'their common birth-place, and their primeval parentage; for 'putting in stronger relief the changes which have passed on 'eastern nations; and for developing the causes which have fixed 'the character of oriental society in the fashion of olden time, 'and stamped the lineaments of modern Asia with the mould of 'antiquity.'

Mr. Massie proceeds to make us acquainted with the aspect of the country. Our readers will be struck with the confirmation afforded by the following extract of the view we gave last month of the 'Present Condition of British India.' It is, moreover, the testimony of an eye witness.

'It was a fond conceit with some sinister adversaries of Christian missions, to represent the people of India as *innocent* Hindoos, and to speak of them either as of one family or of one religion. A better acquaintance, or a more impartial testimony, will *variously* describe their separate tribes as cruel, insidious, and sensual, though cunning, ambitious, talented, warlike; as roving, thieving, murdering, free-booting, and vindictive; sanguinary, untameable, and haughty; as filthy, mercenary, piratical, turbulent, bigoted, and degraded; as ferocious, depraved, dissolute, restless, mendicant, and avaricious..... Their habitations are more wretched than can be conceived by Englishmen, so that I have often passed through agricultural villages, and found the people preferring the road side as their place of midnight rest; their food is of the coarsest fare, and insufficient to sustain animal strength; while even of this, their supply is far less than appetite required..... The clothing of the laboring poor is not so much as will be a veil to cover the shame of nakedness: a rag not worth *threepence* is often the only garment for tender and feminine delicacy, for the aged parent, and the man of gray hairs. Native laborers work for native masters sometimes for so low wages as a penny or twopence per day; and they are deemed well paid if they receive as servants to Europeans fourpence daily.'

—Massie, vol. i. pp. 254, 255.

We must give the statement which follows, anxious that correct information respecting the condition of our conquered tribes should be widely diffused.

'It is, however, in the oft-recurring scenes of famine, of dry seasons, and partial crops, that the physical wretchedness of Hindoos is fully developed..... The land-owners and land-agents, provision-dealers, and corn-merchants, prey upon the poor and needy, traffic in famine, and enrich themselves by wants and woes, by the despair and deaths of the famished myriads..... I have stood among them when the dead were lying at my feet, and when the dying fell by my side; when the leprous, maimed in hands and feet, exhibited their loathsome extremities; when old age and childhood were covered by the ulcers and pustules of the small-pox; when haggard famine sat upon the wan and sunken cheek, and the hollow eye of thousands..... To prevent the tens of thousands, perishing in one country, from passing into neighbouring districts, it was deemed expedient to erect barriers, and place an armed force, lest they should paralyze the local benevolence which was struggling to mitigate the sufferings of the surrounding poor. I have seen the miserable and emaciated victims of famine searching among the *excrements* of camels, elephants, and cattle, for particles of grain which had passed undigested. Such scenes, if they occurred only once in the history of a nation, were enough to excite the commiseration of mankind, and bring suspicion upon the wisdom of the men by whom the people were governed. Unhappily, however, they have been of frequent recurrence in British India; *periodically* have they been experienced; three times within fifteen years. Private

letters, official accounts, and other sources of information, unite with my evidence in representing that people subject to such alarming and consuming destitution; famishing myriads depending on the scanty supplies of charity; hundreds and thousands perishing from want and attendant diseases; villages and rural districts depopulated by migration and death; the streams and rivers choked or poisoned by the putrid carcases of a people dying in too great numbers to be buried by surviving relatives: death not only arrayed in its most ghastly form, but also serving to generate diseases at which trembling mortality shudders, and over which human courage and science exercise no control. Cholera, with all its terrors, has been rendered even desirable, compared with the more fearful and resistless ravages of hydrophobia. Gaunt and squalid wretchedness, emaciated and skeleton forms, endued with a vigor which despair and rabid disease impart, have peopled the streets and hovered round the dwellings of European residents to indicate the misery which Hindoo subjects of the British crown endure.

'In 1833, famine prevailed in the Bombay and Madras presidencies, during which the destruction was awful. More than 150,000 miserable creatures fled from their country to seek in the neighbourhood of the capital the means of sustaining life. Myriads perished at home and on the roads, and the remnant who did not abandon the country parts, and yet continued to sustain life, were reduced to a state of emaciation which defies description. Their personal appearance was scarcely human; their anatomy was nearly as much developed as that of actual skeletons; the articulation of each joint but for the skin might have been traced: their bellies were unnaturally swollen, and their colour was of the deepest jet.

'These were British subjects, who had been taken under control, and made tributaries to the support of government; whose land was taxed so highly that no more than seven-sixteenths of the produce went to the husbandmen; and whose fruits of industry could be sold to no other merchant than their irresponsible government; while they had been able to purchase goods in no market but what their rulers furnished. It is a country where the tax and land collector, where the judges and arbiters in all contests or disputes, are the armed conquerors and rulers of the region. Are these rulers, to whom have been committed the destinies of alienated myriads, sufficient for so onerous a responsibility, while politicians and statesmen at home may be alike ignorant and indifferent to the immense interests at stake? Wise men would fear to assume the power and ascendency with which eastern rulers, not peculiarly gifted or experienced, have been invested.'

—Massie, vol. i. pp. 256—259.

Mr. M., after furnishing us with an abstract of some of the exploits of their gods, from the Puranas and minor Shastras, and painted in colors most appalling, but alas! too true, indignantly asks, 'And what have we, as a people, done to alter or amend their state?' Aye, what have we done? *we* so exalted in the scale of nations, so jealous of our honor, so devoted to religion that our government prescribes every prayer that may be offered in all the

parish churches of our land? What? Why, as on the stage an actor utters some fine sentiment with earnestness and apparent sincerity, and then, aside, and in a lower tone, discloses a totally different feeling—so have we as a nation prated about our attachment to Christianity and to Protestantism; we have placed our hand upon our heart, and with abundant emphasis have professed our willingness to make the last sacrifices for our venerable faith; the stake and the gibbet would be cordially embraced for our beloved religion; the finest sentiments have been uttered, *ore rotundo*, and then—we have stared with infinite contempt, or laughed outright, at the simpletons who took all this profession for any thing more than clever acting, or stage effect.

Oh, England, shame on thy national hypocrisy! How long shall thy rulers be but a company of players, and thy most renowned edifices be too deservedly looked upon as playhouses? Why should British Protestantism be for a taunt and a by word among the nations, like the Punica fides of ancient times?

'The government of Britain, as exercised in India, have upheld the sacred places—the mosques of their Moslem predecessors; they have sanctioned and regulated, as by a legal calendar, the great feasts of Hindoo idolatry; the temples held most sacred, the gods most honored, and the festivals most generally observed, have been protected, represented as sacred, and made a source of government revenue. Solemn treaties have been made between British rulers and Hindoo gods; the great idols have been clothed, under the orders and subject to the directions of government, with English broad-cloth, and their table furnished with a daily provision from the Company's godowns. Missions, to arouse the fervor and increase the number of their devotees, have been sent forth and rewarded under the arrangement and presidency of the British; the priests have been paid, and their licentious orgies and courtesans have been provided for from the treasury of the government. The highest and most officially dignified functionaries have been seated at the gates of idol temples, and received the revenue —the pilgrim tax; and men called Christians have been required to do honor to the stocks and stones; to fire salutes, and walk in processions, when these images were carried forth, reverenced, and adored. Christian worship has been neglected, in some cases *set aside*, and the day which God has made for himself has been prostituted to the services of the mock deities by British authorities, civil and military. An ignominious brand has been fixed on the name of Jesus; and converts to his faith from among the Hindoos have been removed from offices of trust, have been excluded from the Indian army, and refused the distinction or emolument of government service.'

—Massie, vol. i. p. 278.

With facts like these engraven upon our minds, the finest

speeches in parliament about 'our venerable religion,' are airy nothings or grand impertinences. Lords in lawn or out of lawn may express their pious horror at the wretched dogmas of Owen, but the mask is threadbare, and beneath it the real workings of the face are visible. Nothing can be conceived of, by the most fertile imagination, more grossly insulting to the Almighty Ruler than the iniquities sanctioned, rewarded, and maintained by the British government in India. Away, then, with the cant of professing such a regard to religion at home! Let not the miry hands that lay hold of the obscene emblems of Hindoo idolatry be laid on the ark of God; nor they who pander to Brahmin lust, and offer sacrifices to devils be allowed to legislate for Christianity. Well may the voluntaries of Britain exult, and raise their songs of praise, that they have no such patrons; right gladly may they leave the Church as 'by law established,' to share the smiles and favors of rulers with the worshippers of India's 'ugly gods.' We say—*share* the favors—for not merely are Brahmins supported and idols clothed, not merely is idolatry taken under fostering patronage and kindly greeted, but the Church of England too is placed on the list of pensioners, and even at the top of the honorable list.

'India has been territorially assigned to the Church of England, and a revenue secured by taxation, and land rental from the Hindoos has been appropriated with imperial profusion. Bishops for Calcutta, for Madras, and for Bombay, with their several arch-deacons, have been appointed and endowed so plentifully, and invested with such official importance, that the Lord Padre Sahib is second only in rank to the governors. Chaplains in some seventy or eighty places have been settled, whose annual cost is from ninety to a hundred thousand pounds.'—Massie, vol. i. p. 280.

We are reminded of scenes that occasionally meet the eye at home, when two furious combatants are equally encouraged by the beholders, who pat the shoulders of first one and then the other. Government supports idolatry now, and anon Christianity; sends out Christian priests to overturn idolatry, and immediately strengthens the idol priests to bear the aggression. Well, no doubt this is as wise as it is pious.

'The King of France, with twenty thousand men,
Marched up the hill, and then marched down again.'

Though our duty to the author and to the reader almost requires us to leave this subject, so awfully interesting, yet we can scarcely restrain our pen. There are facts which must be told and told again. Take the following as given by Mr. Campbell.

'One of the last acts which Lord William Bentinck passed, previously to his departure from India, was the abolition of flogging in the native army. Never I am sure did it enter his liberal and benevolent mind that this act should be applied to persons of one religion, while it was withheld from those of another, and least of all that it should become a persecuting edict against Christianity. But where will the malice and the ingenuity of the enemy not find a ground for hostility to the truth, and for the support of evil principles? The bands of these native battalions are usually composed of Protestants and Roman Catholics, who, in the vocabulary of the army, receive the general name of Christians. During the following year one of these men deserted, but finding his way hedged up, and that escape was impracticable, he returned to his corps, gave himself up, and entreated for mercy. But no grace was to be shown to such a criminal. He was brought to a court-martial, and was sentenced to receive two hundred lashes. This finding and sentence required to be confirmed by the commanding officer of the district, and this gentleman, understanding the act in the spirit in which it was granted, ventured to call in question the legality of this sentence. But not wishing to trust too much to his own judgment in the matter, he referred his doubts to the judge-advocate. What was the reply of this officer? '*There is not room,' said he, 'for a doubt upon the subject; the act of abolition was only intended for Hindoos and Mahommedans; the boon was never intended for native Christians at all; and the sentence should be carried into execution immediately.*' What was the conclusion of the affair? This poor native, because he was a Christian, and wore the badge of our holy religion, was taken to the parade, and in the presence of hundreds of Hindoos and Mahommedans, received two hundred lashes, as in testimony to all, that whatever lenity and consideration might be shown to orthodox pagans, none would be extended to poor, degraded, and outcast Christians. Is it to be wondered at that men, who are perhaps only Christians in name, should abandon a religion which exposes them to such treatment, and should, as it is affirmed, become idolaters and Mussulmans to avoid such vengeance and such brutality?'

—Campbell's India, p. 484.

In the year 1832, a Mahommedan at Bangalore, wishing to excite popular indignation against Christianity and Christian rule, secretly killed a pig, and placed it in the Eedgah, sprinkling its blood over the place to pollute it. The utmost rage was kindled; and the military were obliged to restore peace and order.

'But notwithstanding it was so plain that a Mahommedan was the author of this outrage, and that the views of this part of the community were decidedly hostile to the British power, what was the policy which the Madras government pursued? They sympathised most deeply with the offended Mussulmans; it was seriously debated in the council-chamber whether all the missionaries should not be turned out of Bangalore, to mark the displeasure of the authorities at their exertions; tracts, it was maintained, had been industriously circu-

lated, and had exasperated the minds of the populace. A splendid Eedgah, it was determined, should be erected, instead of the contemptible one that was defiled; and as though they would make it abundantly manifest that they were not only willing to support idolatry and Mahommedan delusion, but, in doing so, to degrade the religion of the Bible, and dishonor those who believe it, they called upon two Christian officers to superintend the erection of this monument of infamy! 'No,' was the decided reply of these Christian gentlemen; but they soon fell under the displeasure of the authorities, and experienced the effects of their power. Another officer, whose conscience was not so tender, undertook the management of the work; and there it stands on the north side of Bangalore,—a tower of Babel—a gratuitous testimonial to Mahommedan superstition—and a memorial of disgrace to a Christian government.'—Campbell, p. 486.

Mr. Campbell, after proclaiming the gospel on one occasion, in the neighbourhood of a splendid temple, was thus replied to by a Brahmin:—

'Who are you that come here to find fault with our religion? What may be your names? Is not this temple supported by the British government? The Brahmins, the priests, the dancing-women, and all the attendants upon the altar, do they not receive their monthly allowance from the public treasury? The endowments, the internal economy, the times of worship, and the celebration of the festivals, are they not all under the care and superintendence of the collector? Do not European ladies and gentlemen make presents to the god? Why, it was only the other day that a battalion of Seapoys was passing this road; the cholera was among them; the commanding officer gave them fifty rupees to purchase sheep, and to present a sacrifice to Kalee, and when they were offering these sheep to propitiate the goddess, that commanding-officer came himself, and bowed down to the image. Who then are you, that come here to scandalize our divinities?'

—Campbell, p. 497.

In districts where idolatry was falling into decay under the rule of independent and idolatrous princes, it has experienced a wondrous revival on those provinces passing into British possession.

'As we descended upon the Mysore, which up to that period had been under the rule of an independent and idolatrous prince, what was the state of paganism in that province? Strange as it may appear, the pagodas were neglected and impoverished; and where it might be supposed that Hindooism would be most prosperous, the idols were fast falling into disrepute. But this abandonment did not long continue. No sooner did the British undertake the superintendence of the province, than the neglected system began to revive. In the end of 1835, a festival was celebrated in Bangalore, in honor of the idol Venkuttranmannu. For six or seven years previously, that shrine had been

disregarded; but it was now renewed under the patronage of the government; and the Subedar, as the native authority, laid a tax upon every house, and was exacting it with the strong arm of power, to celebrate the feast, while the people were loud in their complaints against this measure, deeming it illegal and oppressive, and declaring that they had never been so taxed under the rajah. This instance proved not only that the government patronage is continued as before in their own provinces, but that in a kingdom which has recently fallen under their authority, where, under its native prince, idolatry was neglected and where it might have safely been left to the voluntary support of its votaries, the British government has gratuitously given its sanction to its revival and establishment.'

—Campbell, pp. 498, 499.

And why, if we may dare to speak thus, why should not the Hindoos be taxed, and be forcibly made to pay, for the maintenance of their idol worship, when we at home are taxed for the maintenance of what happens to be our national worship? A strange inconsistency it would be for idolaters to be left voluntaries in religion, while we Christians cannot be left to the force of even our divine principles. No, no; let India be assimilated to England; if the compulsory system be the correct one, as our church-and-state men allege, why, establish it all the world over we say. But oh, ye friends to missions, who contribute of your substance, many of you of your deep poverty, and who pray perpetually for the advancement of Christ's cause, see whence the greatest opposition arises; mark, learn, and inwardly digest the facts above related; and let your pious abhorrence of national establishments rise and swell beyond the little channel in which, hitherto, it has so peacefully flowed. Thanks to the absurdity of a national Christianity, that the Christian name is borne by every Englishman, and is converted into a weapon of hostility to the real cause of Christ.

We sincerely hope that the volumes we are considering will be extensively read. They cannot be perused without great advantage to the cause of humanity and religion. By their means India will be better known to our churches, and the sympathy that must be excited, and the holy energy that will be aroused, shall produce results which will gladden the hearts of the honored writers. To them, we are aware, we are scarcely doing justice in dwelling so much upon one subject; but they will excuse the circumstance that results from their own thrilling statements and forcible appeals. To return, however, to Mr. Massie.

The second volume contains interesting notes of a missionary tour, which we pass over, here, as Mr. Campbell's book is much the fullest in this kind of missionary information. Under the title of 'Indo-christian sects,' we have a chapter of varied interest on the introduction of nominal Christianity, by means of Romish emissa-

ries, the commencement of the Lutheran missions, with an account of Mr. Rhennius, and the painful controversy in which he was involved; the Christians of St. Thome, Armenian church, &c.

The nominal Christianity which popish zeal has produced is a powerful barrier to the spread of pure and undefiled religion. But this is only one branch of the upas-tree of church and state. 'Indian papists can still give themselves to such miserable expe-'dients as were at first resorted to for the propagation of their 'system; and it is ascertained that they will cheerfully admit the 'votaries of heathen abomination to a share in their own miser-'able pageantry, and can the next day actually return the sad 'compliment, by a willing and kindred homage to the dead and 'sordid gods of old Indian idolatry.' Melancholy as this is we are tempted to ask, however, by how many degrees is it worse than the homage paid by Protestant authorities to the misshapen gods of India? Nay, are not the Protestant upholders of idolatrous superstition by far the guiltier party?

We had marked several other passages, especially on the condition of woman, and from the chapter on Education and the English, but are compelled to take our leave of Mr. Massie, which we do with heartiest thanks for the service he has rendered to the cause of religion by his able work. It is written in a pleasing style; the cultivated mind and the amiable heart are conspicuous on every page; and the Christian and the philanthropist will, after perusing it, gird up his loins with sevenfold energy on behalf of the millions of the east. To the directors of our missionary societies we especially commend it.

Many chapters in Mr. Campbell's volume are on the same subjects as Mr. Massie has handled, and yet it has its own distinctive value. It is a more thoroughly missionary volume, and is one of thrilling interest. In addition to articles on the political degeneracy of India, its mythology, its sanguinary superstition, on the effects of idolatry, on caste, on the literature of India, and on the British power in that country, with two valuable chapters on government support of idolatry, from which we have already extracted, there are twelve or fourteen chapters on the different missions, which we take the liberty of saying British Christians must read, and read at once. The London Missionary Society must make their hundred thousand pounds the starting point for yet holier efforts; and the Baptists, we speak advisedly, must seriously ask themselves whether it becomes those who led the way to eastern enterprise, to lag behind the Christian bodies whom they stimulated to the field. 'Speak unto the children of Israel, 'that they go forward.' The mighty difficulties which have accumulated in India, and have presented such various opposition to the introduction and spread of pure and undefiled religion, may encourage us to be the more boldly confident of approaching con-

quest. What though on India the prince of darkness has his most determined and convulsive grasp? the politic and wily foe guards most resolutely what is most valuable, and which, if lost, would be the most deplored. And if on Indian plains his throne is set—if that be the capital of his mundane territories—the spot where Satan's seat is—if the servants of the crucified one there find their most inveterate and raging foes—why, they know the field of most honorable toil, where the proudest trophies are to be won.

'In India there is a system venerable for its antiquity; imposing in its ritual and ceremonies; boasting of its sages, philosophers, its heroes and its martyrs; enshrined in vedas, shasters, and pooranas; renowned for the splendor of its temples, the grandeur of its festivals, and the exploits of its deities; binding its hundreds of millions together by the chains of caste, as with fetters of iron, and sending forth upon the whole world, from its bulwarks and its strongholds, a scowl of defiance.'—Campbell, p. 47.

'But the system is not now what it once was. External calamities have long since shorn it of its glory; and internal feuds and divisions have weakened its power and dried up its resources. It cannot boast any longer of the fervor of youth, nor the vigor of manhood. It is hoary with years; decrepitude has seized upon its limbs; decay and consumption have settled upon its vitals; and its age, instead of rendering it venerable, has prepared it for dissolution, and for the oblivion of the tomb. Dissatisfied with its promises, and groaning under its exactions, its votaries are ready to throw off its yoke. They now pant for a better system, and thirst for a greater salvation. With universal desire and expectation, they turn to the tenth incarnation as the day-star of their hopes.'—Ib. p. 50.

'Let the pilgrim-tax be abolished; let the connexion which has hitherto subsisted between the state and idolatry be dissolved; leave Hindooism to its own endowments, its resources, and the support of its admirers; and what shall we speedily hear? That the idols have perished out of the land; that they have no food to eat, no water to drink, and no raiment to wear; that they have no light to illuminate their darkness; that they have no votaries to present to them offerings and sacrifices; that they have no devotees to throw themselves under the wheels of their murderous cars.'—Ib. p. 54.

In referring to the influence which the prevalence of superstition gives to impostors of every kind, Mr. C. mentions some circumstances which we are quite as unable as himself to explain, and which remind us of the Egyptian magician whom Mr. Lane describes.

'Individuals, said to be possessed of the devil, obtain incredible power, and will run for miles, with a stone upon their heads, which would require many men to lift; and the land is full of jugglers,

necromancers, and alchymists, who, in your presence, will perform most incredible feats. I was one of those who are disposed to laugh at such deeds, and regard them as childish manœuvres. But a juggler called one day at my house, and I asked him to show me some of his exploits. After making ribbons, and performing some very curious deeds, he asked me if I had a rupee. 'Yes,' I replied, 'I have one;' and taking a rupee out of my pocket, I showed it to him in my hand. He was sitting on the carpet, and I was standing not less than five or six feet from him. 'Well, sir,' said he, 'you are sure you have it?' 'O yes,' I replied, and I held it with a firmer grasp. 'Now,' said he, 'open your hand.' I did so, very cautiously, lest any trick should be played; but all my caution was vain; my hand drew back with an involuntary shudder; there leaped out of it a small snake, and sprang about on the floor. The juggler laid hold of the reptile, and consigned it to his bag, and afterwards took my rupee out of his bag and gave it me. How this was done was always a mystery to me.'—Campbell, p. 60.

But we must refer the reader to the work itself, for it is impossible to notice the various topics on which we had intended to touch; and we are much mistaken if a large amount of prayer, praise, and effort on behalf of India, will not be the result of Mr. Campbell's labors to interest the churches of Britain.

Mr. Macbrair, who travelled through Egypt, Syria, Western Africa, &c., is a missionary of the Wesleyan Society, but ventures to speak more boldly on some subjects than many of his brethren have done; and we honor him accordingly.

After his wanderings, and difficulties, and privations in Egypt and Syria, and in detailing which Mr. Macbrair has written agreeably, we are somewhat amused to find that he was so expeditiously dispatched again on foreign service. The eighth chapter thus commences:

'The Methodists are a people who cannot bear to see any one unemployed; nor have they much idea of their ministers ever being so exhausted with labor as to require a protracted relaxation of their toils. Hence it will not appear astonishing that, just three days after my landing in London, a proposal was made to me to go out to Western Africa on a special mission.'—p. 201.

There he labored, not without success, though in the midst of trials; some of the greatest of which were caused by the British authorities. There is a manliness and an out-spokenness about the author which we are pleased with; deeply regretting as we do that any men bearing the honored name of Christians, and Christian ministers or missionaries, should ever meanly connive at oppression and wrong, and doff their own manhood in the presence of those who tyrannize over the defenceless. We thank Mr. Macbrair for the stand he made on more than one occasion for

right principles, when the guilty parties were the servants of our own government. He has furnished many illustrations of biblical subjects, which occurred to his observant eye during his various wanderings. He had the honor, too, to prepare a Mandingo Grammar, thus facilitating the success of those who shall enter into his labors; and to give to the people among whom he was chiefly located the gospel of the grace of God in their native tongue. We should have been pleased to afford the reader some specimens of his style, but have already outstepped the proper limits of this paper, and beg to offer him an apology for taking our leave of him thus abruptly, but, *necessitas non habet legem.*

Art. V. *On the Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some Parts of Geological Science.* By J. P. Smith, D.D., F.G.S., &c. London: Jackson and Walford.

PALMAM QUI MERUIT FERAT. There can be no reasonable doubt that the appearance of this volume will mark a distinct era in biblical interpretation. It will, moreover, be no questionable honor that such a work should have emanated from one of the nonconformist schools of theology—a work which in addition to the estimable author's former contributions to the treasures of sacred science, cannot fail to establish for his name a place in the very first rank of scientific and philosophical theologians. The preliminary step to such an award has already been taken by the unexpected enrolment of his name among the members of the most learned society in Great Britain—a distinction to which nothing could have raised him but the pre-eminent ability with which the present work is executed. It appears, however, not improbable, that the due honor will not at once, nor, indeed, for a considerable period, be universally conceded to him or his work by the Christian public. Though previously he may have ranked high both as a divine and a scholar, with almost all parties, yet we can readily conceive that this performance will prove highly displeasing to some who have admitted the merit of his former services to the cause of evangelical religion; while to the ignorant and malevolent who have viewed his previous honors with jealousy, it will be eagerly seized as furnishing a tempting occasion for heaping opprobrium both on him, and on the whole orthodox dissenting body to which he belongs. The bigots of all parties will be disturbed like bats or owls, and the bigots of some parties will distil their venom like serpents and toads. The note of alarm and of hostility was sounded while the lectures were in

delivery, and now they are published, we shall soon see the gnats settling on the bull's horn, and the snakes biting at the file. So be it. For all such we have but one adage—'*prius autem intellige, et deinde ad opus accede*'—you had better read before you write, and hear before you speak.

There is, however, a far larger class of sincere and intelligent Christians to whom the views here expounded will, at the first announcement, appear so new and startling, so like a revolutionizing of all the long established opinions they have entertained upon these subjects, that though they may not go the length of suspecting Dr. Smith of treachery to the cause of the Bible, or of wilfully undermining their faith in revelation, may yet very reasonably beg leave to pause, and require further time as well as further evidence, before they can settle down into the confirmed opinion that his interpretations are correct. The jealousy they will feel for the credit of revelation, the honor of Moses, and their own cherished views of his writings, will have to undergo a revising process, in which superficial interpretation must be separated from real intention and proper signification. They will moreover require to be convinced, not simply by the lights of geological science, that the interpretation to which they have become familiar was mistaken, but that it was, to say the least, hasty and superficial, unwarranted by analogy of style in other passages relating to physical phenomena; and that a sounder philology, a deeper consideration of the diction and style of the sacred documents would have dictated an interpretation less at variance with the discoveries which recent times have supplied. In order to arrive at entire satisfaction, it will be necessary that they should perceive not simply that the new interpretation may, by some stretch or license, be imposed upon the dubious passages, nor that such proposed interpretation is imperatively demanded to prevent collision between the respective authorities of science and revelation, but that the new view of those passages is at least quite as consistent with the general discoveries of revelation, and quite as much in harmony with the uniform and peculiar style of the sacred writer, and with the unusual circumstances of the people for whom he wrote, as the established interpretation which they are required to discard. As much as this, but no more, we think they are entitled to expect. If in addition it can be shown, that the new interpretation is really more in accordance with the admitted principles of criticism than the old one, this will not only place the new views on a vantage ground, but will undoubtedly with all such intelligent and candid persons at once decide the question. It may then possibly appear, that the amended exposition really supplies a reinforcement of the evidence of revelation, by showing that the true sense of the document had been misapprehended through the false light thrown upon it by a superficial

philosophy, but that, when viewed by clearer light, it is found more in harmony with the real facts of the physical universe than its best friends had ever supposed. It will then in the end come out, that our ignorance or haste had led us to overlook what should have been the true interpretation, which, indeed, could hardly have been imagined in the darkness with which all the facts of the case have long been enveloped, but which when discerned by the aid which science has now lent, proves really a deeper knowledge than had been previously attributed to Moses, and such a harmony with universal truth, as no impostor could possibly have attained. Should the case, then, turn out as we have supposed—that so ancient a document, so long misinterpreted through the immaturity of human knowledge brought to its elucidation, does after all contain within it an anticipative, though long latent, adaptation to the advanced state of science in the present age, then this discovery cannot but greatly enhance the evidence of inspiration, preclude suspicion of imposture, and help to place the Christian believer on higher and firmer grounds than he has ever before occupied.

It is not for us to require at once the implicit confidence of any of our readers, or of the Christian public, in the bare averment that so much as this can be shown, or that the greater part of this has actually been accomplished by the learned author of the present work. We feel too much reverence for the cause of sacred truth, too much sympathy with that holy jealousy for the interests of revealed religion which pervades the class whom we now address, to ask them to subscribe without the utmost caution, without the fullest and clearest conviction, either to the hypothetical statement we have now made, or to the views which Dr. Smith has so ably developed. It would be unreasonable to expect them to outstep their convictions, and unmanly in them to do so, if they were required. All that we would venture to ask of them,—all that the cause of truth demands is, that they should calmly and without prejudice read and weigh the evidence—first against the old and popular theory of the world, and next in favor of the new interpretation of Moses proposed by Dr. Smith, bearing in mind that this is recommended, first, by its congruity with the condescending and accommodated style of the entire revelation of God, and is further, so far as we know, the only exposition of the sacred record that can by any possibility be brought to coalesce with the undoubted facts and established principles of geological science.

Before we enter upon our further intention of presenting to our readers some specimens of the principal matters treated in Dr. Smith's Lectures, which will call for their calm and candid, perhaps self-denying and self-correcting exercise of judgment, we must be allowed a little further extension of our prefatory remarks.

We crave this exercise of the reader's patience with the view of bringing him to the inquiry, in a state of mind somewhat prepared for the important function of deciding for himself in so complicated and profound a subject. We propose to remind him of a few general facts and principles which ought not on such a subject to be overlooked, and which if kept in mind may facilitate his judgment, or at least guard him against inconsideration, precipitancy, and a partial view of the manifold bearings of the entire question. The subject is confessedly a great one. It involves the highest interests of truth, religion, and the human race. It deserves, and perhaps will require of most, not only hours of serious prayerful attention, but probably weeks and months of protracted consideration; and from all who would thoroughly understand it, much more reading than will suffice for the single volume now before us.

I. The intelligent Christian reader is respectfully reminded that all the principles and facts that go to constitute the entire body of universal truth are of the same essential nature, are all perfectly harmonized in the mind of the One Infinite Being,—are so in themselves, and can never be otherwise contemplated by us without implying imperfection and mistake somewhere. 'The 'voices of nature, and reason, and revelation are in harmony. 'We want only that facts be correctly stated, and that the words 'of Scripture be interpreted upon the principles of just philology; 'and we fear not the result. We will search out the objects of 'science, 'the works of the Lord,' by the most careful investiga- 'tion and vigorous induction, as if we had never heard of his 'word: and we will apply ourselves to the study of his word, with 'the strictest observance of the rules of interpretation, just as if 'we knew nothing of the physical world. We do not, therefore, 'speak of bringing about a *conciliation* between these two lines of 'fact and doctrine; for we anticipate that it already exists.'— Smith, p. 169. Undoubtedly, if we perceive a dissonance among the truths of separate departments, we do them wrong, we dishonor the Author of nature or the Author of revelation. In this state our minds cannot be at rest. Our reason feels itself outraged; our mental calm is disturbed. Every intelligent believer in revelation admits the principle, that there can really be no discrepancy between the true philosophy of nature and the true theology of the Scriptures. He may be conscious of such discrepancy in his knowledge, and utterly unable to remove it: he may adhere to the general proposition of the abstract and absolute harmony of truth, both as to its parts among themselves, and as to the perfect knowledge of the divine Mind, but he may be conscious of something that disturbs that harmony in his mind, and he may very naturally and fairly endeavor to escape from the painful dilemma into which he thus falls, by attributing the felt

discrepancy to his own ignorance, or imperfection, or unconscious error: but what we principally wish to enforce is, that this is a painful, anxious state of mind, from which it is his duty and his interest to free himself as speedily and as effectually as he can. A real lover of truth will not remain in error, nor retain in his reason a contradiction, one moment longer than is unavoidable—just because such a state is annoying and painful to his understanding. An escape from it is sought as an emancipation from intellectual bondage—as freedom and happiness to the rational soul. He will, therefore, use the *salvo* of his own ignorance, or mistake as sparingly as possible, because at best it leaves the mind uneasy and disturbed—it tells it to be quiet in ignorance which it hates, or in error which it despises: it may very properly say, 'wait for the discovery of the whole truth'—but still the mind retains its abhorrence of ignorance and its aspirations after complete knowledge. The best, therefore, that this *salvo* can effect is to keep the active and inquiring faculties in a state of uneasy neutrality. Every rational being feels that it is a law of his nature to prefer knowledge to ignorance, just as it is a corresponding law to prefer light to darkness; hence to the same nature perfect knowledge is better than partial, and as far as he can aspire to this, he does it necessarily, as one of the highest means of happiness. Every mind may not have the patience, or the industry, or the resolution to follow out its love of knowledge, but all will do so who have felt it to be their happiness to aspire after it, and an essential condition to their enjoyment in it, that its several departments shall appear in harmony—or at least supply no contradictions and discrepancies to disturb their reason or offend their love of truth.

2. If the mind becomes unsettled and dissatisfied under a sense of positive disagreement among perceived truths in general, then this disquietude rises higher in proportion to the magnitude of the interests that lie at stake, or the importance of the principles that may be implicated. If the disagreement necessarily presupposes that error has been admitted into our reasonings, or imposition practised upon our senses, and if those errors may by any possibility be found pregnant with injury to ourselves, then our disquietude increases proportionably. If the highest interests are hereby brought into jeopardy, the mind endures a painful conflict to which it perceives no termination or relief. To suffer any of these positive discrepancies between our religion and our philosophy to burthen the mind by remaining unsolved, supposing any reasonable solution is proposed, or that by dint of any mental labor we might reach one, is not only injurious to the honor of our religion, but a wanton exposure of our own minds to the temptation of abandoning, in some gloomy hour, all our religious feelings and opinions as mere fallacies and delusions. The ad-

versary of our souls will not fail, sooner or later, to ply us with the difficulties alleged against our religion. He will entrench himself in the proposition, that it is far more likely we have been deceived in the reasoning which has led us to credit the Bible, than in the direct and unquestionable evidence of our senses. Hence we may be driven on towards a state of infidelity, or become bewildered in doubt and scepticism.

3. If we could reconcile ourselves to hold the truth of a religion which seems to be contradicted by science, and, at the same time, admit the truths of a science which is directly contradicted by our religion, or resort to a middle course by holding the facts of science in doubt and abeyance, suspecting that the fallacy must lie there, and resort to this rotten kind of truce for the sake of retaining that which we feel to be infinitely more precious and important to us than all the human sciences put together; yet we ought not to expect that others, who feel less powerfully and tenderly the claims of religion, will do the same. How could we ask those who are not yet convinced of the importance of religion, or of the paramount claims of revelation, to listen to our arguments on its behalf, when, in the first step of the argument, we require them to abandon conclusions which are as clearly established in their view as their own existence. It would evidently be next to impossible for religion to make good its way in the face of such difficulties, especially when it is further considered that every human heart is naturally disinclined to accept the humbling truths of christianity, and predisposed to catch at every excuse for unbelief. To be indifferent to the supposed discrepancies, were to be indifferent to the success of the gospel, and the everlasting happiness of mankind; to give up the honor and truth of the Bible; place ourselves in the predicament of believing absurdities; and leave a resistless weapon in the hands of infidelity. The world as well as the philosophers must be expected to repudiate the authority of a professed revelation which seems to contradict the combined evidence of sense and reason. They will not listen for a moment to a teacher that sets aside natural facts, or aims to persuade them by his dogmatic authority that things are not as they perceive them to be. For their sake, therefore, it is supremely desirable that the disagreements should be fully and fearlessly examined, and, if possible, so adjusted, as to leave the respective authorities of revelation and science unimpeachable in their respective departments. In fact, for any man to believe contrary to the evidence of his senses, is at once to annul the rights of reason, concede the principle of the popish dogma of transubstantiation, and sap the very foundation of revealed religion.

Hence it behoves the zealous friends of the Bible to be cautious how they use against the discoveries of science an argument that may be turned against themselves with the most disastrous effect.

If any of these should be induced to question the policy or prudence of those christian advocates who are laboring to reconcile revelation and science; and if they think that the reasonings of the geologists may be safely and honestly disregarded or despised, they may ere long come to discover, that their own reasoning against physical facts has a wider range than they suspected, and that he who will not believe the evidence of his senses, cannot consistently believe in miracles, which all have a double dependence; first on the veracity of the senses, and then upon the veracity of human testimony.

4. It is further incumbent upon the intelligent christian to bear in mind, that the questions involved in the recent discoveries of geology, have no reference to the peculiar province of revelation, and no bearing whatever on the theology of the Bible. All its religious doctrines remain untouched. Neither Judaism as instituted by Moses, nor christianity as taught in the New Testament, can be affected in any of their moral principles or religious truths by the full admission of all that the science of geology requires us to believe. We are not, therefore, in the same position as we should have been if those discoveries had clashed with our religious sentiments concerning the trinity, the person of the Saviour, the atonement, or divine influence. In these, or similar cases, the christian might justly have alleged that his views upon these subjects were so implicated with the entire texture and paramount authority of revelation, that the evidence to convince him that these were untrue must at the same time subvert his entire faith in revelation; and that, therefore, his only resource was to hold the reasonings and facts of geology in abeyance, till he should either discover some way of reconciling the differences, or till the alleged facts had corrected themselves. But the case is in no respect thus. Not one point of any moment to what is strictly and properly religion, is at stake; not one essential truth of christianity requires to be accommodated. Let the geologist be allowed to be right in all that he affirms to be established by physical facts, and not the slightest alteration will be necessary in any man's religious opinions or feelings. The whole question is one of interpretation, and not of the text; of interpretation, too, involving passages which allude exclusively to physical facts; and, whether the popular sense of those passages be ultimately adhered to, or the amended one adopted in its place, our religion will remain just as it was before. Let no one therefore imagine for a moment that, in contending for the old gloss, he is contending for important truth, the authority of Scripture, or the inspiration of Moses. Let it not be feared that, in relinquishing the popular notions, we are either invalidating the authority of an inspired author, or abandoning truths essential to our salvation, or the integrity of the book of God. It is very probable that many ill-informed and uninformed

persons, more rash than wise, may endeavor to persuade the religious public that, in resolutely standing by the old opinions, they are really valiant for 'the faith once delivered to the saints;' and no doubt we shall hear trumpeted forth heroic professions of the readiness of some persons to endure martyrdom, rather than abandon to their enemies what they will sanctify with the name of truth, revelation, and God. But we intreat our readers to observe that this is all vain and irrelevant boasting; a mere empty and officious zeal, originating not in that teachableness, candor, and humility, which christianity enjoins, but in the presumptuous arrogance of the veriest dogmatism, upholding the infallibility, not of the text, but of human interpretation. It will be quite time enough for any man to show his zeal for the Lord, and talk of martyrdom, when the integrity or authority of the inspired records is impugned.

5. The alleged discoveries of geology neither trench in the slightest degree upon the evidence of the divine attributes derived from the works of creation, nor lessen the miraculous and morally punitive character of that particular catastrophe which is represented as a testimony against antediluvian transgression. The admissions required of us bear no analogy to the neological system of the rationalists which aims to exclude miracle altogether, and reduce the momentous facts of the Old and New Testament to a *mythic* representation of natural causes and effects. But, if any thing, we should maintain that the recent discoveries tend to augment our sense of the grandeur and incomprehensibleness of the Deity; to reinforce incalculably the reasonings of natural theology; and altogether to expand our conceptions of that glorious Being, who appears in the pages of revelation alone commencing that one out of many series of operations, which involved the existence and the interests of his noblest creature, and there alone affording the information essential to the well-being of that race, for whose use the world had been prepared by so protracted and complicated a process. The views of the divine nature thus elicited by the recent discoveries, prove, therefore, a clear accession to our knowledge of the divine power, wisdom, and beneficence, since they demonstrate creations initiative, though still analogous, and importing unity of design; and, while in some respects inferior, yet strictly inceptive, and introductory to that which was designed to be the grand, essential, and perfect *commissariat* of the human population. It is to be observed, that without such a lengthened preparation, the earth could not in many respects have afforded a suitable habitation for the human race. It is perfectly true, that the Creator might have found *succedanea* for human necessities, in some other methods of provision, or he might have made the race altogether free from such necessities, or he might have supplied them without means, by a succession of miraculous

interpositions. But, supposing man to be purposely constituted, as we see he is, then the plan which involved a foresight of his wants and of his progressive improvement—a plan which provided all that was requisite to meet those wants, and stimulate that improvement, through a series of preparatory creations, each affording illustration of wisdom and power in a gradually ascending scale through interminable ages, becomes a far more elaborate proof of the wisdom of God, as well as of the eternity of his nature, than is furnished upon the hypothesis of the entire creation of the universe only six thousand years back. The counsel which has been pursuing its object through millions of ages, supplies a much more sublime proof of the infinite perfection of God, than one of which we have no demonstrative or sensible evidence prior to the last stage of its development in the production of all things, as was supposed, at the same period when it produced its noblest work. Moreover, the stepping-stones supplied by geology, back into the mysteries of the immeasurable ages past, may prove highly subservient to the cause of revealed religion in demonstrating, by a kind of physical approximation to the idea of an eternity past, the possibility and probability of an eternity to come. If it has required such a boundless course of ages to prepare the earth for man's abode, he can be destined to no ephemeral existence; his nature must have sublime and solemn destinies stretching beyond the date of his present life, and connecting him by a far closer and more sacred link with the yet unaccomplished counsels of the Deity; just as the past counsels and all the objects of them appear to be connected with those which are at present fulfilling.

6. It now only remains for us to observe, that it will ill become those persons who have paid but a slight attention to geology, or none at all, to doubt or dispute the conclusions of men of the most consummate skill, most patient research, and most unquestionable reverence for the authority of revelation. The cause of inspired truth can suffer only in the hands of rash, dogmatic, and ill-informed men. And, if its would-be advocates possess not the requisite science for judging in the present case, it will better beseem them to be still, and wait the growth of their own knowledge, than, by an overweening conceit of their ability, to pronounce upon one of the most complicated and mysterious questions that ever fell under their notice, and thus to injure the cause they are zealous to defend. They may be assured that, by such a procedure, they will do little else but afford learned unbelievers an opportunity for affirming upon the testimony of christians themselves, that the religion of the Bible can never be reconciled with the obvious testimony of the senses, and the undoubted verities of science. Many rash persons will no doubt appear upon both sides of this argument. Already the superficial infidel, on the one hand, has assumed a haughty tone of scientific defiance, and has eagerly as-

serted that Moses cannot be right, and ought not to be believed; while on the other, not a few christian men, more forward than cautious, and more zealous than wise, have affirmed the infallibility of the vulgar interpretation, in contemptuous scorn of the senses and the reasonings of the most patient and trustworthy of the philosophers. We earnestly entreat all such persons to consider that the evidence could not have been slight, nor the induction narrow and hasty, which could have induced eminent christian philosophers to relinquish opinions which they had long and tenaciously—we might almost say devoutly, held, and to read their frank and full recantation before the world. Only let the objectors show themselves as patient, industrious, and candid as those whose opinions they may despise and decry; let them exhibit as much acquaintance with the subject, as much deference to the obvious lessons of truth, and they will then be entitled to be heard in abatement or refutation of opinions with which they may find occasion to be offended. What we supremely deprecate, in the discussion of this important subject, is the rashness of intemperate ignorance, dogmatic zeal for religion, and uncandid, unchristian suspicion of the philosophers. Nothing will be gained to the interest of christianity by arrogant assumptions of infallibility, contemptuous scorn of natural science, or personal defamation of its votaries. The cause of truth is one; its interests extend not only to time, but to eternity, past and yet future. They are universal and independent of us all. That cause has nothing to fear from the lapse of time, or the progress of science; nothing to gain by haste or concealment. Let none of its advocates discredit or wound it by violence or bad temper, and it will ere long amply vindicate itself.

We feel that an apology would here have been due for these protracted preliminary observations, had we been dealing with any common subject, or about to bring before our readers an ordinary work. The singularity of the case must plead our excuse, and the inexpressible importance of the volume in hand be accepted as our justification.

We now come, without further delay, to Dr. Smith himself, and must endeavor to present as compressed a view as we can of this highly interesting volume. We conceive we cannot do better, in the first place, than extract the Doctor's own summary of those difficulties which the conclusions of geology have arrayed against the received interpretation of the Mosaic record. The reader is reminded that the following is a mere statement of the conclusions without any of the reasonings that sustain them. It is quite impossible to present here any condensed view of the arguments. Those who wish for satisfaction upon these points must carefully consult the work itself.

'In the second and third of these lectures, several facts were brought forward tending to place the natural history of the earth in a position of variance with the generally received belief concerning the DELUGE, which is so important a part of the scriptural history of the human race. As I cannot expect that these facts can be distinctly recollected, it will be proper to recapitulate them in the briefest manner consistent with making them intelligible.

'That enumeration brought before us the following statements; that, through the whole process of stratification, from the most ancient to the latest, the mineral character of each stratum proves the existence of contemporaneous dry land, as well as of depressed areas filled with water; that the indubitable relics of once animated creatures, in a great variety of species, from the earlier formations to the latest, penetrate through one or more of the superincumbent strata, so that there never occur continuous beds of mineral deposit, which fail to be connected (if I may use the phrase, dovetailed) with each other; giving the result, that, from the unspeakably remote point of time in which vestiges of living nature first occur, there never was a period when life was extinct upon the surface of the globe; or, we might more properly say, when living creatures did not abundantly exist; that the vast masses of the rolled pebbles and stones of all sizes, which have been spread over large districts, especially of this northern hemisphere, belong not to any one transient flood, but to different eras of time, at great respective distances; some of the earliest never having been overflowed by a succeeding flood, and each for itself indicating the action of water through very long periods of time, in contradistinction to the idea of a deluge so brief as that of Noah, enduring but little more than three hundred days; that the cones of cinder and other volcanic products, over a considerable district in the south of France, are accompanied by evidences of an antiquity reaching much farther back than the date of Noah's deluge; and that these cones of loose, light materials have never been exposed to the action of a rush, or any even moderate force of water, or they would have been inevitably washed away. These geological facts stand thus powerfully in the way of our admitting that there ever was a *universal* deluge. Some other circumstances, also, were briefly alluded to, belonging to other departments of natural science. One of them was the impossibility of either the vegetable or the animal creations having all proceeded from one spot as a centre of ancestry; but that the surface of the earth, distributed into several distinct regions, each of which has its appropriate and exclusive tenantry, both vegetable and animal. It was also remarked how utterly impossible it would be for the inhabitants of many of those regions to have migrated to various others, or even to exist in them, if by an instantaneous miracle they were transported thither. We adverted to the difficulty, arising from the quantity of water requisite to cover the entire globe, and to overflow the highest mountains, which would be an addition to the present ocean of eight times its actual quantity. For both the production and subsequent removal of this body of water, we can imagine no cause but the miraculous intervention of Omnipotence; whereas the narrative in the book of Genesis assigns two natural

causes, raised to an extraordinary degree of action. Notice was also taken of the animals preserved with Noah in the ark; the number of existing species, so far exceeding what the commentators on the Bible have taken into their calculation; the very different kinds of receptacle which would be necessary; the amount of food; the necessity of ventilation, and the clearing out of the stables or dens; the provision for reptiles and insects; the fact that some fish and shell animals cannot live in salt water, and others not in fresh. The difficulty also was mentioned, if we suppose, that the resting-place of the ark was the Mount Ararat, pointed out by tradition, of conceiving how the eight human persons, and their accompanying animals, could descend adown the precipitous cliffs; a difficulty which amounts to an impossibility, unless we call in the aid of a divine power operating in the way of miracle.

'Another circumstance was adduced as proving that the deluge of Noah was not absolutely universal; the existence of trees in the equatorial regions of Africa and South America, which, by the known method of ascertaining the age of exogenous trees, are shown to be of an antiquity which goes further back than to the date of the deluge. What was said in that lecture, and will be advanced in the note on this subject, renders it needless to add any more.

'I may also remind my auditors that the opinion which ascribes to the deluge the vast amount of animal and vegetable remains found in all parts of the earth, is flagrantly inconsistent with a correct attention to the circumstances in which they occur.

'From many of these considerations, the probability of a universal contemporaneous flood is, to say the least, rendered very small; but their united force appears to me decisive of the negative to this question.

'I cannot doubt but that some alarm and anxiety may be produced in the minds of many, by the hearing of these statements. They will be thought to be in direct contradiction to the sacred narrative; and we cannot justify to ourselves any twisting and wresting of that narrative in order to bring it into an apparent accordance with the doctrines of human philosophy. But let my friends dismiss their fears. The author of nature and the author of revelation is the same. He cannot be at variance with himself. The book of his works and the book of his word cannot be contradictory. On the one hand, we find certain appearances in the kingdoms of nature, which stand upon various and independent grounds of sensible proof; and, on the other hand, are declarations of scripture which seem to be irreconcileable with those appearances which are indeed ascertained facts. But we are sure that truth is immutable; and that one truth can never contradict another. Different parts of its vast empire may and do lie far asunder; and the intermediate portions may be covered with more or less of obscurity; but they are under the same sceptre, and it is of itself antecedently certain, that the facts of nature, and the laws that govern them, are in perfect unison with every other part of the will of Him that made them. There are declarations of scripture which seem thus to oppose facts, of which we have the same kind of sensible evidence

that we have of the letters and words of the sacred volume ; and which we understand by the same intellectual faculties by which we apprehend the sense of that volume. Now, those appearances—facts I must call them—have been scrutinized with the utmost jealousy and rigor ; and they stand impregnable ; their evidence is made brighter by every assault. We must then turn to the other side of our research ; we must admit the probability that we have not rightly interpreted these portions of scripture. We must retrace our steps ; let us resort to this renewed examination in the great instance before us.'—pp. 299—304.

We must now proceed to lay before our readers some specimens from that deeply-interesting lecture, in which the author proceeds to illustrate the principles of philology, by which the whole of the sacred records, and particularly the earliest and simplest should be interpreted; and which principles, though admitted and applied in reference to most other portions of the sacred book, have been overlooked in the interpretation of the first part of the book of Genesis.

'1. All the methods of representation that may be employed to convey notions of the Deity to the mind of man, must, of absolute necessity, be designed to produce only analogical or comparative ideas ; and must be adapted to that end. If we may so speak, they are *pictures*, which stand *in the place* of spiritual realities ; but the realities themselves belong to the INACCESSIBLE LIGHT.

'The materials of such comparison must be different, according to the varying states of mental improvement in which different minds are found. Let it, for a moment, be supposed, that it had pleased the Divine Majesty to grant an immediate revelation of his authority and his grace to the Athenians, in the age of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and for their use ; we may reverentially believe that, in such a case, the communication would have been expressed in the terms and phrases to which they had habituated themselves, and moulded upon a system of references to the natural scenery around them, to their modes of action in social life, and to their current notions upon all other subjects. Not only would the diction have been pure Greek, but the figures, the allusions, and the illustrations of whatever kind, would also have been Attic. The Hebraized style which was adapted to the people of Israel, would have failed to convey just sentiments to the men of Greece ; for, though it would not have been absolutely unintelligible, the collateral ideas would have been misapprehended, false bye notions would have insinuated themselves, and the principal sentiments, to inculcate which was the object of the whole process, would have been grievously distorted. Or, had the favor of a positive revelation been given to the ancient Britons, or to the Aborigines of America, it would have been clothed in another dress of representative imagery, and described in other and very different forms of speech.

'Yet, in any such case, and under every variety that could occur, the enucleating of the representations, if it were fairly accomplished, would

bring out *the same* truths; and the practical benefit to piety and virtue, resulting from each mode, for the classes of mankind to which each was adapted, would be *the same*, if improved with equal fidelity.

'3. The earliest revelations which God was pleased to grant to man, whether in the state of pristine integrity, or in that into which by transgression he fell, must have been conveyed by representations of the character which we have described; they must have been composed of materials derived from the *knowledge* possessed by the subjects of those revelations, and the *relations* under which they stood to beings and circumstances around them.

'This position is only the correlate of saying that the revelation must have been given and transmitted in the language spoken or written by those to whom the message of God came; or to say all, in one word, it must have been *intelligible*. If any objection be raised against the supposition, that, by this showing, the revelation would be clothed in the imagery of gross and sensible objects, with the imperfections and misconceptions under which those objects appeared to men possessing only the rude ideas of a primeval state of society, a corresponding objection would lie against the revelation being conveyed in a rude and imperfect language. Then, to be consistent, it would be requisite further to maintain, that the terms and style of the revelation must have been in the most pure and abstract kind of phrase that human diction could afford, the most nearly approaching to the spirituality of the Divine Nature, and the majesty of eternal things; and this would be equivalent to saying, that it ought to have anticipated by many centuries the progress of man as an intellectual and social being; that it ought to have been written, not in the language of shepherds and herdsmen, but in that of moral philosophers and rhetoricians; not in Hebrew, but in Greek or English.

It would plainly also follow that, if the proscription, as to the forms of thought and diction, which such presumptions demand as befitting a revelation from heaven, were admitted, a revelation so expressed would have been *unintelligible* to 'the ages and generations' of primitive time, and to the generality of mankind in all times.'

'II. We are then led to another observation, which will bring us to the *principle* proposed as the solution of the Biblical question, with relation not to geology only, but to human science universally. It is this:

'The revelations, successively given to the fathers of mankind, to the ancestors of the Israelitish nation, and to particular persons of that nation, 'at sundry times and in divers manners,' were conveyed in *representations to the senses*, chiefly that of *sight*, and in *words descriptive* of those representations.

'To the slightest rational consideration, it must be evident that the first human pair were created in the perfection of their bodily organs and mental powers; and that they were immediately endowed by their Creator with a full use of these organs and faculties, and with a competent measure of the habits thence resulting: that use and those habits, which all subsequent human beings have had to acquire by the slow process of parental training and imitative acquisition. Had these

qualifications not been thus infused into them, or made instinctive, at the very commencement of their being, they could not have preserved their own lives, nor have rendered to their heavenly Sovereign any religious homage. The German philosopher Fichte, gave the decision of reason, when he asked the question and returned the answer, 'Who educated the first human pair?' 'A Spirit took them under his care; as is laid down in an ancient, venerable, original document; which contains the deepest and the sublimest wisdom, and presents results to which all philosophy must at last return.' The certainty of such an order of things nature and reason declare: the actual reality of it we learn from the word of revelation—'God created man in his own image;' and the Christian Scriptures show us in what that image consisted; 'in knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness.' That knowledge must have been sufficient for all the purposes of a pure and happy existence, and as the principle of a progressive development which would undoubtedly have been most glorious, had man abode in his pristine honor. The Deity was pleased to manifest himself to the newly formed and favored creatures, in ways of the most condescending goodness and wisdom; assuming probably a splendid human form, and communing with them, in ways and to an extent of the most wise and benevolent purposes, beyond what we can know. But it is not an unreasonable conjecture, that the archives of the human race which open the writings of Moses, are fragments of those communings. The narration of that which took place before man existed to have witnessed it, could have been only from a supernal communication. Yet, to suppose that a scientific knowledge was then imparted, or any knowledge beyond what was necessary for the present welfare of the newly created rational beings, their intellectual progress, and the preservation of their unalloyed but not expanded holiness; has no ground of possibility as a subject of conjecture, nor the shadow of evidence as a matter of fact. After the mournful apostasy of man, the condescending Deity was pleased still to grant manifestations of himself; for the increase of moral knowledge, the counteraction of growing wickedness, and the providing of facts and evidences to be recorded as a basis for ulterior revelations. In many of those manifestations, the appearance of a human figure is expressly declared: thus suggesting reason to believe that those appearances were in the person of 'the word,' who in the fulness of the time, became 'flesh,' that is assumed the human nature, 'and dwelt among us;' 'who is over all, God blessed for ever.' In this manner, a foundation was laid for the succession of divine communications, to guide wandering man into the ways of peace.

'In comparison with the glory of the gospel, 'the grace and truth by Jesus Christ,' this was a very imperfect proceeding: but it was a rudiment of the moral system which was to be the excelling glory of a future age; and, with all its imperfections, it was as high and spiritual as *the condition of human nature was able to bear*. It was adapted to a state of intellectual and spiritual infancy; and from it was derived *that character* of the Old Testament revelations, which it is our present object to consider more closely.

'That character consisted in representing GOD by the figurative attributes of the human form with its organs and functions, and the human mind with its affections and passions.

'In the majestic language of the Church of England, 'there is but one living and true God; everlasting, without body, parts, or passions.' And does any man need to be told that this article is the echo of the clearest Scripture testimony in the Old Testament as well as in the New? 'Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord,—whither shall I flee from thy presence?—God is a Spirit:—the King eternal, immortal, invisible;—who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see.'

'Yet it pleased this BEING to bring down himself, not to the comprehension, for that is impossible, but to the apprehensive capacity of untutored men, by representations drawn from the circumstances of men, and from other natural objects.'—pp. 247—254.

After this statement of the general principle, Dr. Smith proceeds to illustrate its application to a great variety of passages in which the Divine Being is represented by terms which are obviously accommodated to human apprehension, and then passes on to a third branch of his subject, relating to the manner in which this characteristic style of the Scriptures speaks of *natural phenomena* (1) with regard to the figure of the earth, its relation to the heavenly bodies, and its motion or immobility: (2) concerning atmospheric phenomena: (3) with respect to the animal system, or their ideas of anatomy. This is a highly valuable and important part of the work, but our limits restrain us. It is summed up in the following manner.

'An observation now arises to our view, which must, I cannot but think, force itself with irresistible conviction upon any impartial mind. If it was not unworthy of the Adorable Majesty of GOD to permit himself to be described in terms *infinitely beneath* Him, and which require our watchfulness and pious care, lest we take up with conceptions far remote from the spirituality of the Divine nature, and the purity of Christian worship; MUCH MORE may it be regarded as consonant with the honor of his word, that its references to *natural objects* should be, in the character of thought and expression, *such as comported with the knowledge of the age in which they were delivered.* Again: the completed manifestations of the Divine Will in the New Testament raise us to a justness and purity concerning the 'things of God,' far superior to that which the ministration of Moses and the prophets could supply. The one was obscure, tinctured with the spirit of bondage, only a preparatory and temporary system: but the other is the 'ministration of righteousness,' in comparison with which the former 'had no glory.' We stand, therefore, upon safe ground, and are fully warranted by divine authority, to *translate* the language

of the Old Testament upon physical subjects, into such modern expressions as shall be *agreeable to the reality* of the things spoken of.'
—pp. 276, 277.

In the second part of the seventh lecture, the Doctor enters upon the elucidation of the Mosaic narrative of the creation. We would gladly cite the whole of this admirable portion, but it must be carefully read in order to apprehend its force and importance. We can only present a detached passage, which may enable the reader to form some idea of the whole, as an extended comment and explanation of these remarkable records. In treating of the term *Earth* as used by Moses, the author observes,

'Considering all the evidence of the case, I can find no reason against our considering the word (earth), subsequently to the first verse, and throughout the whole description of the six days, as designed to express *the part of our world which God was adapting for the dwelling of man and the animals connected with him.* Of the spheroidal figure of the earth, it is evident that the Hebrews had not the most distant conception. The passages which have been quoted, and many others abundantly convince me that it never entered into the purpose of revelation to teach mere geographical facts, or any other kind of physical knowledge.

'I must profess, then, my conviction that we are not obliged by the terms made use of to extend the narrative of the six days to a wider application than this, '*a description, in expressions adapted to the capacities and ideas of mankind in the earliest ages, of a series of operations, by which the Being of omnipotent wisdom and goodness adjusted and furnished the earth generally*, but as the particular subject under consideration here, a PORTION *of its surface, for most glorious purposes; in which a newly formed creature should be the object of those manifestations of the authority and grace of the Most High, which shall to eternity show forth his perfections above all other methods of their display.*

'This portion of the earth I conceive to have been a large part of Asia, lying between the Caucasian ridge, the Caspian Sea, and Turkey, in the north, the Persian and Indian seas on the south, and the high mountain ridges which run at considerable distances in the eastern and western flank. I venture to think that man, as first created, and for many ages afterwards, did not extend his race beyond these limits, and, therefore, had no connexion with the extreme east, the Indian and Pacific clusters of islands, Africa, Europe, and America; in which regions we have ocular demonstration that animal and vegetable creatures had existed, to a vast amount, uninterruptedly through periods past of indescribable duration.

'This region was first, by atmospheric and geological causes of previous operation under the will of the Almighty, brought into a condition of superficial ruin, or some kind of general disorder. With reverence I propose the supposition, that this state was produced by

the subsidence of the region, of which the immediate cause might be the same that we know has often operated to work a similar effect in various districts upon the earth's surface; namely, that which is probably the cause of earthquakes—a vast movement of the igneous fluid mass below. Extreme darkness has been often known to accompany such phenomena. This is the meaning of the two words rendered 'without form and void.' Those words in the Hebrew Bible are elsewhere used to describe ruined cities, wild wastes of desert land, and figuratively, any thing that is *empty*, *unsubstantial*, or *useless*.

'The sacred record presents to us the district described as overflowed with water, and its atmosphere so turbid that extreme gloominess prevailed. 'Darkness was upon the face of the deep,' the 'waters' mentioned just before. Both this deluge, from the flowing in of a sea or rivers, and the darkness, would be the effect of an extensive subsidence. The Hebrew word does not necessarily mean the absolute privation of light: it is used in relation to various circumstances of partial darkness: and we know that conditions of the atmosphere have locally happened, in ancient and in recent times, in which the noon-day has become dark as an ordinary night. The divine power acted through the laws of gravity and molecular attraction; and where requisite, in an immediate, extraordinary, or miraculous manner. The atmosphere over the region became so far cleared as to be pervious to light, though not yet perfectly transparent. In this process, the watery vapour collected into floating masses, the clouds; which, as we have seen, the ancient Hebrews expressed by the phrase 'waters above the firmament.' Elevations of land took place, by upheaving igneous force; and consequently the waters flowed into the lower parts, producing lakes, and probably the Caspian Sea, which manifestly belonged to the very region. The elevated land was now clothed with vegetation instantly created. By the fourth day, the atmosphere over this district had become pellucid, and had there been a human eye to have beheld, the brightness of the sun would have been seen, and the other heavenly bodies after the sun was set. Animals were produced by immediate creation, in this succession; the inhabitants of the waters, birds, and land animals; all in the full vigor of their natures. No mention is made of the thousands of tribes of insects, molluscous creatures, and animalcula; whose number, we know, transcends calculation. It is generally assumed by commentators, that they are included in the 'things that creep.' But this very phrase supplies an illustration of the Scripture style, as condescending to the limited knowledge and the simple associations of comparatively uncultivated men. Last of all, God formed his noblest earthly creature: 'ni the image of God created He him,' in the command of physical faculties, the possession of intellect, a dominion over the lower creation, and the noblest enjoyment of all, the image of the divine holiness.

'No rational objection can lie against the statement, that the Creator was pleased to distribute these works through the space of six natural days; instead of effecting the whole by an instantaneous volition. It is sufficient for us to know that the Infinite Wisdom chose this method of proceeding; we are sure then that it was the best. But

we may very reasonably suppose, that the gradual character of the process furnished valuable instruction to superior creatures, and filled them with devout rapture, when 'the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.' Nor can we be insensible to the lessons to which the Scriptures apply this part of the counsels of Jehovah, for the religious, and not overlooking the physical, benefit of mankind in all following time.

'The condescending principle of the narrative is manifested, in a striking manner, by the description of the fourth day. The sun is mentioned as the *greatest luminary*, the moon as the *next* in magnitude and importance, and the other shining orbs are grouped together as if they formed, even when all combined, the *least* object of consideration. The heavenly bodies are represented, not as being at that time created, but 'made,' *constituted* or *appointed*, to be 'luminaries,' for such is the meaning of the word used: and their design is specified with an exactitude very observable: to afford light, and to furnish standards for the divisions of time, the operations of agriculture, and religious or other observances. Had it been the purpose of revelation to give a view of creation according to the physical reality, can we imagine that no reference would have been made to superior creatures, of whom the subsequent Scriptures say so much, under an appellation which designates only their work and office,—angels? Or that no mention would occur of the planets and their satellites as distinct from the fixed stars? And that all the notice taken of the astral system would lie in two words, 'and the stars?'—if not our earth merely, but the entire solar system, were to be this instant blotted out of existence, it would be no more missed in the aspect of the universe—EXCEPT TO THE GLORIOUS CREATOR'S EYE—than a grain of sand blown away from the sea shore! Yet it is most evident, that any person, not acquainted with the true system of the world, would, after the most careful study of this portion of the Bible, rest in the conclusions, that our earth is, not in moral importance only, but in physical magnitude, by far the greatest of the Creator's works; and that the entire furniture of the heavens is solely a provision for our convenience and comfort.

'It is a further evidence that the style of this primitive document was framed in conformity to the phraseology of simple men in unpolished times, that the successive processes are described in a child-like conversation form. 'God said let there be light; let there be a firmament;—let the earth bring forth;—let us make man;' using in each instance the same formula of introduction and then of narrating the effect. Now, is there a man who seriously believes that the Infinite Spirit exercised vocal organs, the supposition of which would imply a corporeal structure; or that he willed the effect of voice without those organs, creating the impulses upon an elastic medium which, had there been an animal ear to have received the impression, would have duly impinged upon it, and produced the effect of articulate words; as 'God spake all the words of the law' from the top of Sinai, so as to be heard and understood by a million and a half of people? To my judgment, this circumstance carries with it the force of demonstration.'

—pp. 284—292.

In a second particular the author proceeds to consider the difficulty in reference to the prevalence of death before the fall of man. This he shows must necessarily have been a previous arrangement in the animal economy. But we must pass over this part of the subject, to close our extracts with one brief citation more, which will give the reader an idea of our author's view of the Scripture Deluge, premising, however, that it follows the statement or summary of objections (previously given by us), to the popular notion of its universality.

'Let us now take the seat of the antediluvian population to have been in Central Asia, in which a large district even in the present day, lies considerably below the level of the sea. It must not be forgotten, that six weeks of continued rain would not give an amount of water forty times that which fell on the first or subsequent day: for evaporation would be continually carrying up the water, to be condensed, and to fall again; so that the same mass of water would return many times. If, then, in addition to the tremendous rain, we suppose an elevation of the bed of the Persian and Indian seas, or a subsidence of the inhabited land toward the south, we shall have sufficient causes, in the hand of Almighty justice, for submerging the district, covering its hills, and destroying all living beings within its limits, except those whom divine mercy preserved in the ark. The draining off of the waters would be effected by a return of the bed of the sea to a lower level, or by the elevation of some tracts of land, which would leave channels and slopes for the larger part of the water to flow back into the Indian Ocean, while the lower part remained a great lake or an inland sea, the Caspian.'—pp, 312, 313.

We fear that we have conveyed even by these lengthened extracts, a very imperfect and inadequate idea of this important volume. All we can say to our readers in conclusion is, peruse it carefully for yourselves. Take it up uninfluenced by prejudice, and let it weigh with you only so far as it brings truth and reason to illustrate the sacred record. It appears to us that the Dr. has carefully viewed the subject on all sides, that he has fortified his argument at every point, and that the principles he has laid down are not to be shaken. The reader may not, with ourselves, think every part of the subject so fully handled as seemed desirable, and may even wish that some parts had been spared for the sake of allowing fuller scope to others. Those who happen not to be well read in geological discoveries, will wish that the author had more fully exhibited the reasons, drawn from the various strata of the earth, for giving it a date so much prior to the vulgar era. We could willingly have spared the whole of the last lecture for the sake of receiving from the Doctor's pen a more ample statement of the reasonings of geologists upon this subject. As it is, however, he deserves the best thanks of the religious public for the very

masterly manner in which he has vindicated the text of Scripture from any real discrepancy with the science of geology. We have ourselves derived much information and satisfaction from the work, and cannot but augur for it a complete triumph both over the dogmatic assumptions of the ignorant on the side of Christianity, and the superficial on the side of infidelity.

Art. VI. *A History of British Reptiles.* By Thomas Bell, F.R.S., F.L.S. *Illustrated by a Woodcut of each Species, with some of the Varieties, and numerous Vignettes.* 8vo. pp. xxii., 142. London: John Van Voorst.

PROFESSOR Bell's reputation as an elegant and scientific naturalist will induce a large class of readers to welcome the publication which we now briefly introduce to our friends. It combines, to an extent rarely equalled, the qualities which please with those which instruct, and is alike distinguished by a chaste style, a benevolent spirit, and the clearness and accuracy of true science. We have rarely closed a work which has left upon our minds so strong an impression of the amiable character of the genuine philosopher, or of the attractive nature of the pursuits to which he invites us. The study of natural history possesses all the charms of an innocent recreation, with the superadded advantages of an intelligent and instructive employment, and we shall be glad to find that the efforts of Mr. Bell and his distinguished coadjutors are successful in directing the attention of our countrymen to this most interesting branch of science.

The department of Natural History to which the present work is devoted, though somewhat limited in its range, comprises a mass of facts strikingly illustrative of the interminable variety and admirable order which pervade all departments of the divine workmanship. The discrepancies of structure among the different groups comprising the class treated of, 'particularly in the whole 'constitution of the skeleton, in the organs of motion, in the in-'teguments, and many other important portions of their organiza-'tion,' are more numerous and striking than are to be found in any other of the families into which the living inhabitants of our world are divided. The singular character of these discrepancies is shown in the following extract from our author's *Introduction.*

'If, with Cuvier, and most other Zoologists, we include the amphibious group in this class, these discrepancies are still more remarkable; but even restricting our view to the Reptilia proper, they are suffi-

ciently striking; and a slight glance at the general structure of the orders will exhibit them in a very obvious point of view.

'In the Chelonians, or Tortoises, and in the Ophidians, or Serpent tribe, the extremes of these different types of organization are exhibited. In the common European land Tortoise, *Testudo Græca*, which may be selected as a familiar example of the former group, the whole structure of the skeleton is brought into the most compact and solid state. The bones of the cranium and face are consolidated into a single and immoveable case, with scarcely the vestige of sutures showing the separation of the different centres of ossification upon which it has been formed; there are no teeth, but the margins of the upper and of the lower jaw are covered by a horny beak, the latter being received into a groove of the former, and thus closing like the lid of a box; then the whole of the dorsal vertebræ, the ribs, the bones representing the sterno-costal cartilages, and the broad united sternum, are altogether compacted into a case of bone, without any separation between the parts of which it is composed. The anterior and posterior extremities are fully developed, but instead of being placed exterior to the thorax, they are all of them contained within its cavity, and even the bones of the feet are only extended beyond the horny box which protects them, when the animal is employing them in progression.

'What a contrast to this solid and compact structure is exhibited by the form of the lithe and tortuous Serpent! Most of the bones of the head are permanently separate; those of the upper and lower jaw particularly being capable of great extension; there are perfect teeth; the vertebræ, which are extremely numerous, are susceptible of the most extensive lateral motion; and the ribs, slender and but slightly attached, compensate for the absence of both anterior and posterior extremities, by being themselves the instruments of the animal's progression. It is unnecessary here to enter more particularly into the detail of these curious diversities of structure; enough has been said to show how far these two groups are separated from each other in their general organization; and it needs scarcely to be added that the diversity of their habits is not less remarkable.'—pp. viii.—x.

Professor Bell, in conformity with the custom of all previous British Faunists, has included in his work two species of 'stray 'Turtles' (the Hawk's Bill and the Leathery Turtle), which have accidentally been found on our coasts, although, as he correctly remarks, 'neither the one nor the other can claim to be consi-'dered as indigenous.' The following account of the manner in which this singular animal deposits its eggs, will be read with pleasure even by those who have previously investigated the subject.

'The annual resort of the various species of marine Turtles to the land for the purpose of depositing their eggs, is one of the most interesting points of their history. On the Island of Ascension, on the shores of the Gulf of Florida, and in many other places, innumerable

multitudes of Turtles arrive at a period of the year differing somewhat in the different species, but in all during the early part of the summer. They resort to their favorite breeding-places from various parts, some even from a great distance; and there is reason to believe that each individual returns year after year to the same place. The following details of this operation, from the graphic pen of my friend Audubon, are so interesting that I offer no apology for inserting them without mutilation.

'On first nearing the shore, and mostly on fine calm moonlight nights, the Turtle raises her head above the water, being still distant thirty or forty yards from the beach, looks around her, and attentively examines the objects on shore. Should she observe nothing likely to disturb her intended operations, she emits a loud hissing sound, by which such of her many enemies as are accustomed to it are startled, and so are apt to remove to another place, although unseen by her. Should she hear any noise, or perceive any indications of danger, she instantly sinks, and goes off to a considerable distance; but should every thing be quiet, she advances slowly towards the beach, crawls over it, her head raised to the full stretch of her neck, and when she has reached a place fitted for her purpose, she gazes all around in silence. Finding 'all well,' she proceeds to form a hole in the sand, which she effects by removing it from *under* her body with her *hind* flappers, scooping it out with so much dexterity that the sides seldom if ever fall in. The sand is raised alternately with each flapper, as with a large ladle, until it has accumulated behind her, when, supporting herself with her head and fore part on the ground fronting her body, she, with a spring from each flapper, sends the sand around her, scattering it to the distance of several feet. In this manner the whole is dug to the depth of eighteen inches, or sometimes more than two feet. This labor I have seen performed in the short period of nine minutes. The eggs are then dropped one by one, and disposed in regular layers, to the number of a hundred and fifty, or sometimes nearly two hundred. The whole time spent in this part of the operation may be about twenty minutes. She now scrapes the loose sand back over the eggs, and so levels and smooths the surface, that few persons on seeing the spot could imagine any thing had been done to it. This accomplished to her mind, she retreats to the water with all possible dispatch, leaving the hatching of the eggs to the heat of the sand. When a Turtle, a Loggerhead for example, is in the act of dropping her eggs, she will not move although one should go up to her, or even seat himself on her back; for it seems at this moment she finds it necessary to proceed at all events, and is unable to intermit her labor. The moment it is finished, however, off she starts; nor would it then be possible for one, unless he were as strong as a Hercules, to turn her over and secure her.'—pp. 4, 5.

Such of our readers as have been fortunate enough to spend any portion of their time in the country, and whose tastes incline them to prefer the secluded nook or the barren heath to the dwellings of men, must frequently have had their attention rivetted to

the noiseless and wiry movements of the Ringed, or Common Snake. This is one of the most beautiful members of the reptile family, and is perfectly innocuous, though treated with much undeserved cruelty. It grows to the length of three feet, and occasionally even to four, is easily tamed, and may be made to distinguish those who caress and feed it. Mr. Bell informs us that he 'had one many years since, which knew me from all other 'persons; and, when let out of his box, would immediately come 'to me, and crawl under the sleeve of my coat, where he was fond 'of lying perfectly still, and enjoying the warmth. He was accus-'tomed to come to my hand for a draught of milk every morning 'at breakfast, which he always did of his own accord; but he 'would fly from strangers, and hiss if they meddled with him.' The following extract will sufficiently exhibit the habits of this reptile.

'It inhabits all our woods, and heaths, and hedgerows, especially in the neighbourhood of water, feeding upon young birds, and even eggs, or mice, and other small quadrupeds, and lizards; but, in preference to all these, upon frogs. I have seen one of these voracious creatures in pursuit of a frog, which appeared perfectly conscious of its approaching fate, leaping with less and less power as it found its situation more hopeless, and the crisis of its fate approaching, and uttering its peculiar weak cry with more than usual shrillness, until at length it was seized by its pursuer by the hinder leg, and gradually devoured. The manner in which the Snake takes its prey is very curious. If it be a frog, it generally seizes it by the hinder leg, because it is usually taken in pursuit. As soon as this takes place, the frog, in most instances, ceases to make any struggle or attempt to escape. The whole body and the legs are stretched out, as it were, convulsively, and the Snake gradually draws in first the leg he has seized, and afterwards the rest of the animal, portion after portion, by means of the peculiar mechanism of the jaws, so admirably adapted for this purpose. It must be recollected that in the true Serpents, unlike the group to which the Slow-worm belongs, the bones of which the upper and lower jaw are composed, are perfectly and loosely distinct from each other, and connected only by ligaments. By this arrangement not only is great dilatability of the mouth obtained, which is also aided by a peculiarity in the structure of the joint, but one side of either jaw is capable of acting independently of the other; and as the animal is gradually taking its prey, one side of the jaws is extended forwards, and the two rows of teeth of the upper, and the single row of the lower, fixed into the integument; then the opposite side of the jaws is stretched forwards in the same manner, and so on alternately until the victim is thus gradually and often slowly conveyed into the œsophagus, and by the muscular action of this part it is swallowed. When a frog is in the progress of being swallowed in this manner, as soon as the Snake's jaws have reached the body, the other hinder leg becomes turned forwards; and as the body gradually disappears, the three legs and the

head are seen standing forwards out of the Snake's mouth in a very singular manner. Should the Snake, however, have taken the frog by the middle of the body, it invariably turns it by several movements of the jaws, until the head is directed towards the throat of the Snake, and it is then swallowed head foremost. This process will remind all who have witnessed the curious sight of the great Boa taking its food, of the manner in which that enormous reptile effects its deglutition, after it has, by the pressure of its mighty sides, killed and crushed the bones of its victim.

'The scene above described is one which I have often witnessed; and I once saw two Snakes seize upon the same hapless frog. As this circumstance is not unlikely to happen in their native state, it may not be out of place to mention the result. On placing a frog in a large box, in which were several Snakes, one of the latter instantly seized it by one of the hinder legs, and immediately afterwards another of the Snakes took forcible possession of the fore-leg of the opposite side. Each continued its inroads upon the poor frog's limb and body until at length the upper jaws of the two Snakes met, and one of them in the course of its progress slightly bit the jaw of the other; this was retaliated, though evidently without any hostile feeling; but after one or two such accidents, the most powerful of the Snakes commenced shaking the other, which still had hold of the frog, with great violence, from side to side, against the sides of the box. After a few moments' rest, the other returned the attack, and at length the one which had last seized the frog, having a less firm hold, was shaken off, and the victor swallowed the prey in quiet. No sooner was this curious contest over than I put another frog into the box, which was at once seized and swallowed by the unsuccessful combatant.

'The frog is generally alive not only during the process of deglutition, but even after it has passed into the stomach. I once saw a very small one, which had been swallowed by a large Snake in my possession, leap again out of the mouth of the latter, which happened to gape, as they frequently do immediately after taking food. And on another occasion, I heard a frog distinctly utter its peculiar cry several minutes after it had been swallowed by the Snake. In taking lizards or birds, it always, as far as my own observation goes, swallows the head foremost. After it has taken its food, it usually remains inactive for many days, not usually seeking a fresh meal until the former one is digested. So exclusively are all Serpents animal feeders, that they not only will not take, but cannot digest, vegetable matters. This is shown in a very striking manner by a fact which I have witnessed in the case of a Boa which was in the menagerie formerly kept at the Tower. This creature was accustomed to have fowls given to it; and after this food was digested, and the remains were voided, any corn which might happen to have been in the crop of the fowl when it was taken, was always found mingled with the excrement, but wholly unchanged.'—pp. 49—50.

The Ringed Snake is, as we have already stated, perfectly innocuous, but not so the Common Viper, which is the only

poisonous reptile indigenous to our country. In Scotland, this species is more numerous than the Common Snake, and is found in most parts of England and Wales, inhabiting heaths, dry woods, and banks. It has never been seen in Ireland, but is extensively distributed from the northern parts of Russia to the south of Italy and Spain.

'It is everywhere deservedly feared,' remarks Professor Bell, 'on account of its venom, which, although less virulent than that of many other species, is yet sufficiently so to produce severe symptoms, and sometimes, in the warmer climates, even fatal results. In this country I have never seen a case which terminated in death, nor have I been able to trace to an authentic source any of the numerous reports of such a termination, which have at various times been confidently promulgated. At the same time the symptoms are frequently so threatening, that I cannot but conclude that in very hot weather, and when not only the reptile is in full activity and power, but the constitution of the victim in a state of great irritability and diminished power, a bite from the Common Viper would very probably prove fatal. The remedies usually employed are the external application of oil, and the internal administration of ammonia.

'The poisonous fluid is perfectly innocuous when swallowed. Dr. Mead, and others, have made this experiment, and never experinced the slightest ill effects from it. It is, however, clear that there would be danger in swallowing it, were any part of the mouth, the throat, or the œsophagus, in a state of ulceration, or having an abraded surface.'

—pp. 59, 60.

Our author has furnished a minute account of the 'beautiful apparatus' that renders the Viper so unwelcome an intruder on our path, which though somewhat exceeding our limits, we are tempted to transcribe for the information of our readers.

'On each side of the upper jaw, instead of the outer row of teeth which are found in non-venomous Serpents, there exist two or three or more, long, curved, and tubular teeth, the first of which is larger than the others, and is attached to a small moveable bone, articulated to the maxillary bone, and moved by a muscular apparatus, by which the animal has the power of erecting it. In a state of rest the fang reclines backwards along the margin of the jaw, and is covered by a fold of skin; but when about to be called into use, it is erected by means of a small muscle, and brought to stand perpendicular to the bone. The tooth itself is as it were perforated by a tube, the mode of formation of which was not understood until it was demonstrated by Mr. Smith in the Philosophical Transactions for 1818. This tube, although completely enclosed, excepting at the basal and apical orifices, must be considered as formed merely by the closing round of a groove in the external part of the tooth itself, and hence not in any way connected with the inner cavity of the tooth, in which exists the pulp

upon which the substance of the tooth is formed. The base of the tooth, and consequently the basal orifice of the tube just described, is embedded in a sac, into which the poison is poured from the ducts of the glandular structure by which it is secreted, and which is believed to represent the parotid gland of the higher vertebrata. The poisonous fluid itself is inodorous, tasteless, and of a yellow color. It is secreted in greater quantity, and its qualities are more virulent in a high temperature than in cold. Its secretion may be greatly increased by local irritation; as is evidenced by the following fact. Some years since I was dissecting very carefully and minutely the poison apparatus of a large Rattlesnake, which had been dead for some hours; the head had been taken off immediately after death; yet as I continued my dissection the yellow poison continued to be secreted so fast as to require to be occasionally dried off with a bit of rag or sponge; I believe that there could not have been less altogether than six or eight drops at the least.

'When the animal inflicts the wound, the pressure on the tooth forces a small drop of the poison through the tube; it passes through the external orifice, which is situated on the concave side of the curved tooth, and is in the form of a slit. The manner in which the blow is inflicted is as follows. The animal generally throws itself in the first place into a coil more or less close, and the anterior part of the body is raised. The neck is bent somewhat abruptly backwards, and the head fixed almost horizontally. In an instant the head is, as it were, launched by a sudden effort towards the object of its anger, and the erected tooth struck into it, and withdrawn with the velocity of thought. It is found by experiment that the effect of subsequent wounds is greatly diminished either by the diminution of the quantity of venom, or by some deterioration of its strength; so that if a venomous Serpent be made repeatedly to inflict wounds, without allowing sufficiently long intervals for it to recover its powers, each successive bite becomes less and less effective. A gentleman of my acquaintance had some years since received a living Rattlesnake from America. Intending to try the effects of its bite upon some rats, he introduced one of these animals into the cage with the Serpent; it immediately struck the rat, which died in two minutes. Another rat was then placed in the cage; it ran to the part of the cage farthest from the Serpent, uttering cries of distress. The Snake did not immediately attack it; but after about half an hour, and on being irritated, it struck the rat, which did not exhibit any symptoms of being poisoned for several minutes, and died at twenty minutes after the bite. A third, and remarkably large rat, was then introduced into the cage. It exhibited no signs of terror at its dangerous companion, which, on its part, appeared to take no notice of the rat. After watching for the rest of the evening, my friend retired, leaving the serpent and the rat together; and on rising early the next morning to ascertain the fate of his two heterogeneous prisoners, he found the Snake dead, and the muscular part of its back eaten by the rat. I do not remember at what time of the year this circumstance took place, but I believe it was not during very hot weather.'— pp. 60—62.

We must hasten to close, yet before doing so, we are tempted to dwell briefly on our author's account of the Common Toad, the general form of which he represents as 'certainly far from 'prepossessing.' Most persons will probably agree with us in opinion, that much stronger terms might have been employed, but the benevolence of Professor Bell's disposition embraces the whole range of animated nature. We confess that we have no sympathy with the man who can read such a passage as the following without a kindling of heart towards its author.

'Few animals have ever suffered more undeserved persecution as the victims of an absurd and ignorant prejudice than the Toad. Condemned by common consent as a disgusting, odious, and venomous reptile, the proverbial emblem of all that is malicious and hateful in the human character, it is placed under universal ban, and treated as an outlaw both by man and boy throughout the country. Should I be able, by the following history of its habits and manners, to show that it is, on the contrary, highly useful, perfectly harmless, inoffensive, and even timid, and susceptible of no inconsiderable degree of discriminating attachment to those who treat it with kindness, it is hoped that some few individuals may be thus rescued from those barbarous acts of cruelty to which the species is almost everywhere subjected. The mistaken notions to which I have alluded are indeed pardonable in the ignorant and uneducated; but that one professing to be an observer and an admirer of the works of nature, should have suffered his prejudices to dictate such a violent and false philippic against this harmless creature, as the following passage from Pennant, is not easily to be accounted for, and scarcely to be forgiven:—

'He calls it 'The most deformed and hideous of all animals; the body broad; the back flat, and covered with a pimply dusky hide; the belly large, swagging, and swelling out; the legs short; its pace laborious and crawling; its retreat gloomy and filthy: in short, its general appearance is such as to strike with disgust and horror.' The whole of his account teems with expressions of the same kind; and it would be difficult to find a more striking instance of the influence of prejudice in the mind of any professed admirer of nature, or a more unpleasing example of partial misrepresentation. The true lover of nature, on the contrary, who, in the simplicity and singleness of heart which always belong to that character, seeks even in the less attractive of her works for those proofs of wisdom and beneficence by which they are all characterized, will rather find in the very peculiarities which excited the spleen and disgust of our celebrated drawing room zoologist, only fresh indications of the same discriminating wisdom, and the same never-failing, though often, to the superficial observer, mysterious and veiled beneficence.'—pp. 105—107.

Most of our readers have heard marvellous stories of living toads having been found enclosed in the substance of a tree, or imbedded in a solid rock. The following is our author's view of

these tales, which we commend to the attention of such of our readers as are credulous in these matters.

'The stories of toads being found in the very substance of the wood of a tree, and in the midst of a solid and hard rock, are too numerous, and too generally asserted and believed, to be passed over here, although I have to regret that, after many and urgent inquiries, and the examination of several asserted cases of that kind, I am unable to throw any light upon this doubtful and mysterious question. Some years since I had a Toad sent me by a person of the highest credit, with the assurance that it had been taken alive out of a mass of indurated clay, of great depth, and that it had died immediately after being exposed to the air. But this case, like most, if not all, others of the same kind, is liable to the objection that the Toad most probably fell into the hollow where the men were at work, and was taken up by them in ignorance of the mode in which it had come there. Numerous experiments have been made in order to try whether the Toads would die on being artificially imbedded in masses of clay, of plaster of Paris, in wooden boxes surrounded by plaster, and in other similar circumstances; but hitherto all have failed, although in some of them the animals have certainly lived for a much longer period than could have been expected, prolonged sometimes to many months, or even to between one and two years. Upon the whole, it appears to me that whilst the many concurrent assertions of credible persons, who declare themselves to have been witnesses of the emancipation of imprisoned Toads, forbids us hastily to refuse our assent, or at least to deny the possibility of such a circumstance, it must be confessed that we still want better and more cautious evidence, to authorize our implicit belief in these asserted facts. The truth probably is, that a Toad may have lain hid in the hollow of a tree, during perhaps a whole autumn and winter, and found itself on the return of spring so far enclosed within its hiding place as to be unable to escape. As this animal requires but little respiration, and consequently but little food to support life, especially when in a state of entire inactivity, the smallest opening would be sufficient to admit the requisite passage of air, and even the occasional ingress of a small insect; and afterwards, when the tree was cut up, the Toad may have been found enclosed, and the opening may have escaped detection. To believe that a Toad enclosed within a mass of clay, or other similar substance, shall exist wholly without air or food, for hundreds of years, and at length be liberated alive, and capable of crawling, on the breaking up of the matrix, now become a solid rock, is certainly a demand upon our credulity which few would be ready to answer.'

—pp. 111, 112.

We take our leave of Mr. Bell with a respectful and warm-hearted acknowledgment of the pleasure we have derived from his work, and with an announcement—which we are gratified to make—of his being engaged in the preparation of a kindred work which will still further increase his claims on the grateful respect of his

countrymen. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the woodcuts with which the volume is illustrated, are executed in the highest style of the art, and that the whole 'getting up' of the work is in admirable keeping with them.

Art. VII. *Speech of the Right Hon. the Earl of Clarendon, in the House of Lords, on the Affairs of Spain.* Ridgway. 1839. Mirror of Parliament.

A PHILOSOPHIC mind, in looking over the map of history, will feel its attention very frequently arrested by the events which were developed in former times within the limits of the Peninsula; as well as by the policy consequent upon them. Those limits have been settled by nature; and that policy, proceeding as it did from a combination of unvarying circumstances, seemed almost as little liable to change. Recent revolutions have now concentrated public attention upon Spain: and a rapid glance at her domestic annals will furnish us with the causes resulting in her past and present state. The survey, moreover, of her conduct towards other nations will afford us many useful lessons.

On the breaking up of the western empire, the Alemanni, a pastoral and illiterate horde, possessing no other property than their cattle and their arms, passed the Pyrenees, preceded or accompanied by the Vandals. Behind them, however, were the more powerful Visigoths, who gradually forced the latter to content themselves with the country on the Bœtis, and the former to seek refuge in Gallicia and the hilly regions of Portugal. Yet little advantage accrued from the Visigothic sceptre. Its supporters, indeed, were legislators, as well as warriors: but they stamped upon the people whom they governed an impress of barbarism and superstition, which ages have not been able to efface. Successive convulsions disgraced their elective throne; offering at once both the means and the temptation for exciting an unpolished aristocracy to every excess in turbulence and licentiousness. Their punishments for crimes were of the most savage nature: and the absurdities of the Theodosian Code, together with the ancient customs of Germany, came to be all blended into a singular amalgamation of refinement and meanness,—of brutalism and bravery. In the twelfth year of the eighth century, Tarif, a Moorish general, crossed the straits between Africa and Andalusia,—erecting upon his rock Gebel-Tar, or Gibraltar,

the crescent of Mahomet. In the subsequent battle of Xeres fell Roderick the last of the Goths: yet it would seem as though the national assemblies, the courts of judicature, and the general manners of the vanquished, underwent very little internal change. Instead of a king they had the caliph. Islam usurped an ascendancy over the consciences of many, who had been before merely nominal Christians. Toleration was even granted to the religion of the gospel,—although upon the onerous condition of silence. A tenth part of their revenue, as a land-tax or tribute, in those towns or provinces which capitulated; and a fifth, or twenty per cent in those which resisted, was paid to the Commander of the Faithful. Numerous new cities were built upon the sites of old ones destroyed. In other respects, matters went forward as formerly, for a long period; in one series after another of sanguinary insurrections, royal or baronial oppressions, and demonstrations of religious animosity, interspersed with noisy martyrdoms.

Meanwhile the Asturian caverns of our Lady of Cabadonga afforded a retreat to the gallant Pelayo and a thousand of his warriors. Thither, as to the stronghold of Adullam, 'fled every 'one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and 'every one that was discontented.' A nucleus of heroes rolled and expanded among the mountains; until from the obscure hamlet of Gijon on the sea coast, these fugitives spread themselves over Orviedo and Leon; in which latter city, after a contest of two hundred years, Ordungo II. restored the royal, or as some of his successors styled it, an imperial authority. It is not a little interesting to observe, that within the Pyrenees and the ocean, and from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean, there occurred a complete representation in miniature of the struggle between Christianity and Islamism. That wonderful and talismanic empire, which blazed with alternate splendors at Damascus, Coufa, Balsora, and Bagdat,—at Cairo, Tunis, Fez, and Morocco,—in India and Asia Minor, as well as in the deserts at the foot of Mount Atlas;—this gorgeous dominion, in all its arabesque and barbaric yet transitory grandeur, might be admired, studied, and understood, in the glories of Cordova, Toledo, and Seville; in the palaces, gardens, mosques, water-works, schools, and manufactories, on the banks of the Tagus, the Xenil, or the Guadalquiver; in the fiery ferocity of the Berber as contrasted with the iron perseverance of Spanish feudalism; in the revival and diffusion of taste and learning; as well as in those mingled elements of character and circumstance, which gradually dissolved the charm, and achieved the discomfiture of the koran. Their political and religious enemies acted in the way of external compression upon the valour and genius of the Christians. Wearisome and wasting wars whetted, and hardened, and concentrated whatever virtues they were beginning to acquire in their adver-

sity. The age of chivalry and the Cid, as well as a succession of local crusades, threw out on a scale of less magnitude than their great Syrian anti-types, yet with remarkable vividness and accuracy, whatever advantages or disadvantages such phenomena have been able to display. Marvellous exertions of heroism illustrated the extending states of Spanish christendom. To Orviedo and Leon were added, before the close of the thirteenth century, Biscay and Navarre, the Castiles, Aragon, Valencia, Murcia, and Portugal. Witnessing at the same time arts more perfect than their own, among their competitors, they caught the flame of desire, and were taught by them to appreciate a number of the conveniences and embellishments of life. In one word, the worshippers of the cross had felt compelled to combat for their very existence; and that feeling worked out a variety of beneficial consequences. The invaders gradually recoiled from an undaunted and undying opposition. From having been the spoilers, they softened down into the civilizers of their fellow creatures. An almighty alchemy transmuted their scimetars into gold. They imparted to millions what their barbarian predecessors had failed to render, perhaps because they reigned not long enough to acquire a relish for them,—the light of a reflected literature and considerable taste for science. It is to be regretted that so much dross alloyed the precious metal: but still more have we to lament, that in the revolution of ages, the once injured became the injurers, and turned the tables in a spirit of anti-christian vengeance upon the descendants of their Moorish conquerors.

Throughout the long conflict of nearly eight centuries, may be seen the progress of hierarchical pretension, enlarging and indurating, until the chains of priestcraft were not merely forged for, but really rivetted into the elements of every Spanish mind. During the same period, feudalism was covering the land with castles, and peopling them with bony robbers. These were the nobles of their day, who swore by Jesus rather than Mahomet, that the weak were made to be the meat and amusement of the strong; for that to avow the contrary was a sin political and ecclesiastical, which never could be forgiven! By such men, and such means, was the country rescued from the Miramamolin. Barons were substituted for emirs. Monks and monasteries supplanted dervises and caravansaras. Towers and belfries superseded the graceful minaret. Circumcision was transferred from the persons to the purses of subjects. Battlements, moats, and barbicans came to be so multiplied, that one of the largest and noblest kingdoms was thence supposed to have borrowed its appellation. Verily dishonest rhetoricians have had both rhyme and reason on their side, in adorning with the flowers of eloquence the manners of the middle ages,—identified as they are with their own appetite for plunder. Mariana has favoured us

with an instance illustrating aristocratic justice and liberality. From the siege of Cuença in A.D. 1177, king Alonzo of Castile returned to Burgos, that he might hold an assembly of the states to arrange his finances. He there proposed that, as the commonalty were already ground down by taxation, his nobles should for once (without creating a precedent) consent to a small imposition upon themselves; at which Don Pedro de Lara declared that *the exemption of his order from sustaining any portion of the public burdens* should be defended with the last drop of his blood,—and that those might follow him, who were of his *disinterested* opinion. In one moment, a majority of the magnates arose, and defeated by their votes and clamour the proposition of their sovereign; resolving moreover to perpetuate the obligation they lay under to so conservative a grandee as Don Pedro de Lara, by giving him and his successors a splendid dinner upon each anniversary of the day made remarkable by this transaction. These oligarchs, it must be remembered, were only true to their vocation. They acted, as an hereditary house of lords, the most consistent part imaginable, in the honest spirit of Sancho Panza, when he had undertaken to lay a certain number of lashes upon his own shoulders. Human nature changes not; and selfishness will revolve upon its own centre to the end of time. Shortsightedness, however, is inseparable from it: and while these tyrants, great and small, were intent upon flaying their victims, or devouring one another, their divisions and ignorance let in upon them a despot more potent and ruthless than themselves. The church of Rome was watching from afar, and with an eagle-eye, every opening for aggrandizement. Sometimes professing to aid with papal thunders any perilous expedition against the Moslem, or at others, contriving to introduce her own ritual and services instead of the Visigothic liturgies, she at length claimed openly a supreme dominion over all conquests from the infidels. Partially resisted as this assumption was, with regard to feudal homage, ecclesiastical usurpations grew quite strong enough to interfere in popular affairs, or royal alliances; and to enforce spiritual interdicts upon stubborn princes, as well as upon an ill-informed, and therefore easily alarmed people. A network of mystical conjuration and influence was spread over all ranks of society by an opulent and pampered priesthood, monopolizing the little knowledge of their day, and pandering to the fears, hopes, and passions of those who could pay them most, or serve them best.

Yet for more than twenty generations, to such as discern only the surface of things, the main and absorbing agony seemed to be, whether a false or genuine religion was finally to prevail. Numerous were the fluctuations of success and failure on both sides. About A.D. 1000, the Christian power in Spain became almost united in the person of Sancho the Great, just when the

Arabian dominion appeared hastening to its dismemberment. But this prince divided his territories amongst his children, and even carved out a new kingdom, that of Aragon, for his illegitimate offspring. Absurd as such a policy of appanages proved, still greater degrees of disunion existed among the Moors; until the Morabeths, animated by their novel form of fanaticism, breathed fresh vigour for a brief interval into the Mohammedan portion of the Peninsula. To them succeeded the Mowaheddins; whose system, as another avatar of imposture, when it had passed away, only left its followers more exhausted than before, through the unnatural excitement. The grand engagement of Toloso, fought on the 16th of July, A.D. 1212, by Alphonzo VIII. of Castile, at length settled the matter. Two hundred thousand men are declared to have fallen on that fatal field: thirty-five thousand horses were captured: spears, javelins, and arrows thrown away in the flight, afforded fuel for a couple of days to the conquerors; and other spoils were in proportion. Allowing, perhaps, much for exaggeration, certain it is that from this memorable action, the bow of the Miramamolin was broken for ever. Emir after emir revolted into separate and conflicting principalities. The entire and advancing frontiers of Spanish christendom bristled with lines of fortresses in the hands of carefully selected garrisons permanently settled in their stations, like the Roman borderers. The military militia of St. James had now also reached its zenith in efficiency. Intrigue completed the work. One Moorish leader was broken and crushed against another; each successful competitor fattening into a richer prey in his turn. Nor were the internal sources of ruin otherwise than plentiful, in the general corruption of their manners,—their adoption of African and oriental effeminacies,—the recklessness, giddiness, ambition, and perfidy, which sacrificed public interests to private advantages.

Islamism soon shrank within the boundaries of Andalusia; while the four Christian crowns of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal, in their various circumstances, grew and flourished. The first, after a civil contest between Pedro the Cruel and his spurious brother, Henry of Transtanamara, had added Biscay to Leon, and waxed as proud, mighty, and bigoted as the pope or his emissaries could desire. The second now included Catalonia and Valencia, besides its foreign acquisitions of Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic isles, together with the Greek duchies of Patras and Athens. The third proved the least important; and through female succession passed from the family of Bigorre and the Counts of Champagne to the Kings of France, and the houses of Evreux and De Foix; until Aragon having deprived John d'Albret of more than half, the Capets obtained and kept the remainder. Portugal, as the fourth, continued to thrive under a

dynasty of prudent princes, but of course cannot fall within the scope of the present article. Early in the fifteenth century, an attempt was made to effect an union between Castile and Aragon; an object secured, before the close of it, by the marriage of Ferdinand to Isabella. Gibraltar had been captured by the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and Arcos, assisted by the Grand Master of the order of Alcantara; so that the conquest of Grenada seemed alone requisite to perfect their felicity and renown. The factions of the Zegri and Abencerrages were fast tearing to pieces that fragment of the realms of Abdelrahman. Yet for ten years was the Vega of the Xenil and the Darro drenched in vain with blood. Like a lion at bay, the believers in the koran felt their courage roused at every gory wound. Twenty thousand expired under the walls of Bœza; and although the passes of the Alpujahrra failed to be a Thermopylæ for the Moors, the latter summoned all their strength around their devoted capital. It was reported to have contained, in its most palmy state, no less than 60,000 habitations and upwards of 400,000 souls. Perceiving from their beleagured citadel the rising fortifications of Santa Fé, which thus left them nothing to hope, valour maddened itself into despair! The flower of their warriors had fallen, and famine stalked through their streets. They thronged the mosques, imploring a miraculous interposition; or having assembled confusedly in the cemeteries, the air resounded with lamentations, as they embraced the cypresses, and wept over the sepulchres of their fathers. Ferdinand himself was moved to grant them tolerable terms, to be observed by his royal conscience, just so far as might prove convenient. Mohammedanism had reigned in Spain for seven hundred and seventy-nine years. Bigotry gloated over beauty amidst the ruins of its mangled prize; thousands upon thousands of Jewish and Moorish families withdrew from its fury; while the symbol of faith and holiness was blasphemously said to have triumphed, where persecution and ungodliness had rivalled the simoom of the desert.

Not as yet had the discovery of a new world worked well for mankind, when amongst the vast dominions inherited by Charles the Fifth, Spain was to be the foundation of his power. Popular rights of election were waning from lapse of time into neglect or oblivion. Aragon and Catalonia still retained many of their privileges: but they proved far too weak against an encroaching and crafty tyrant, allied with an ecclesiastical party in all its prejudices, so as to achieve through its instrumentality his own domination. The Grand Masterships of St. Jago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, had become vested in the crown; by which means the sovereign maintained an irresistible as well as irresponsible influence amongst nobles, whose sons were aspiring to promotion; and whose pride of birth and rank expatiated in the atmosphere

of his court. They conferred moreover the patronage of twenty-seven dignities, one hundred and seventy-two rich benefices, and the command of three military unions. Domanial estates and subsidies formed the other fountains of royal revenue. The Cortes of Toledo in A.D. 1480, had reluctantly revoked certain landed alienations, the profusions of a previous reign; and Cardinal Ximenes improved the wools of Castile, by imitating the Aragonese graziers, and importing rams from Barbary. He made his ungrateful master the proprietor of five million sheep, under the care of twenty-five thousand shepherds; each flock containing a myriad, and each stock, as it was termed, at least one thousand. The Alcavala, or tax on all purchases, including the monopoly of salt, grew under the same minister into a convenient engine of state, by employing innumerable officers, establishing a general espionage, and arming government with weapons for the coercion of all classes. Yet it was the Inquisition that invested the throne with its thickest gloom,—with a darkness that might be felt! Mendoza at Seville had already sketched the accursed plan. Synods, archbishops, and even popes, who foresaw what strength it would impart to the sceptre, resisted as long as they dared. Concession, rather than consent, was wrung with difficulty from Sixtus the Fourth: and Thomas of Torquemada, brother and prior of the Holy Cross at Segovia, had the fearful honour of being the first inquisitor! His official array comprised two hundred familiars, and a personal guard of fifty horsemen. From that moment, freedom of thought or action was at an end. Emigration conveyed to other shores wealth and intelligence, which might have constituted at home the elements of prosperity and happiness. Ferdinand upon one occasion, and only one, is affirmed to have paused. His native kingdom had offered an immense sum of money, if he would exempt it from the cruel scourge. The Justiza interceded on the side of humanity: a tumultuous mob at Saragossa had murdered a sub-inquisitor before the altar of the cathedral: a province had even revolted under similar circumstances: and then the golden subsidy hung glittering in the eyes of the avaricious monarch. During this state of irresolution, Torquemada entered the chamber where Isabella and her consort had met, with a crucifix concealed under his mantle. In the course of discussion he suddenly displayed it to their astonished gaze, exclaiming in all the genuineness of religious fanaticism,—'He, whom your majesties behold, was sold 'for thirty pieces of silver; and if you again betray him, He will 'verily avenge himself!' Leaving the crucifix before them, he withdrew; when it was resolved to introduce the inquisition into Aragon, at the point of the sword. Leon and Valencia resisted to a later period; but with results equally unfortunate. Such was the consummation of the conspiracy between church and

state against the spirit and character of a valiant though misguided people. In vain had the seizure of Naples augmented the external grandeur of Spain, and fully compensated for the cessation of its nominal sovereignty over Greece. Although her soldiery vied with the noblest in the world as to courage and experience: although the revival of letters and invention of printing were about to animate her schools and universities: although the enterprize of Columbus had opened upon her the wonders of another hemisphere: although her soil was fertile, her climate serene, her rivers navigable, and her havens secure;—yet when an oppressive aristocracy bowed down in the dust whence it should never have risen, superstition erected upon its ruins an absolute throne, and rendered their magnificent country the Alhambra of civilized Europe!

Nothing, in fact, short of the Reformation, could have saved her; had that been permitted to dissolve her bondage, and remove her corruptions. But alas! too many jailors and tormentors, under the auspices of the new institution, stood all ready at their posts, to trample out every spark of truth as it fell among them, which might otherwise have lighted up the land. Valladolid, and afterwards Madrid, was the centre of a government getting daily more and more despotic. In 1539, Charles V. excluded the nobles and prelates from the Cortes of Castile, because they refused the supplies he demanded, part of which were to fall upon their own orders. That famous assembly, thenceforward limited to the deputies of eighteen cities, quickly degenerated into a junto subservient to the crown. In 1592, the office of Justiza was abolished in Aragon by Philip II. The proudest lords were learning obedience to a superior, without cultivating the slightest attachment to social patriotism. Heraldry and games absorbed their attention. The people themselves, so long as they obtained employment, forgot to concern themselves about their masters. Meanwhile the two sovereigns, from whose frown liberty and popular privileges had faded away, presented before a wondering world, the most fearful spectacles of ambition. Tyranny involves its own sting. Retribution lies concealed in every draught of the poison of irresponsible power. Charles and his son Philip are the helots of history; specimens, exhibited by selfishness, of what a royal or imperial slave of slaves may become; examples of the perfect hatefulness and horror of moral or political inebriety. Intoxicated with flattery, they could never manage well enough even for their own affairs, and much less could they do so for the good of their subjects. They therefore looked abroad for external aggrandizement, instead of at home after internal ameliorations. Their ministers served them upon similar principles. Like sots of another sort, aristocrats and viziers are always bullies. Pains were taken to mingle in every quarrel, and appropriate

whatever could be acquired. Aggression, in other words, formed the staple of Spanish policy: so that bearing in mind the tribunal of the King of kings, we would fain say to every nation and individual, throughout the habitable universe, 'He that hath ears to 'hear, let him hear!'

It was from the close of the fifteenth century, that the necessity of preserving a balance of power among the states of Europe came to be generally understood. Politicians perceived, that if some single leviathan were permitted to eat up his fellows, all that variety and contrariety of interests would cease, which prevent mankind from stagnating into the stillness of Asiatic despotism. Charles, under the glare of his German diadem, had set his heart on becoming just such a leviathan. His kingdoms of Castile and Aragon had voted him large subsidies, upon his solemn oath that he would consult their real interests: but, like the freebooter in Zadig, he was resolved at every hazard to aggrandize himself, and enlarge his territories,—to play the part of a Seigneur Brigand,—to fulfil *sa charge de Receveur trés bien, et point du tout celle de Payeur!* Voltaire had read human nature, when he thus wittily pourtrayed the type of tyrants. That, which was the birthright of independent multitudes, seemed nothing else in regal estimation, than the farm or property of a private individual. Hence the entire career of the imperial persecutor of Lutheranism and oppressor of the Peninsula. Yet no relief resulted from his death or resignation. There was a royal cub in reserve whose teeth and claws had reached maturity. The possession of Lombardy and Naples made the court of Madrid dominant at Rome and Florence, so that Philip the Second had little to fear in that quarter. It was among the Flemings that a spirit had arisen, which no despot can endure. Hardy and industrious men, attached to their ancient freedom, and their modern reformed faith, gave umbrage and occasioned uneasiness to the proud monarch, who was always addressed by his courtiers on their knees; and who had declared, that 'he had rather be with-'out subjects than reign over heretics.' The Netherlands were at that time in the most flourishing condition, full of cities, towns, and villages, overflowing with excellent artizans and opulent merchants. Their gloomy master was the patron of bishops and the Inquisition. For the former he erected many new sees: for the latter he was preparing to shed blood like water: for both, he poured troops, arms, and treasures into Flanders.

No period in history can be more striking than the revolution which ensued; and which having acted first upon all Europe, reacted in the sequel upon Spain herself. Freedom was to be suppressed, and the Council of Trent established. Perfidy, prevarication, and massacre, hesitated at nothing. Concessions, whenever offered, always arrived too late; or at least only just in

time to demonstrate the inherent pusillanimity of oppression. The Duke of Alva marched against the patriots, with the choicest warriors amongst his countrymen. A tribunal was set up, called the Bloody Council, with Vergas, a lawyer, at its head, respecting whom courtiers declared, that 'his keen knife would cut out 'the gangrene of the Netherlands!' He and the duke were models of the conservatism of their day. Their maxim evidently was, that 'a government must be feared in order that it may be 'loved,'—in contradistinction to sound liberalism, which maintains that 'it must be loved, in order that it may be feared.' Alva and his associate murdered in the name, and by the weapons of Spain, about eighteen thousand individuals through the executioner alone! This was, indeed, the red work of six years: but within a few days after their arrival, above one hundred thousand persons withdrew from the storm. Europe looked on with amazement. Such as refused to fly stood upon their hearths,—invoked heaven to their aid,—braved destruction,—and defied their enemies. High and holy was the spirit of many a nameless hero. The sweet sound of liberty raised bulwarks more magnificent than their sea-walls, against the wealthiest, most powerful, and most politic tyrant of their times. Providence and natural habits were on their side. These men owed their soil and their existence to freedom; since they could preserve neither from the ocean without immense labour; and no labour will be long voluntarily continued by slaves. They, in fact, fought with their industry in one hand, and their swords in the other. They feared neither the chivalry of the Hidalgoes,—nor the bloodthirstiness of priests or princes,—nor the artifices of obsequious statesmen. They were determined to succeed or die; and their success was equivalent to their merits.

Shallow and superficial must be that mind, which fails to perceive in all these passages of her history, the elements of the degradation of Spain, even down to our own days. The contest between Holland and Philip II. was an anticipation of that between England and America. Alva demanded fresh forces; and obtained them. The tempest thickened. Fire and the sword, gibbets and halters, the axe and the wheel put principles to the test: nor whenever the less hideous processes of craft and imposture could avail, were they for an instant suffered to remain idle. The name of tithes, for example, was an abomination, and its imposers, therefore, christened it with a new appellation. Yet was the veil thoroughly seen through, just as it now is by the Irish Catholics or English Dissenters. Oppression is oppression: injustice is injustice. Persons able to read and think never can be persuaded that spoliation is a good thing either for soul or body. None felt this more than the Netherlanders. Passive resistance gave way to active reprisals. Bloodshed on shore was

succeeded by similar atrocities at sea. Admiral Coligni advised the fitting out privateers, which, under the quaint soubriquet of Sea-Beggars, degenerated into pirates, plundering friends or foes with small distinction. In the outset, however, they were of service. Hatred against the Escurial deepened. Its whole dominion seemed at an end from the Zuyder Zee to the French frontier; which would have been realized, had not the massacre of St. Bartholomew stunned the struggling Protestants. Reverses then ensued, and afterwards successes. Alva gave up in despair. Mutinies broke out on both sides. But the invaders never could recover their celebrated discipline, which had so long rendered them terrible. Here, therefore, we perceive the miserable fruits to aggressors of anti-liberal policy. Spain in the present instance had to drain the very dregs of bitterness. Philip and his parasites awoke from their protracted dreams. Health, affluence, prosperity, and even solvency had all been sacrificed to vain glory and unsuccessful projects. Fearful was the pressure for money. Millions upon millions of crowns disappeared in the bottomless pit of a disgraceful war terminating in national bankruptcy. Obstinate pride and ambition, on the part of an autocrat, had given birth to that young republic, which derived its glory and advantages from the shipwreck of its enemies. The Hollanders now insisted upon being acknowledged as a free and emancipated people. For this they had fought a good fight amidst incredible hardships. Their marine comprised 70,000 sailors, and 200 armed vessels. Dutch mariners explored the straits of Magellan, and circumnavigated the globe. An East India Company started into almost precocious existence. So vast were the energies of those thus aroused into a consciousness of strength, that freedom and trade settled down at Amsterdam and her sister capitals, in magnificent contrast to the decline and humiliation of the Peninsula, bleeding at every pore, and not as yet sufficiently instructed.

Nevertheless the court of Madrid had line upon line, and precept upon precept. England had slowly and surely identified her interests with those of the United Provinces, in plundering the rich argosies and settlements of Spain. Philip might probably have conciliated Elizabeth, but he preferred attacking her: and so he reaped his reward. So large was the cost of the Invincible Armada, that Mendoza assured the great President De Thou of an expenditure exceeding 36,000,000 pieces of eight, prior to its assemblage in the Tagus. Its fate is well known: and with it withered the right arm of Spanish domination. It was never thoroughly feared afterwards. British admirals ventured into the very den of the lion, and plucked his beard with impunity. The nakedness of that haughty power, before which Christendom had quailed, was uncovered in the presence of

mockers and scoffers, whose lampoons inflicted torture from the Pyrenees to Portugal. An arrival of the Plate-fleet came to be considered a miracle. The Azores were but just rescued. The court of Madrid, in the depths of its mortification, turned its attention from Britain to France; expecting that there it might prove more fortunate. Amidst the confusions of that then unfortunate country, where the sword of Damocles literally hung over the head of its profligate sovereign, whose mother was the Jezebel of her age, Philip entertained the project of adding the whole to his own dominions, through the marriage of an Infanta with the young Duke of Guise. Boundless sums were again expended for purposes which could be productive of no benefit to his subjects. The relief of Paris by the Duke of Parma, on behalf of the League, occasioned the final loss of Holland to Spain. Golden ingots were forwarded overland to Namur, to be there coined into ducats for corrupting the assembly of deputies in the French capital, that they might be induced to countenance the claim of the Infanta to Bretagne, the assumption by her intended husband of the crown, and the subsequent nuptials of these royal puppets. But all such chimeras vanished before the genius of Henry the Fourth and his minister Sully. The peace of Vervins wrenched from Spain the possession of Blaret in Bretagne, besides Calais, Ardres, and several other places in Picardy. The duchy of Burgundy was reserved for discussion, but was never claimed afterwards; and within one hundred years Louis XIV. embraced Franche Comté itself within his frontiers. Spanish encroachments in Germany appeared equally pregnant with immediate suffering, and ultimate failure; partly through the rapacity of Mendoza, who styled himself the Attila of heresy,—a scourge commissioned by the Almighty. In the end, an immense balance of loss accrued: nor did aggression really answer better even in Portugal. Philip, on the demise of its cardinal sovereign, had seized upon and retained it. Yet the value and beauty of the prey disappeared under the rude grasp of its ravishers. Six millions of crowns constituting the Lusitanian revenues, whilst those of an independent state, unexpectedly dwindled through Castilian mismanagement, to a few hundred thousand; not above a miserable fragment of which found its way into the treasury, either at Madrid or Lisbon. Its once boasted navy sunk into utter insignificance. The greater part of the discoveries of its better days fell away to strangers. The Dutch enriched themselves at the cost of both countries, by acquiring the Moluccas and all the East Indian factories, excepting Goa. A twenty-eight years' war, reminding us in its protracted duration of that in the Peloponnesus, against the Braganzas and their allies, subsequent to the revolution of A.D. 1640, evolved only accumulative disgraces. Portugal proved to Spain nothing else than a magnificent source

of weakness. All Europe, save herself, was in advance. Her colonial system experienced no improvement from a temporary and uncertain connexion with the Brazils: nor had her rulers talents, or temper, or discernment for any other occupation than doing mischief. They drove into exile the few grandees and patriots not agreeing with themselves. They hunted out the Jews or Morescoes, as if leprosy and plague had been their sole inheritance. Their diplomacy was wasted upon matrimonial alliances, which through a chain of unanticipated events, transferred their native kingdom to the loathsome Bourbons. How much better would have been an amicable union between Spain and Portugal, based upon mutual good offices, and an extinction of all prejudices. The larger country might have been protectress to the less. Appalling destruction of human life, the exhaustion of both exchequers, the suspension of industry, and that development of infernalism which war produces, might all and each have been spared. Spain would have escaped the misfortunes of Estramadura, Elvas, Ebora, and Montesclaros: and her sister state might have continued to be the Phenicia of the Atlantic.

Equally imbecile were the administrations of Lerma and Olivarez. The former could just discern that the phantoms pursued by his predecessors must be abandoned; since no kingdom could survive an uninterrupted career of depletion. Richelieu and Mazarine were more than a match for them; as well as for Don Lewis de Haro, who wound up the peace of the Pyrenees. The feeble sovereign of this last minister expired soon after Louis the Fourteenth emerged from his minority; whilst Charles the Second at Madrid, successor to Philip the Fourth, was the sport of faction and fortune. The sun of Spain seemed to have gone down. Her commanders had been beaten by sea and land: public execration had driven one favourite after another from the shelter of the throne. Rousillon, Artois, and Jamaica, were added to previous losses, besides Franche Comté, which speedily followed. The Spanish and Dutch fleets, now seen fighting side by side in strange concert, were defeated, shattered, and burnt, by the Duke de Vivonne at Palermo: and after the pacification of Nimeguen, the flag of Spain was always compelled to pay homage, on the ocean, to that of France. The victorious Bourbon again fleeced, and then spurned his feeble foe, in the disgraceful truce of Ratisbon. Seasonable remittances from America just came in time to stave off another national insolvency. The foulest intrigues were meanwhile agitating Madrid, having in prospect the approaching decease of its childless sovereign. Schemes, relative to his succession, occasioned the celebrated partition-treaties between England, Holland, Bavaria, Austria, and France. As the grave yawned before him, the furious measures of the different

competitors distracted, if they turned not altogether his mind. It was given out that he was bewitched; and father Moro, a monk from Turin, endeavoured gravely to deliver the royal soul from various enchantments of the devil. His real evil spirits were the courtiers and bribed confessors around him. He felt inclined to be just; and after much hesitation, at the request of Portocarrero, he subscribed a testament declaring Philip of Anjou the rightful claimant, on condition that Spain should be preserved as an undivided and independent monarchy.

Then came the Twelve Years' war, involving within its fearful ravages all civilized Europe. Spain, at once the prize contended for, and the victim of her own follies, beheld the great battles of Luzara, Almanza, Almanara, Saragossa, and Villa Viciosa. She also suffered from the destruction of her marine and treasures at Vigo; witnessed the sieges of Barcelona and the vagaries of Lord Peterborough; and saw her metropolis thrice in the occupation of hostile forces. It is remarkable that by the will of a Castilian king, as early as the thirteenth century, one of the reigning family of France was to inherit his dominions, had a certain contingency occurred. The Peace of Utrecht more than realized such a bequest. The Spanish monarchy, shorn of its Italian possessions, deprived of the key of the Mediterranean, and of her share in the valuable Newfoundland fishery, was subjugated to Philip the Fifth. Catalonia and her patriots were abandoned, through the baseness of Bolingbroke, by the courts of Paris and St. James. A consequent insurrection was quenched in blood: whilst that new system, which had crossed the Pyrenees, at the price of such surrenders, actually resuscitated for a season some appearances of energy and prosperity, which wanted nothing more than proper management, to have conferred benefits upon every province. Orry, an able financier, assumed the direction of the exchequer. Relieved from external drains, he set on foot so many judicious arrangements, that the revenues rose to forty millions of crowns per annum. Extensive reductions in the land forces improved the efficiency of such as were really necessary. Once more the galleons could cross the seas in safety. The cessation of hostilities, leaving populous towns unmolested, allowed industry to revive, while the taxes were more punctually discharged. Well would it have been had Philip never married his second consort; or if Elizabeth Farnese could have banished a certain wily adviser to the principality of her parents at Parma.

This adviser was Alberoni, an ecclesiastic of lowly origin and lofty pretensions. His father was a gardener at Placentia; and the son assisted him in his business, until fifteen years of age, when he obtained a situation as bell-ringer in the cathedral. He used often to observe, that he then looked upon his fortune as decided. The tonsure, and a canonry, rewarded the quickness

and pliancy of his genius. His bishop patronized him, until he was able himself to patronize others; an instance of which materially conduced to his subsequent exaltation. On some particular occasion he had befriended Campistron, the pupil of Racine, and secretary to the Duke of Vendome. The dramatist, not to be outdone in kind offices, introduced his friend to the Marechal, on whom so favorable an impression was made, that he carried him to Paris as his chaplain, and there offered him preferment. The limits of the parish of Anet were not destined to satisfy a mind already fired with ambition. His great patron, therefore, took him into Spain, that he might become the medium of his correspondence with the Princess Ursini, then all-powerful at the court of Philip. The favourite adopted him in a moment; and got him appointed agent at Madrid for the Duke of Parma. On the death of Maria Louisa of Savoy, Alberoni conceived and executed the project of a marriage between the king of Spain and Elizabeth Farnese. Of course the young queen overwhelmed him with grateful favours. Her uxorious consort admired the graces of his person and conversation. He finally became his prime minister; and received a cardinal's hat from Rome. He had risen as rapidly as Richelieu; yet with a spirit of as extensive enterprize, he neither possessed the abilities, nor secured the fortune of that remarkable character. His talents were brilliant rather than solid. He could imagine far more easily than he could achieve. There was neither penetration to discern, nor skilfulness to extract the worm, which lay concealed at the very heart of the country. The range of his political vision was vast in its mere outlines; whilst not involving any minuteness or accuracy of details, his most splendid designs broke away into nothing before unprepared for combinations of circumstances. In short, they were no sooner formed, than they were either baffled or dissipated. No extraordinary grasp of thought was necessary to plan a re-union to the Spanish monarchy of Milan, or Sardinia, or Naples and Sicily; nor to effect paper alliances with the Russian Czar, Charles of Sweden, or the Ottoman Porte. His fame should have sought for its foundations in the conduct of domestic affairs,—in a revival of commerce and agriculture, in sound and upright reforms, and the maintenance of a pacific policy. When will rulers acquire unselfish views of what is due to their subjects and the world? When will they understand that what promotes universal good, advances private happiness? Every whole must consist of parts, each of whose interests can only be bound up in the welfare of the totality: and what is the entire human family but just such a whole? Alberoni was a mere meteor,—an ignis fatuus to the prince and people, whom he had rashly undertaken to govern.

Louis the Fifteenth of France, a sickly child, was in his minor-

ity, under the Regent Orleans; but great doubts arose, with regard to the claim of this latter prince to the crown, in case of his ward's decease, as well as to the legitimacy of his regency, until that event happened, whilst Louis remained under age. Philip was inflamed by his aspiring minister, with the idea that he stood entitled to both, upon his right of relationship, notwithstanding the solemn renunciation, whereby before all Europe he had surrendered such pretensions for ever. The reviving resources of Spain were again to be blighted. Alberoni raised her marine to thirty ships of the line and frigates, four hundred and fifty transports, besides bomb vessels and galleys; with the prospect moreover of large augmentation, so soon as about twenty more first-rates, then on the stocks, could be got afloat. Meanwhile his correspondence grew daily more extensive with the French malcontents of every class and party, through whose assistance he fondly trusted to extend his administration from the Escurial to Versailles. His ambassador Cellamar had projected a landing in Bretagne, and the conjunction of numerous troops with the insurgents of Poitou, who were to march to the capital, assemble the parliament, extinguish the power of the regent, and arrest his person. Many joined the conspiracy, which a courtezan is said in some voluptuous moment to have betrayed to the thoughtless Orleans. Intelligence almost simultaneous from our George the First and his cabinet, together with a number of papers seized at the Spanish embassy, confirmed the discovery. A quadruple alliance was formed between England, France, Germany, and the United States. The court of Madrid had no time to lose. One of their principal projects was to humble the emperor, and clip his wings in Italy. The first burst of the hurricane fell upon Sicily, where Admiral Byng soon annihilated his opponents, and for a season saved the island from the Spaniards. Their folly, however, required still further disappointments, and received them in due course. An invasion was to have been got up against Great Britain, to dethrone the house of Hanover, and re-establish that of the Stuarts in its stead; towards which notable scheme, the approbation and assistance of Russia and Sweden were to be afforded. Ormond actually set sail from Cadiz at the head of six thousand soldiers, and encountered a storm off Cape Finisterre, which dispersed and disabled the expedition. One small detachment only landed in the Scotch Highlands, and were welcomed by a few amongst the Jacobite clans: within three days after which, the whole party surrendered at discretion. Neither the Czar, nor Charles the Twelfth, as may well be believed, ever ventured upon any adequate preparations: although another fancy of Alberoni was, that they might curb or curtail the commerce of London, on the one hand, and divide all Germany on the other by declaring war against the emperor. Spain

herself was quickly attacked by an army of six and thirty thousand men under the gallant Duke of Berwick. The capture of St. Sebastian, and the sieges of Roses and Pampeluna, in 1720, brought Philip to terms, and compelled him to dismiss his minister.

Fruitless were all his attempts to recover Gibraltar. England was undermining the trade of Spain; while the Buccaneers scourged her colonies. In vain did the Guarda Costas watch against adventurers and smugglers. Admiral Vernon destroyed Porto Bello. It was plain, that Madrid, by attending to Italy, when the war of 1733 had resulted in the acquisition of Naples and another secundo-geniture for the younger son of the queen, both neglected and ruined America. Her ministers let go their hold on solid advantages to catch at shadows and nonentities. It came to be settled by treaty, that none of the territories from Lombardy to Cape Passaro should ever be united to the crowns of France or Spain, or the imperial diadem. Thus each aggression produced exhaustion at home, and mortification abroad. Ferdinand the Sixth, with his able counsellor General Wall, felt the full force of these truths, and acted upon their convictions. On the accession of Charles the Third, in 1759, matters relapsed into their old channels. The new monarch became party to the family compact: which only manifested again and again the decrepitude of his once flourishing realms. From Portugal he was driven back with disgrace: the Havannah conferred upon its captors a prize of £2,000,000 sterling: a British squadron commanded the whole Mexican Gulf: Manilla and the Philippines capitulated to Cornish and Draper: the cession of Florida was another mark of defeat: and it was through Tory intrigues alone, that the British cabinet proved so ridiculously moderate in its demands. General Wall had been succeeded by the Marquess Squillace, a hasty and covetous Sicilian, occasionally deviating into sensible measures, but altogether unequal to his situation. His blunders, however, might have been forgiven or forgotten at Madrid, had he not in an evil hour for himself prohibited the use of flapped hats and long cloaks; which kindled tremendous riots, occasioned considerable bloodshed, and caused his speedy overthrow. The foolish affair of the Falkland Islands called forth an armament from Monte Video, and a pamphlet from Doctor Johnson. His patrons, indeed, had without question evinced less regard for English interest than for their own pensions and places, when they spared the honour of Spain in this respect, as also with regard to the Manilla ransom. It may be hard to say whether the poverty of the Peninsula was not on a par with its pride. At the commencement of the American war, Charles and his generalissimo O'Reilly had involved themselves in an extravagant contest with the Moors and Algerines, which as usual, after

enormous sacrifices and reiterated attacks, ended in total failure, and augmented the insolence of those pirates. The Spanish fleet had been nevertheless increased; and when Almodava withdrew from London, it joined a French squadron off Plymouth, and rode in ostentatious, though useless triumph, at the mouth of the British Channel. Near Cape St. Vincent in 1780, Rodney took four of their largest ships, drove a couple more upon the breakers, and blew up another in the heat of the action. The statesmen of Madrid afterwards joined the armed neutrality, and plumed themselves on sharing in a protection of European rights: yet at the peace of Versailles, they found themselves unable to negociate a trifling loan; nor could the national bank, then instituted, obtain any general confidence. In the matter of Nootka Sound, and amidst the confusion produced by the French Revolution, no gleam of prosperity cheered their wretched country. Jervis and Nelson defeated them at sea: Trinidad was lost: Porto Rico and Teneriffe were attacked: Cadiz was bombarded: a moiety of St. Domingo had long been ceded to the French: and within a very few years Napoleon extorted Louisiana!

The court had been compelled by its necessities to procure through Ensenada, a concordat from Rome, determining that such estates, as the clergy might in future acquire, should not be exempted from taxation. Monks and bishops howled piteously at such sacrilege. But poverty has no ears: and two further enactments were obtained; namely, that in great public emergencies, the church should bear its share of the burden, and that the nomination of inferior benefices should belong to the sovereign. An extraordinary degree of influence was thus obtained by the crown over the ecclesiastical body, constituting, if we may believe Ustariz, no less a proportion than one-thirtieth of the entire people. Squillace was said to have always had an eye to clerical property as his ultimate means for repairing the national finances. The principal fountains of revenue were twelve; averaging nominally about £10,000,000 sterling per annum under Charles the Third. He was even enabled to set apart an annual sum as a sinking fund for redemption of the debt; which grew, however, in spite of professed retrenchment, through actual recklessness and prodigality. In vain had a council of war the personal presidency of their monarch; and in vain was the muster-roll of one hundred and forty regiments swollen with sounding titles of marshals, generals, and brigadiers; when their ranks were never known to number 100,000 effective soldiers. Their naval system was just as rotten at its very core. The battle of Trafalgar annihilated their last vestiges of a fleet; the usurpation of Joseph Buonaparte, and the subsequent campaigns, originated that struggle between absolutism, aristocracy, and liberty, at present passing before our eyes; and beyond the ocean, out of her immense

transatlantic colonies, the Chilian, Peruvian, Mexican, and Argentine republics were commencing their wonderful career. Here again we discern the folly of coercive measures; starting in injustice, proceeding upon aggression and oppression, producing sometimes temporary success and always enormous misery, amidst every thing that patriotism must execrate and philanthropy deplore.

From the close of the last war to the death of Ferdinand the Seventh, those symptoms were manifested and matured, which mark the state of a country passing from an old into a new order of existence. The elements of the change had doubtless as early a date as the commencement of the French Revolution; whose influences met with no hindrances to their diffusion, either in the natural barrier of Pyrenees, or the precautions of terrified despotism. Kings, nobles, and priests, from Lisbon to Moscow, and from London to Vienna, would willingly have bartered all their invisible hopes beyond the grave, for an exemption from the visible reforms on this side of it, which they foresaw that event would produce. For four years after the assemblage of the Cortes in 1810, the voice of something like popular opinion began to be heard amidst the horror of arms, and the crash of antiquated institutions. But Ferdinand and his monks, although hailed on their return with acclamations, were the dregs of an earlier century. While large classes were gasping for a constitution, the clergy were looking after the arrears of their tithes; the regulars were counting their beads in chapel, or their money out of it; and the sovereign was embroidering a petticoat for the Virgin Mary. They had none of them an idea that the age was gone, when royal councils debated upon the mysteries of the immaculate Conception; or whether the patronage of Spain should be taken from St. Jago de Compostella, and conferred upon some miraculous Theresa; or whether the archangel Michael should be coadjutor to their favorite apostle, who had so often mounted his white charger to conduct Spanish armies, until his reputation got marred by the victory of Condé at Rocroi! The consequence was that the Cortes was dissolved, and every abuse it had abolished was restored. Conspiracies and insurrections burst forth in a thousand places. Europe was vibrating in every member; and Spain was part of Europe. Her court personated the Holy Alliance, her grandees the conservative aristocracy, and her hierarchy the high-churchmen of christendom. Yet immense masses of her population thought, and justly thought, that they had deserved some other reward, for their gallant efforts in expelling the French, than the honour of being fleeced by an overpaid prelacy, crushed by a proud impoverished oligarchy, immured in dungeons by the inquisition, or roasted alive at an Auto da Fé. It may be very true, that from local circumstances she

peasantry are not, or were not much aggrieved in their own proper persons, by the mismanagement of their rulers; yet their very apathy towards freedom demonstrated at once the extent and depth of their degradation. All who possessed any particle of political or intellectual knowledge felt sorely aggrieved; and these were the light and life of the land. Such persons ranged themselves in contradistinction to the Absolutists, under the classification of Moderates and Democrats: which three divisions find their analogies and parallels everywhere. They form the past,—present,—and future tenses of the all-important verb, To GOVERN; at least in its passive voice. The only difference between such sections in Spain and the corresponding ones amongst ourselves, was that the former were then in a condition of deeper excitement: they were more immediately under the process of changing places; and, therefore, exhibiting the tremendous momentum of recoil. In 1820, after a ten years' fitful interval, during which the siege of despotism had never been lost sight of, Riego and Quiroga with their army, at the isle of St. Leon, suddenly proclaimed a constitution:

> Invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam;
> Cæduntur vigiles, portisque patentibus omnes
> Accipiunt socios, atque agmina conscia jungunt!

It has been, as we think, correctly stated, that this constitution more completely developed the principles of liberalism than the Spanish mind was then prepared to approve; and the supposition may be just, that as knowledge must be instilled by degrees, like water poured into a narrow-necked bottle, so liberty must not be effused all at once upon an uneducated, and therefore an unprepared people. The king, nevertheless, swore that he would be a *nursing* father to freedom: the moderates gave in their adhesion: selfishness made loud professions of regard for order, with large mental reservations, as to joining the successful side. The massacres at Cadiz (a city brutalized by its bull-fights), afforded an unfortunate handle to those who turn pale at accidents connected with the revival of liberty; but who jump for joy, ring their church-bells, kindle bonfires, and chaunt Te Deums, when the slaughter of myriads has crimsoned some triumph of legitimacy. Ferdinand was in the hands of a liberal ministry; and they of course trusted him about as much as men would trust an unmuzzled hyæna out of his cage. Yet our Tories, let it be well remembered, thought it very hard and cruel, that so virtuous a potentate, in the plenitude of his hereditary wisdom, should be under any shackles whatsoever to the revolutionary leaders. 'A 'Cortes assembled,' says Coote in his work supplementary to that of Russell on Modern Europe, 'and promoted with zeal the rege-'neration of the kingdom. The exclusive privileges of the nobles

'were suppressed, or curtailed; the administration of justice was 'purified: abuses in the various departments of state were cor-'rected; the lands of the church were partly appropriated to the 'public service; arrangements were made for the reduction of the 'national debt (which amounted to 100 millions sterling): and 'the assembly also attended to the revival of commerce and in-'dustry;' vol. vi. p. 576. Can we conceive any thing more hideous than all, or most of these renovations, to every conservative and every high-churchman in Castile, Aragon, and Valencia? Did not a certain house, and does not a certain party, even in this country, sympathize with every throe and groan, seen or heard from Don Carlos and his absolutists, beyond the Bay of Biscay? Did they fail declaring, that not only their craft was in danger, but that the temple of the great idol mammon would be despised, and its magnificent prelacies, privileges, and monopolies destroyed, which all Europe and the world worshipped? When the session broke up at Madrid, three-fourths of the deputies formed themselves into a permanent committee to control the executive. That executive, in the perfection of its royal hypocrisy, contained within itself all the ingredients of the parricidal sack at Rome,—a cock, a viper, a dog, and a monkey. The misfortune was that the whole might not be thrown into the Manzanares! The cortes with their committee had more warmth of heart, with less coolness of judgment, than wiser men could have wished. Jealousies from within were inflamed by agitations from without. Civil commotion let loose her serpents through the provinces. France contrived to scatter and ignite innumerable combustibles; and then interfered, under the auspices of a congress, to quench her own incendiarism. Europe, at this time, was like the vision of Zechariah—'the woman wickedness sitting in an ephah, with 'the weight of a talent of lead upon the mouth thereof.' An army headed by the late Charles X. then dauphin, passed the Pyrenees, and pursued its slimy track from the Bidassoa to Cadiz. Riego was executed; Mina became an exile; promises of an amnesty were violated; and the question at issue between the constitution and its opponents seemed, and only seemed, both settled and sealed with gore, in favour of Ferdinand and his followers.

Violent was the vengeance of their brief triumph. Despotism avowed itself the shepherd of its people, in the spirit and conduct of a Polyphemus:

Ος ρα τε μηλα
Οιος ποιμανεσκεν,—εων αθεμιστια ηδη!

Its very diet was milk and blood; whilst an insatiable appetite required at least two victims a day. There was then, unhappily, no Ulysses to watch when the monster slept, and excæcate his dreadful eye! The descent of Tarifa in 1824, and of Torijos in

1831, cannot be thought of without tears. Luckily however, as Erasmus once said, every tragedy ends with a marriage. Ferdinand, hitherto a childless widower, wedded his fourth wife, had a princess born to him in 1830, and a second in 1832. Hence ensued two important alterations; an abolition of the Salic law, and a tendency to tolerate, if not espouse, a more liberal system. Through the first of these changes, Don Carlos, brother to the king, identified with the absolutists, ceased to be heir expectant. His own factious rage, with that of his numerous and powerful party, made it evident, that on the royal demise, the infant successor would be attacked by her uncle; so that, her main chance for safety must stand upon the goodwill of the liberals. Selfishness, therefore, in the garb of paternal affection, arrested the sword of their persecutor. Yet thankful for any respite, they cordially acquiesced in a return to the ancient customs of inheritance. Philip the Fifth, in the first year of his reign after the peace of Utrecht, had abrogated these; and introduced the French innovation, that no female should wear the Spanish crown. Clamours against it were drowned amidst the confusions of the times, and subsequently ceased to be remembered from the new mode remaining practically inoperative. In 1830, Ferdinand the Seventh, before the birth of his daughter, solemnly repealed it; and with the full consent of a cortes assembled for the purpose, he enacted for himself and successors, that his sceptre should descend to either sex, according to the venerable constitutions of Castile and Aragon. His vacillation in afterwards publishing a counter-decree, wrung from him during a severe malady, had no real effect; since, on the 31st of December, 1832, he put forth an autograph declaration that this counter-decree had been extorted, and that therefore he annulled it, adhering to his original intention of abolishing the Salic law. However, to make assurance sure, the cortes on the 20th of June, 1833, in the church of St. Jerome at Madrid, swore with all due formality to be faithful to the Infanta, as lawful heiress to the crown. The right of Isabella the Second was further fortified by the will of her father; he thus exercising his unquestionable prerogative of testamentary nomination. His death let loose the combatants. The young queen, with her mother as regent, ascended the throne. Don Carlos, assuming the style of Charles the Fifth, placed himself at the head of zealots for things as they were, under the banners of church and state, the virgin mother of God, and the inquisition. Biscay, Navarre, Catalonia, and Old Castile, seemed in different degrees disposed to uphold his claims. The constitutionalists possessed the capital, and derived their greatest strength from New Castile, Andalusia, Murcia, and Valencia. Blunders not a few attended the regent at her first setting out. She attempted to conciliate those who hated her cause, by throwing cold water on those who loved it;

of which conduct the utter hopelessness soon became apparent. The Carlists were disarmed, as far as possible, in Toledo and other cities; though their capabilities for mischief were as yet very far from being at an end. One class of circumstances, constituting their hold on the rural and frontier districts, may be worth particular mention.

Formed as the Spanish monarchy is, out of several kingdoms, it presents to the survey of statesmen a coat of many colours. In other words, each of its subdivisions retains certain political and judicial customs, which are vestiges of those ancient *fueros*, or constitutions, suppressed by Austrian and Bourbon princes. Thus the Aragonese live under laws, differing from those of Castile in civil matters. They pay only four or five per cent. on the produce of their lands, instead of the full tithes. Together with the Catalonians and Valencians, they return a fixed amount of impost, assessed among themselves, instead of those burthensome taxes called the provincial rents. Vizcaya, Guiposcoa, and Alava, the three provinces of the lordship of Biscay, as well as the viceroyalty of Navarre, have never even lost their representative assemblies. In the first, they meet biennially, or oftener if requisite. Every township has a vote, and sends one or more deputies, who, at the appointed time, seat themselves with rustic solemnity around the celebrated tree of Guernica, between Bilbao and Bermeo. The returns are here verified by a corregidor and syndics, who form a permanent deputation. This ceremonial being over, they adjourn to the hall of a neighbouring convent, where under the portraits of their ancestors, and with doors open to the public, they enact regulations for the welfare of their country, listen to royal messages, decide upon answers to them, examine accounts, vote supplies, and elect officers. We suspect these things are new to many of our readers. The corregidor is appointed by the king: the former residing, together with two deputies and syndics, as a sort of executive and administrative committee at Bilboa. Here, also, they hold a court of appeal from the local authorities. Each pueblo, or village, has its own alcalde or magistrate, appointed by the municipal council of the district, which administers the communal revenues for local purposes. The supreme tribunal is that of the Mayor of Biscay, nominated by the crown; and who, with his assistants, holds a peculiar court in the chancellary at Valladolid, both for criminal and civil causes; nor can the Biscayans be tried before any other judge. Neither are they subject to any taxes beside those paid to their ancient seignors; such as a moderate house and iron duty, tithes upon certain lands, and a tribute from the towns. There has, in fact, been no line of custom-houses between them and the French frontiers. Exempted from Spanish garrisons and impressment, it is only since 1820 that they have acknowledged the jurisdiction, as to military affairs, of the

captain-general at San Sebastian. Guiposcoa and Alava enjoy similar privileges. The last has only been legally obliged to pay £1160 sterling per annum, as an equivalent for its exemption from all other royal impositions. Navarre nominally possesses an independent cortes, composed of three brazos, or estates; the nobles, clergy, and burgesses. A council always resides at Pampeluna; the viceroy swears that he will respect the national privileges; nor are the Navarrese amenable to any but their own tribunals. They are subject, however, to the stamp, custom, and post-office duties, as well as to the crown-monopolies of salt, tobacco, and gunpowder; but not to the provincial rents, in lieu of which they submit to an annual yet fixed contribution. Such, in truth, were formerly the privileges of all Spain, until, through chicanery or violence, the king usurped the appointment of public officers to cities and large towns. The rural municipalities, not being objects of equal importance, contrived to retain still their elective character; so that independence, banished from the capitals, settled in a certain degree, as to temporal matters, amongst the peasantry, imparting to them that external dignity of demeanor so generally remarked by travellers. Unfortunately the new constitution, in its zeal for centralization and uniformity, cast no very amicable glances on the Fueros; whilst Don Carlos, on the other hand, pledged himself to their confirmation. Hence, the best and simplest portion of the Peninsula was embarked from peculiar circumstances on the wrong side. The quadruple alliance only augmented suspicion; and both England and France, it must be admitted, have much to answer for in letting the Pretender, as a royal Guy Fawkes, escape from Portugal, embrace his conservative friends in London, and then pass the Pyrenees.

At length there appears a fair prospect of terminating the civil war. A satisfactory arrangement of the finances, the general introduction of education, and an abandonment of aggression towards the South American states, can be no longer postponed; that is, if Spain is ever again to lift up her head amongst the family of civilized nations. Her annual expenditure on a war establishment may be stated at about £9,000,000; but on one of peace, at not more than from £5,500,000 to £6,000,000; exclusive, we mean, of the interest on her enormous debt, now exceeding £100,000,000! Her church property, however, is more than equal to this incumbrance; and now, instead of being locked up like a secret mine, under the magic lamp of Aladdin, it is happily under a process of diffusion, from one end of the country to the other. We refer to Lord Clarendon's eloquent and judicious statements, in his recent speech forming the head of our present article. An abolition of the salt and tobacco monopolies, would, beyond a question, double their returns, and render them worth to government two millions sterling instead of only one. Some improvements of the kind have already taken place with regard to

the manufactory of cut glass; as well as for facilitating internal trade and intercommunication. A commission has been appointed for several years respecting the post-office, a national system of education, and the censorship of the press. The more liberal constitution of 1820 has been re-established, with a few modifications, upon the ruins of its predecessor; yet still, almost every thing remains to be done. The absolutists, it is to be trusted, are prostrated; but the liberals, or exaltados as they are termed in Spain, find no favour in the affections of the regent, who has just thrown herself into the arms of the moderados or whigs; simply because these last have saddled her civil list upon the revenues of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, pledged as those revenues were for the exclusive and righteous use of the national creditors. Hence has ensued fresh dissatisfaction, another dissolution of the cortes, and a refusal on the part of Grenada, Cordova, Cadiz, Murcia, and Alicant, to pay any taxes, until honest ministers are again placed at the helm. Alas! where are able heads, in combination with just minds, to be discovered in the court of an intriguing profligate queen mother? The actual state of the Peninsula has too long answered to that melancholy portrait in one of the minor prophets: 'There is none upright among them: they 'all lie in wait for blood; they hunt every man his brother with a 'net. That they may do evil with both hands earnestly, the prince 'asketh, and the judge asketh for a reward; and the great man, 'he uttereth his mischievous desire: so they wrap it up. The best 'of them is a brier: the more upright is sharper than a thorn 'hedge: the day of their watchmen and visitation cometh; now 'shall be their perplexity.' Micah vii. 2—4.

We say, let Spain lose no time in being just towards her friends, and generous towards her enemies. Let her recognize the independence of her colonies in reality, as well as in name. Let her cultivate amicable relations towards ourselves, and learn to execrate the slave-trade. Let the Holy Scriptures find their way into the habitations and hearts of her people; and then may brighter periods break upon both her and Portugal, than when the one had Mexico and Potosi, or the other her Brazils, as well as her African settlements, with factories unequalled for their prosperity in India and China. Looking at the Peninsula through the prism of hope, rather than the telescope of fear, and in the spirit, we trust, of an enlightened philanthropy, one can discern no reason which good Christian government might not speedily obviate or remove, why its present population should not be doubled; why human industry should not revive from the Bidassoa to the Atlantic; why her rivers should not be connected, so as to afford extensive inland navigation; why commerce should not revisit all her havens; and the world once more admire the glories of a regenerated land. It has been truly observed, that the sums lavished on the Escurial, would have dug a canal from Toledo to

Madrid, so as to have connected that metropolis with the golden mouth of the Tagus! Peace, knowledge, liberty, religion,—these are the four cardinal reformers. The Holy Alliance, in refusing so long to recognise Isabella the Second, can no more arrest the progress of human happiness, should Spain become what she ought to be, than extinguish the sun, or roll back the tide. Let nations be but faithful to God and themselves, and neither the sword nor the coronet,—neither kingcraft nor priestcraft, shall stand before the hornbook of the schoolmaster! There are some significant symptoms, in the external form, and internal constitution of the Spanish cortes. Should their assemblies be enabled to settle down into good order and stability, it cannot be denied, but that in certain points, they will be nearer the gate of wisdom than ourselves. Their Upper House, as we should call it, erected and constructed as it is upon a basis broader than our own, may become potent in undermining the partition walls of that system of caste, amidst whose overthrow, so much prejudice will expire. Primogeniture and hereditary succession will be probed to the bottom. South America herself may one day exercise that secret influence of example upon its mother-countries, which the United States have done and are doing upon Great Britain, and the entire European family. Public happiness will spread in geometrical progression, when once the masses get enlightened, so as clearly to distinguish good from evil. We are all on the eve of a fearful struggle; but one which will terminate in just such a triumph as Hampden sighed for, and Washington was favoured to behold. The Spanish, Portuguese, and English languages, spoken as they are, and will be so generally in the old world, and from the Arctic regions to Cape Horn in the new, may faithfully record the fluctuating features of the contest: for they will applaud the honor and honesty of those alone who have founded their patriotism upon sound and genuine principles.

Since writing the above, we have had access to rather a recent exposition of Spanish finances. The revenue from 1814 to 1820 averaged above £6,500,000, very badly paid up, but of which the collection cost only fifteen per cent! The receipts and disbursements respectively of 1828 and 1832 stood thus:—

1828.

Revenues.		Expenditure.	
Land Tax	£1,470,000	Army	£2,650,000
Duties on Consumption	910,000	Navy	400,000
Imports and Exports .	600,000	Collecting Revenues .	1,450,000
Tobacco Monopoly . .	610,000	Justice	140,000
Salt Duty	400,000	Ministers of State . .	110,000
Licences, Stamps, &c. .	130,000	Royal Household . .	500,000
Sundries	503,000		
Tax on Clerical Revenues	605,000		5,250,000
	5,228,000		5,228,000
		Excess	22,000

1832.

Tithes	£400,000	Casa Real y Estado: that is to say, the Civil List and Foreign Department	£620,000
Provincial Rents . . .	1,300,000		
Tobacco and Customs .	900,000		
Salt Duty	600,000	Finance and Pensions .	800,000
Miscellaneous Taxes . .	1,200,000	The Marine	420,000
Stamps	200,000	War Department . .	2,400,000
Doors and Windows . .	600,000	Grace and Justice . .	180,000
Sinking Fund	800,000	Sinking Fund and Foreign Debt	2,080,000
	6,000,000		6,500,000

The largest Spanish budget ever known was under the Prince of Peace, in the time of Charles IV., when it amounted to £20,000,000 sterling! Yet, for 1839, it comes very near it, being 92,049,900 dollars, or in our money about £19,333,000; including the provision of interest upon the national debt. The revenues for this year are about £9,250,000, collected at the enormous cost of upwards of twenty-four per cent; the greatest portion of which charge, however, must be attributed to the civil war. These revenues, also, are exclusive evidently of the sales of church-lands; and will of themselves very much improve on the cessation of the present struggle. Thus, the Excise, instead of being £550,000 as it has been for the past twelvemonth, will be at least £800,000, if not a million sterling, for 1840. The tobacco revenues can be farmed for £1,000,000 more than they now yield; whilst parties are ready to give £350,000 in augmentation of the present salt-duty. From these three sources alone, there will be an increase of £1,600,000. The expenses, moreover, of collection will shortly come down to ten per cent., if justice only be done, which will save £1,400,000; so that, the next statement of receipts may show an amount of about £11,000,000 sterling in round numbers; and, taking the peace expenditure at £5,000,000, and the dividends on the national debt at £6,000,000 more, there is nothing to prevent Spain, humanly speaking, from setting herself right with the whole civilized world, as well as with her domestic creditors, within a very short period. Whether she possesses the moral strength to do this, is another matter, which time alone can show, Her public debt on the first of January, 1820, was 270,000,000 of dollars; in May, 1823, it had swollen to 335,000,000; in June, 1833, ten years afterwards, to 481,000,000; and in 1836, to 519,000,000 dollars, or about £105,000,000 sterling. The mal-administration of loans can only be compared to, if it be not excelled by the contracts of our own 'pilot, who weathered the storm,' alluded to by Sir Henry Parnell, in his useful work on Finance Reform, to which we would refer any of our readers, who may for an instant doubt

whether democracy be not consistently economical, and aristocracy as consistently extravagant. We conclude with the favourite quotation of Edmund Burke: *Magnum vectigal est* PARSIMONIA!

Brief Notices.

National Church Establishments Examined: a Course of Lectures, Delivered in London during April and May, 1839. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. Third Thousand. London: Ward and Co.

The Committee of London Deputies have performed a good service in the publication of Dr. Wardlaw's Lectures at the cheap price of one shilling, and in a form of typographical elegance rarely equalled and never, perhaps, surpassed. We need do nothing more than transcribe the following passage from their brief advertisement to this edition. The hope it expresses can scarcely fail to be realized. 'Though published at a price that may render it everywhere accessible, they would announce that no curtailment has been made, but that Dr. Wardlaw has kindly revised the volume, and has added some notes, and made some verbal alterations, which undoubtedly are improvements. In this form, the Committee trust that all liberal and enlightened friends to free discussion, and the Voluntary principle, will promote the sale and distribution of these Lectures—which they concur with Dr. Wardlaw in hoping 'may contribute to bring the public mind into a right position respecting the great questions they discuss; and so to advance the cause of Christ's spiritual kingdom, on its way to separation from the world, and to final universality and triumph.' We specially recommend our ministerial brethren to promote the circulation of this reprint among the younger members o. their flocks.

A Biblical and Theological Dictionary. For Bible Classes, Sunday-School Teachers, and Young Christians generally. Designed as an Illustrative Commentary on the Sacred Scriptures. With Numerous Wood Engravings. By Samuel Green. London: G. Wightman.

This work has been undertaken 'in order to supply to a certain class of readers extensive and various information scattered through numberless volumes, in illustration of the language and truths of the Bible—and of the manners, habits, and history, both of those nations through whom the Divine word has come down to us, and of neighbouring nations who are often adverted to in its pages.' This design has been followed out by the author with commendable diligence, and much good sense; and with a candor and urbanity of temper rarely met with in works of the kind. There is nothing sectarian, either in

its construction, or its spirit. The arguments of opposing parties are briefly and honestly stated, and the reader is left to sift evidence and to form conclusions for himself, rather than to place implicit trust in the dogmas of any teacher. We can honestly and warmly recommend the work as specially adapted to the class for which it is designed, and we trust it will obtain a wide and lasting circulation.

Literary Intelligence.

Preparing for Publication.

Shortly to appear, the first volume of a New Translation of the Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus, with copious Explanatory and Critical Notes, Preliminary Dissertations, and many graphic Illustrations.

The Rev. R. Slate, of Preston, has issued proposals for publishing a *History of the Lancashire Congregational Union*. The work has been undertaken at the request of the Ministers and Delegates of the County Union, and will probably be put to press in a few weeks.

Letters on India, with Special reference to the spread of Christianity. By the Rev. W. Buyers, Missionary at Benares.

Dr. Andrew Combe has in the press a new work on the Physical and Moral Management of Early Infancy.

Memoirs and Select Remains of the Rev. Thomas Rawson Taylor, late Classical Tutor at Airedale College, Yorkshire. By W. S. Matthews. Second Edition, revised. With a Preface by James Montgomery, Esq.

Just Published.

The Oration of Demosthenes upon the Crown, Translated into English, with Notes, and the Greek Text, with Various Readings selected from Wolff, Taylor, Reiske, and others. By Henry Lord Brougham, F.R.S.

The History of Christianity, from the Birth of Christ to the Abolitio of Paganism in the Roman Empire. By the Rev. H. H. Milman. 3 vols.

The Religious Wars of France, from the Accession of Henry the Second to the Peace of Vervins. By Jonathan Duncan, Esq.

A Summary of the History of England. Translated from the French of Felix Bodin by Jonathan Duncan, Esq.

A Mother's Reminiscences of a Course of Reading and Instruction. In three parts. Addressed to her daughter by Mrs. Borron.

General History, briefly Sketched upon Scriptural Principles. By the Rev. C. Barth, D.D. Translated by R. F. Walker, A.M.

Ward's Library. The Holy Spirit a Divine Person; or, the Doctrine of his Godhead Represented. Practical Sermons on 1 Cor. xii. 11. By John Guyse, D.D. Reprinted from the Edition of 1721.

Theory of Parallels. The Proof of Euclid's Axiom looked for in the Properties of the Equiangular Spiral. By Lieut.-Colonel T. Perronet Thompson, F.R.S.

The Sidereal Heavens, and other Subjects Connected with Astronomy, as Illustrative of the Character of the Deity, and of an Infinity of Worlds. By Thomas Dick, LL.D.

Divine Meditations upon Several Occasions: with a Daily Directory. By Sir William Waller. To which is added a Short Account of Sir William Waller and His Times.

The Slave-Trade and its Remedy. By Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq.

Narrative of a Voyage to Madeira, Teneriffe, and along the Shores of the Mediterranean, including a Visit to Algiers, Egypt, Palestine, Tyre, &c. With Observations on the Present State and Prospects of Egypt and Palestine. By W. R. Wilde, M.R.I.A. 2 vols.

Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders; with Notes corroborative of their Habits, Usages, &c. Remarks to intending Emigrants, with Numerous Cuts drawn on Wood. By J. S. Polack, Esq. 2 vols.

What Cheer? or, Roger Williams in Banishment. A Poem by Job Durfee, Esq.; with a Recommendatory Preface by the Rev. J. Eustace Giles, Leeds.

Sermons Preached in St. Paul's Episcopal Chapel, Walsall. By C. F. Childe, M.A.

A History of British Birds. By W. Yarrell, F.L.S. Part 17.

A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation in 1838 and 1839, with Remarks on the Corn Laws, and on some Alterations proposed in our Banking System. By Thomas Tooke, Esq., F.R.S.

Episcopacy, Ordination, Lay-Eldership, and Liturgies: considered in five Letters. By the Rev. A. Boyd, A.M.

The Canadian Naturalist. A Series of Conversations on the Natural History of Lower Canada. By P. H. Gosse.

Parochial Lectures on the Book of Jonah, delivered in the Parish Church of Cheshunt in a Course of Lent Lectures. By Matthew M. Preston, M.A.

Gatherings; a Collection of Short Pieces, written at Various Periods. By the Author of 'The Listener.'

Christian Reasons of a Member of the Church of England for being a Reformer. By Ross D. Mangles, Esq.

Family Worship. A Series of Prayers, with Doctrinal and Practical Remarks on Passages of Sacred Scripture, for every Morning and Evening throughout the Year; adapted to the Services of Domestic Worship. By upwards of 150 Clergyman of the Church of Scotland.

The Protestant's Armoury; being a Collection of Extracts from Various Writers on the Church of Rome, chiefly designed to show its Apostate, Idolatrous, and Anti-Christian Character. Compiled by a Lay Member of the Church of England.

Memoirs of James and George Macdonald of Port Glasgow. By Robert Norton, M.D.

The Whole Sermons of Jeremy Taylor and the Rules and Exercises of Holy Living and Holy Dying: with a Biographical Memoir.

Christian Liberty as Opposed to its Restrictions by the Veto Act, Patronage, and the Dependence of the Church on State Support. A Sermon. By H. Heugh, D.D.

The Naturalist's Library. Conducted by Sir W. Jardine, Bart. Entomology, Vol. 6. Bees.

Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest; with Anecdotes of their Courts, now first published from Official Records and other Authentic Documents, Private as well as Public. By Agnes Strickland. Vols. I. and II.

Man Responsible, for his Disposition, Opinions, and Conduct. A Lecture. By Isaac Taylor, Esq.

Anti-Bacchus; an Essay on the Crimes, Diseases, and other Evils Connected with the Use of Intoxicating Drinks. By the Rev. B. Parsons.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR MAY, 1840.

Art. I. *Discourses on Special Occasions, by the late Rev. Robert S. M'All, LL.D., with a Sketch of his Life and Character.* By the Rev. RALPH WARDLAW, D.D. Two vols. 8vo. London: Jackson and Walford.

THE reviewer of a posthumous work has duties to discharge differing materially from those which belong to ordinary criticism. When a living writer ventures on the attempt to instruct or please the public, he is in the fullest sense responsible for the productions of his pen. Soliciting the attention of others to his performance, he cannot complain if they reply by judging of its merits, and deciding, so far as the weight of their opinion goes, his literary fate. But when written compositions are given to the world by other hands than those which held the pen, appearing on the responsibility of survivors, who may feel as strongly the wish to erect a memorial to departed worth or talent as to benefit society,—more especially when the writer has shrunk from this species of notoriety during his life, and has all but forbidden it to his works after his decease,*—correct feeling, or rather jus-

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* This, we believe, was the fact in the case of Dr. M'All, who, while he gave that consent to the publication of his MSS. mentioned in the 'Prefatory Notices,' connected it with the condition of its being due to the tenderest claims of surviving relatives. The condition being realized, there was no longer the possibility of hesitancy as to the propriety of publication. It is true that some of the sermons in these volumes were finished by him with considerable care; but this was probably rather in uncertain anticipation of the use which *might* be made of them by others, than with any ultimate intention of publishing them himself.

tice itself towards the dead, demands that a different rule of estimate should be applied. The performances must be judged of with a reference to the immediate objects of their preparation, and under the recollection that the measure of their fitness even for such objects was perhaps under the unavoidable control of temporary circumstances. And with regard to the author himself it is plain, that while his reputation is implicated in the fate of his surviving writings, these may furnish no adequate representation of what he was, even as to those characteristics of which a man's writings are commonly considered an exhibition. It seems proper, therefore, that while the productions and the author are not disjoined, both should be connected with such other means of information as may exist concerning the character of the departed. An acquaintance with the man is no less indispensable to the critic than the ability to form a correct opinion of what he has written. This must be our apology for the *personality,* if we may so express it, of the following observations, which will relate as much to the distinguished individual whose remains are before us as to his remains themselves. If ever the above principles were justly applicable, they are so to Dr. M'All, whose living eminence as a minister was great, while his surviving works are scanty. We congratulate the Christian public that remains so precious exist, and have not been withheld from them. But were every thing that has been left behind published, to the last manuscript, it would still be a mere fragment of the splendid and diversified productions of a mind so incessantly active, while it remained allied to the body, that it may be said to have lived ages of intellectual existence in one short life,—a life brought, alas, through its own activity, to a too early close. In confessing to opportunities of personal acquaintance with the deceased, we may incur the suspicion of speaking from a biassed judgment. If our readers perceive unequivocal symptoms of this critical delinquency, they will make the necessary deductions from our testimony. The disadvantage is unavoidable, if the qualification we have represented as essential was to be secured. All that we shall say is, that we have done our best to be impartial; and we trust those most competent to judge will be most ready to acknowledge that we have held the balance with a somewhat even hand.

Not a few reasons for anxiety respecting Dr. M'All's reputation occurred to his friends and admirers in the prospect of the publication of his manuscripts; and though their fears have probably been dispelled by the appearance of the volumes themselves, it is but justice to the lamented author, that his productions should be read with these reasons distinctly in view. Dr. M'All's celebrity having been chiefly that of a preacher, they could not but think of the great disadvantage under which all

discourses appear, that have given delight as addressed from the pulpit, when no longer accompanied with the grace and power of delivery. So fascinating was the charm of Dr. M'All's delivery, that this loss could not but be experienced, as the biographer correctly observes, to a degree rarely equalled. They were aware, too, that his style both of extemporaneous and written composition, was in remarkable harmony with his mode of speaking; the former the 'plena ac numerosa oratio,' and, with all its beauties, copious to diffuseness, detaining the mind with a too minute and expansive development of thought; the latter rapid to the utmost degree consistent with perfect enunciation, carrying the hearers forward with a kind of rail-road speed, by which the flats of discourse were traversed with a diminution of tediousness to the hearer, and its beauties presented in a continuous but ever shifting perspective. The advantages of this adjustment would of course be lost in the publication of the discourses. And then, so self-possessed and concentrated was his mind in every successive effort, as to give the character of the entire man to whatsoever thing he uttered: neither could this characteristic be more than most imperfectly impressed upon words no longer spoken by himself, but read by others. Many of the most striking qualities which marked his superiority of intellect, exciting the astonishment and admiration of all who witnessed his living efforts, could either not be embodied at all, or very insufficiently, in written composition. Such were his surprising rapidity of conception, combining, instantaneously, comprehension the most minute with a clearness the most logical—his unrivalled power of giving immediate expression to thought, with its most delicate shadings and most subtle connexions, in language the most felicitous—his ready command of his whole range of mental stores—his faculty of apparently intuitive penetration into the interior of all subjects —his quickness of kaleidoscopic change from thought to thought, each perfect in itself, and each new—his self-possessed preparation for every new position, and superiority to surprise. These, and other features of mental character which our readers will find graphically described in the prefatory sketch, and which contributed so deservedly to Dr. M'All's celebrity, could be little apparent in written discourses, in which his mind would be found stereotyped in the form which it had assumed for the season, without the *movement* in which the intense activity of his powers showed itself. It was probable, also, that ideas embodied in the calm of study would not be his best. With ordinary minds the happiest thoughts are commonly the most rapid, thrown out in moments of inspiration, when the mental eye shoots through opening vistas, and rapidly reaches its clearest and most vivid conceptions. Such visions must be seized before they fade, and reduced to a permanent form by the quickest process of expres-

sion. Much more might it be supposed that a thinker, rapid above all others, and felicitous in extemporary diction, would not have his most vigorous intellectual efforts represented in that mode of composition in which they were most slowly embodied. Even his flow of expression in extemporaneous oratory, perhaps never surpassed, came behind his speed of conception. 'One of his 'chief difficulties in public speaking,' he observed to Dr. Wardlaw, 'arose from the multiplicity of thoughts which, at the same 'moment, presented themselves for selection and pressed for 'utterance, while each of them suggested itself under different 'modes of expression, between which, also, a choice was, on the 'instant, indispensable.' Or, to use a simile which we have heard him employ in describing the difficulty he had in keeping pace with his thoughts, he was often like the swimmer, who, if he can only keep on the summit of the wave, is borne along in triumph, but when baffled is left foundering in the gulph behind. It was not surprising, therefore, that he should, in writing, feel this disadvantage much more painfully, which he often mentioned in conversation with his friends. 'He confessed,' the memoir informs us, 'that it [writing] was against the grain,—that the 'very act of formally setting himself down to write seemed to 'produce a sudden stagnation of mind,—that he could not get his 'conceptions carried fast enough to the paper,—that they crowded 'upon him, and, before one could be written, many were gone.' By this disadvantage, of which no writer is altogether unconscious, it could not but be feared that the vividness, richness, and energy of Dr. M'All's style of thinking would be sensibly impaired when exhibited from the press. Neither was the highly oratorical and figurative complexion of many of his sermons, in which he practised some accommodation to the popular taste rather than complied with his own, sure to stand the test of that colder criticism which was likely to be applied to it when not submitted to the ear but to the eye. And then, more than all, there was the consideration, that a few discourses, prepared for special occasions, many of them similar in character, could convey no idea of the furniture of a mind the greatest wonder of which was the compass of its stores, and the apparently exhaustless copiousness with which they flowed forth at every accidental summons, amidst public engagements, or social intercourse, or the most retired occasions of private converse,—presenting effusions singularly perfect in verbal form and rich in substantial excellence. Taking such things into view, it appeared to many of Dr. M'All's friends that injustice to his memory, even from the intelligent part of the public, was nearly inevitable in the event of publication, while the disappointment of those who could make no allowances was certain.

We cannot suppose that no part of these apprehensions has

been realized by the appearance of these volumes: but we do not refer to the considerations which occasioned them for the purpose of preparing our readers for the perusal of productions of merely second-rate merit, which it will be universally confessed they are not. It is because we consider it due to the memory of the departed author, that his works should not be considered by themselves; and that what he was as a man and a minister of Christ, should be as amply recorded as the recollections of his contemporaries enable them to do. Nor can the delineation of his character fail to benefit survivors, by adding force to those important moral and spiritual lessons which his history furnishes. With respect to the discourses now published, we are happy to be able to concur in the opinion expressed by Dr. M'All's venerable friend and biographer, 'that they present an abundant sufficiency of intrinsic excellence, both in matter and in style, to maintain the writer's well-earned eminence of reputation.' Connecting them with the deeply interesting and delightful biography which introduces them, we think they realize, beyond what could have been expected, a faithful representation of their author's mind and character. And, of course, we enjoy this advantage in perusing them, that though the fulness of the author's mind cannot be found in them, its peculiar cast and complexion can be more leisurely considered, and its structure more closely inspected. We anticipate great benefit from their publication. To the general reader they present a rich treasure of sanctified Christian eloquence of a high order. Devout readers will find in them great fulness of evangelical truth, and a constant reference of all topics to the grand elementary facts which constitute the soul of vital Christianity. There is an ever warm and pathetic mention of cardinal doctrines, not as dogmas which orthodoxy requires to be obtruded on an audience, but as vital principles dear to the heart of the preacher. Those who know what it is to have the 'love of Christ shed abroad in their hearts,' will find in these discourses a spirit with which they can delightfully sympathize. They will find duties the most experimental and the most practical expounded with equal skill, and enforced by appeals adapted to minister a most wholesome and legitimate excitement. To ministers and those preparing for the ministry, we conceive the volumes must prove invaluable; for though we like no servile imitations, and think indeed that there are peculiarities in Dr. M'All's style and manner which ought not to be imitated at all by preachers, there are excellencies of the highest order which cannot be too attentively considered. The searching, solemn, awful representations of the work of the ministry found in these volumes, which stir the very soul, and evince how deeply the writer realized the responsibility of his office, will deserve a place among that class of compositions which every minister should select for his frequent,

prayerful, private perusal. Among such we conceive they are unequalled for powerful dissection of the heart, and impassioned exhortations to ministerial fidelity; while often, the reader will have occasion to linger on passages exquisitely pathetic and beautiful, cheering him to patient labor by representations of his reward. They will find throughout a model of pure and classic English—and the style in most of the discourses, although they are by no means uniform in this respect, is that of a master of language. It is everywhere elegant, polished, flowing, but with a spirit and urgency indicating the intenseness with which the writer always thought. Its brilliancy rises often into splendor—and when lofty views of moral or religious truth are to be embodied in description, the writer's conceptions and expressions become truly magnificent. He never fails in the felicitous appropriation of words to his ideas, but is not seldom diffuse through the quantity employed, as well as obscure in marking the relations of ideas, in consequence of the multitude often comprehended in one sentence, and the brevity of expression for each which is thereby imposed. Parentheses are frequent, and subtlety of thought sometimes adds to the difficulty of a ready apprehension of the writer's meaning. There may be allowed, also, to be a too uniform balancing of antitheses, and a too constant oratorical tension and stateliness of diction in the march of his periods, perceived most when the subjects are of the less elevated order. He loses this, however, when he rises to lofty or pathetic themes, and the noble ease and grace with which he exhibits them to thought are equalled only by the exquisite beauty of the language in which he clothes them. There is great variety in the merit of the discourses, as well as a marked diversity in style. Those most recently composed, we imagine, present less of that diffuse length of sentence, of his tendency to which he was well aware, and more of vigorous terseness or calm simplicity, after which we believe he aimed, as more adapted to written composition. The discourses evidently differ much as to the degree of mental excitement under which they were composed, and the labor bestowed upon them. It is vain to regret that the similarity of the occasions on which several of them were preached, has restricted the range of the writer's mind to fewer topics than will be found comprised in many volumes of smaller size, and has produced a recurrence of the same figures and modes of expression. This is in some degree compensated by the copiousness with which the subjects are treated, and the happy combination in the same discourse of stimulating appeal with a wide range of practical remark, drawn from a close observation of human character and human life. But their highest excellence lies in the vivid and exciting view which they present of known truth, calculated to produce the best religious impres-

sions. Amidst the brilliancies of fancy, the author completely conveys into his productions the energy of his own *faith.* He makes his readers realise invisible things, and feel with himself the emotions with which they have so evidently inspired him. We hope that religious parents will draw the attention of intelligent youth to these volumes, which must prove attractive to such for the same reason that their author's preaching did: they can hardly be perused without advantage.

The arrangement of the discourses, a matter of minor importance, has been judiciously fixed by the editor according to 'the 'principle of gradual expansion in their respective subjects.' The first which occurs is a funeral sermon on the death of the late venerable William Roby, of Manchester. The second is an address on parental duties, delivered at a meeting of ministers from Lancashire and the neighbouring counties. Then follow three discourses delivered at the opening of chapels,—Belgrave Chapel, Leeds; Everton Crescent Chapel, Liverpool; and Queen Street Chapel, Chester. Next, seven discourses delivered at the ordination of ministers—two of them introductory ones, preached at Blackburn and Bury; four, charges to ministers, and one, an address to the people. Next, an address on the desirableness and the means of spiritual excitement in the churches — two discourses on home missionary objects — two charges to missionaries proceeding to foreign service—and two sermons preached at missionary anniversaries.

We shall not be expected to enter upon any regular analysis of so many separate discourses. They are all distinguished, more or less, by independence and originality of thought combined with practical sagacity and good sense, and by a wide intellectual comprehension illuminated with fancy and softened by a spirit of tender and devotional piety. The first in the volumes, that on the death of Mr. Roby, is from a text perhaps the most appropriate which could have been found within the compass of the Bible, Luke xii. 42—44, 'Who then is that faithful and wise 'steward,' &c. In the early part it is marked by judiciousness rather than by vigor; the character is drawn with masterly discrimination and the utmost delicacy of touch; and the discourse rises in beauty and interest towards it close. The address on parental duties presents in its commencement a fine specimen of the author's habits of generalization; the subject itself is treated very practically, but with manly freedom and enlargement of sentiment; and is followed up by arresting appeals to parents and children. The three discourses on the opening of chapels are in a style more elevated than either of the preceding, and afford a fair specimen of their author's mode of preaching on public occasions. Of the three, the most able and elaborate are those delivered in Leeds and Liverpool. The impression pro-

duced by the first of the two when delivered, is said to have been altogether extraordinary, and no reader will be surprised that it should: it bears the strongest impress of genius; it is full of power and of deep moral sublimity; and is largely imbued with devotional feeling drawn from the distinguishing truths of the evangelical system. We would gladly transfer to our pages one of the noblest portions of the discourse, that which describes the incomprehensibleness of the divine nature; but the passage is long, and mutilation would injure it. We shall give, as a shorter extract, the following vivid representation of the difficulty a human mind would feel in any attempt at forming, à priori, a conception of the mediatorial incarnation of Deity,—by which a strong argument is furnished for the divine origin of Scripture.

'We are now to speak of God as having become incarnate. And if so great, as we have seen, be the difficulty of conceiving even the first, the simplest, the most certain, of the divine perfections;—what must be the embarrassment attendant on the mingling of divinity with what is human, the incorporation of dissimilar natures, and yet so as neither to humanize the Deity, nor deify the humanity, but that each shall be perfect, and yet both inseparable!

Suppose the attempt were to be made fictitiously;—and let us give to the author of such a fiction every qualification he could desire;—yet with what perplexities would he be surrounded! What motive could be imagined, so mighty, and yet so peculiar, as to have become the origin of such a purpose? Where could have been found a nature so exalted, or of such importance, as to warrant, much more to demand, so stupendous a condescension, that the Creator himself should assume it? Or how could we imagine an exigence so pressing, or a claim so powerful, that the very thought should be exempt from indignation, or shielded from contempt? What emergency could be so extreme, that no other method could relieve it; or what danger so imminent, that no other means could avert it; or what end so glorious, that, when no other was sufficient, it could repay this infinite expenditure, or justify this unparalleled proceeding?

'But it is to the condition of man the Deity is to be represented as descending. Properties the most broadly contrasted with each other are, therefore, to be united;—modes of action the most alien to be intimately blended;—forms of being, presenting no mutual resemblance, are to harmonize and coalesce. The same features are to reveal the frailty of man and the energy of God. In the same wonderful person, are the might of the Creator and the dependence of creatures to be unitedly displayed. He is to be omnipresent, and yet circumscribed; self-existent, yet participant of change; the source of life to others, yet deriving sustenance, like them, from the air, and earth, and waters; infinite, yet subject to limitation; God, yet man.

'When at length the design has been liberated, and the thought realized, how is it to be actually wrought out? Will not the author of such fiction array this human deity with all the powers of a celestial

nature, and pour around him a celestial brightness? What shall we behold in him but an insufferable radiance, and the emanations of uncontrollable might? Will not thunders play around his brow, and the sun grow pale before his eye? What shall his robes be but the light, or his chariot but the whirlwind? If he speak, shall it not be as the noise of many waters?—if he frown, as the gloom of midnight?—if he threaten, so as that the very dead shall tremble?—if he bestow blessings, so as to fill the earth and heaven with gladness? Shall not the verdure of a perpetual spring expand before him,—and the fruitfulness of summer dance around? Will not the attention of all men, withdrawn from meaner objects, be fixed and concentrated upon him, and the whole world become the theatre for the manifestation of his glory? Age with its tottering footsteps, youth with its thrill of exultation, even infancy with its babble of delight, will they not all throng about him, and testify, by a thousand signals, their various and universal transport? Will not disease and danger vanish at his approach, and all tribes and tongues break forth into one strain of harmony and joy?

'But where, in all these images, is the proper character of man? How has the hand of genius accomplished its adventurous intention, by blending, not confounding, the natures it aspired to mingle? Behold the worm obscured by the divinity, and the properties of the one mode of existence beclouded by the effulgence of the other. Nothing here is natural or human:—it is the incongruous, yet easy, figment of an imagination, distorting all things, and turning them into fable. And yet it is, perhaps, the highest, as it is certainly the most probable, achievement of the powers of fiction, striving to present the picture of an incarnate Deity.'—Vol. i. pp. 112—114.

The discourse, it may be thought, is not fully sustained in its interest to the close. The other, which is on the manifestation of divine power and wisdom in the work of redemption, is admirably conducted; and, although not containing so much of imaginative splendor as some others, presents a well-sustained course of thought embodied in language which unites force with classical purity and the most polished elegance. From our remark on its less imaginative character, we must except a comparison, occurring in the latter portion of the discussion, between the display of divine skill and power given in the launching of a world, with that made in the adjustment of renovating truth to its designed effect upon the soul of man, which is in the author's boldest style of conception. The thought is noble, though, to a critical view it may appear that the grand obscure would have been happily substituted, in the description of Deity, for the minute anthropomorphism which now characterizes it. The character of this discourse, both as to thought and style, approaches nearer perhaps than any other in the volumes to that suitable for sustained discussion, and increases our regret that

Dr. M'All did not concentrate his energies on a more extended work, adapted to develope his resources, and to unite eloquence with solid thought. As it is, the discourse is much fitted to correct the disparaging conceptions of evangelical truth by which the minds of some more intellectual classes of objectors are abused.

The introductory ordination sermons are beautiful expositions of the principles of Congregational Dissenters, uniting the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re.* The author had thought out his doctrines on these subjects for himself, and held them with great decision. The discourses in the form of charges to ministers, although on subjects not the most universally interesting, are in our opinion the most valuable part of the volumes. We have been most struck with those addressed to the Rev. John Ely, of Leeds, and the Rev. S. Jones, of Lane End, Staffordshire. The former is on the words of Paul, 'I 'magnify mine office,' and is remarkable for the vigorous grasp with which the writer seizes his subject, and the fervid and masculine eloquence with which he developes it. The address is truly impressive, and rises far above mere rhetoric. The second is on concentration of aim and effort in the work of the ministry, the motto being the words of the same apostle, 'One thing I do.' It bears the marks of a more rapid composition than the preceding, but at the same time of the deepest mental impressions on the part of the writer. We cannot conceive of a more vivid and energetic delineation than it presents of the experience, religious and professional, of a Christian pastor: it applies the most solemn and awakening admonitions; and were the sentiment expressed in the words, 'My grace is sufficient for thee,' only somewhat more prominent, we should regard it as perfect in its kind in respect to adaptation for usefulness. It leaves, on the whole, rather a depressing sense of inadequacy for duties so arduous and awful as the ministry imposes. As an example of the force which pervades it, we quote the following description of the decay of piety in the mind of a minister.

'And consider, how great are the advantages afforded to your adversary from the many and peculiar temptations to which your office specially exposes you; all tending to undermine your principles, and endanger your fidelity. If you are successful, you will be tempted to pride; if disappointed, to murmuring. If the execution of your task be found easy, you will be assailed by criminal indolence or self-dependence; if connected with a sense of difficulty and inadequacy to its just fulfilment, to a remission of effort corresponding to the diminution of hope. If you are made the instrument of conveying to others a measure of spiritual blessings greater than you are conscious of in your personal experience, you will be open to the paralyzing suggestion, either that all is a delusion, or that yourself are a deceiver;—if, while exploring with interest the mysteries of revelation, and bringing

them forth successively, with all the vividness of their impression ful upon you, they are found to fail of their effect on others, you will find it hard to retain unabated the strength of your conviction with the meekness of your forbearance,—and the danger will continually be increased, lest your religious sensibilities should be at length exhausted, and come to partake, in their turn, of the very sluggishness and languor against which they have maintained a fruitless conflict. The preservation of your mind in meekness, purity, and readiness for spiritual action, while opposed and thwarted by a thousand counteracting influences, will often resemble the efforts of a dove, struggling to reach her nest, amidst the rush of tempests and the career of eddying winds. With other men, such feelings may be casual and infrequent; with you they may be expected to form the history of every day and hour. Others may be revived by quickening impulses, and the application of unwonted stimulus, in views of truth or duty, new and unexpected, and pressed home powerfully by the voice of pastoral exhortation;—but what is to rekindle the wasted lamp of piety within *your* desolate bosom?—'if the light that is in *you* be darkness, how great is that darkness!'

'And should we, alas! suppose you to degenerate only into formality or secret unbelief;—and that your efforts in the pulpit, though not remitted, or even sensibly abated of their fervor, should come to spring, not from the solemn sense of the things you utter or the interests you are professedly aiming to secure;—that you should decline into no doctrinal error, but speak truth in the spirit of falsehood;—that you should commit no flagrant inconsistency, but stand as a whited sepulchre, beautiful without, but full of death within;—that your name should be pronounced with no dishonour, but your principles sink every day into deeper and deadlier slumber, and your motives become tainted with a larger and more fatal infusion first of indifference, and next of hypocrisy,—your prayers more infrequent,—your interests in the salvation of souls more languid,—your consciousness of responsibility more feeble,—your watchfulness against temptation more inconstant, and your resistance to the hidden apostasies and wanderings of the heart more irresolute:—what could be paralleled with the misery of such a condition, either in earth or hell! Every spring of sanctity and vigor drying up within you, and yet the symbol of official consecration not obliterated from your brow;—every hope withering,—and yet the seared and shrivelled leaves of a profession once so distinguished hanging thick about you;—the fragrance of your anointing wholly vanished and exhaled, and only its substance remaining, as it might minister an aliment to fiercer flames, and deadlier anguish:—you would present a spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men, pre-eminent alike in guilt and wretchedness,—enshrouded with darkest omens, and signs mysteriously prophetic of uttermost destruction. Where should we look for the victim so signally prepared for the slaughter, or adorned with chaplets of such portentous bloom!'—Vol. ii. pp. 17—19.

The two charges to missionaries are animated and impressive;

the former more imaginative, and towards its close too high-strung in its oratory to meet our taste; the latter more solid and useful, and embracing a wider range of subjects on which the opinion of Dr. M'All will be felt to be valuable. The sermons preached at anniversaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society are among the finest in the volumes, and will be, perhaps, most generally interesting. They are delightful and magnificent compositions, full of splendid and spirit-stirring passages, and pervaded by sanctified emotion. The following is the short introductory paragraph of the discourse on 'The Royalty of the 'Glorified Redeemer,' from the words in Rev. xix. 12, 'And on 'his head were many crowns,' which finely expresses a beautiful idea.

'This impressive image, though a fragment only of a more extended description, presents, like many others, a conception of the Saviour's greatness, much beyond that which, perhaps, we gather from its hasty and vague consideration. It is one of the peculiarities of the sacred writings, that they thus include, often within the briefest compass, suggestions which, when expanded by diligent reflection, furnish materials for increasing interest and wonder; and convey to the studious observer, modes of illustration equally appropriate and unexpected. A figure thus dwells in a word; a powerful argument in a most casual allusion:—and so the opulence of the eternal mind betrays itself, with an air of mingled grandeur and simplicity, an air almost of unconsciousness, in thoughts which are accidental and secondary; throwing off flashes of momentary radiance, like gleams from polished armour, which derive their tremulous glory from the temper, not the hue, of the surface that reflects them. To approximate to such a standard, is an indication of the highest genius; and it is witnessed in some of the choicest productions both of eloquence and poetry, lending them a charm, whose force is often felt, when its origin and nature are unknown.'—Ib. pp. 397, 398.

The following is part of the description of the Redeemer's conquests.

'Nor was the manner of his conquests less distinguished than their splendor was illustrious. In his own person he had mysteriously vanquished by suffering and death. It was when he fell he triumphed. And in the persons of his followers, he continued to display the same indestructible power; which was ever greatest, when it seemed to be overborne,—and broke, like the day, more brightly, for the depth of that pavilion which enshrouded its approach. 'He shall not strive nor cry, neither shall any man hear his voice in the sreet; a bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgment unto victory.' Such was the prophetic description of his progress: and the same principles have added still new lustre to every period in the history of his cause. Such events are without a parallel amongst mankind. The Parthians conquered by flight; and the heroes of Lacedemon, by an inextinguishable patriot-

ism, and a love of martial glory, which taught them to welcome death as the prize of valor, and to account no couch so easy as the shield on which they should be carried to the tomb. But it is the church only, that, through every age, has yielded, in uncomplaining weakness, before the fury of the persecutor and the pride of power;—then most victorious, when covered with the dishonors of an apparent overthrow; rising, in renovated vigor, from the stroke which menaced its destruction;—as if the gory arm of murder had endued it with fresh life; or like the springing of the tender herb, that spreads in lovelier verdure, and exhales a sweeter fragrance, for the very foot that crushed it to the ground.

'Such is the glory of Jesus. His successes commenced on the cross; where he spoiled the spoiler, humbled the conqueror, and turned into mockery those principalities that rioted in his defeat. He died:—thus only could death be abolished. He was numbered with transgressors:—thus only could sin be forgiven. He stood accursed, as an exile, and an outcast:—thus alone could he open the way of reconciliation and peace.

'When 'the beauty of Israel was slain upon his high places,' David took up his lamentation for the departed Saul, though an enemy and an apostate, forsaken of God and man, in strains of inimitable pathos, and unequalled tenderness: 'Ye mountains of Gilboa! let there be no dews, neither let there be rain upon you, nor fields of offerings: for there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away; as though he had not been anointed with oil. How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!' But far different the fates of Calvary and of Gilboa! The shield of a greater than Saul was there cast unto the earth; not to scathe it with barrenness, or smite it with a curse, but to diffuse around an influence, as benignant as it is wonderful; inviting, not the thunder, but the dews of heaven. For the touch of that shield has hallowed it; and the scene of slaughter has become the abode of renovation and of gladness. There vital airs are breathed;—and holier light is shed;—and spirits of mercy linger—to recall the mysterious conflict,—and the mortal strife,—and the triumph, not of the exulting but the falling warrior,—and the blessings of that victory, the theme of endless celebration, and the source of inexhaustible delights.'—Ib. pp. 407—409.

The style of this discourse is full of music, and a chastened pathos mingles with the inspiring thoughts which meet us throughout the whole. We pass, without reference, the other discourses in the volumes, not because they are of inferior merit or interest, but because no brief description such as we might give here, could do them any thing like justice. Our readers must peruse for themselves. If the discourses be read in immediate succession, the feeling they are likely to leave is that their complexion is too uniformly rhetorical: but it must be remembered they were delivered at intervals, and not in

the usual course of the author's ministry, but on public occasions. Yet making every allowance, we confess our conviction that a simpler eloquence will ever be found to be the most moving, and that the splendor which elevates the imagination is inconsistent with the highest effects upon the heart.

The beautiful accuracy with which, with scarcely an exception, the volumes are printed, indicates the care with which the editor has conducted this department of his labors. He mentions in one of the prefatory notices the *obscurity* of some parts of the manuscripts, and to this we are probably to impute one or two inappropriate collocations of words. We give Dr. Wardlaw credit also for the close attention which he has paid to the punctuation, which we presume to have been in a great measure fixed by himself, Dr. M'All having used few points of any kind in his written style: but we think the perspicuity would rather have been increased than diminished by a more sparing use of the *dash*, the reader being more perplexed than aided by a too minute notation of the connexions of clauses. Our augustan English writers present a model as to punctuation, which it would be better for us moderns more closely to copy.

The biographical sketch is a part of the publication on which we have dwelt with an unexpected degree of pleasure. The Editor has conducted his 'Sketch' in a manner which entitles him to the warmest thanks of the friends of Dr. M'All and of the religious public. It is throughout marked by his amiable and affectionate spirit and sound judgment, as well as by ease and elegance of style. Our pleasure would have been still greater in the perusal had the earlier part of it been more condensed, with fewer passing disquisitions on points of minor importance, and a closer adherence to the business of simple narration. We regret also the introduction of not a few explanatory and half-apologetic remarks both in the memoir and in notes to the discourses, as in our judgment unnecessary. As the memoir advances, however, it rises greatly in interest: and, in the graphic and spirited descriptions, the skilful dissections of mind and character, and the valuable discussions into which Dr. Wardlaw has entered upon topics legitimately calling for them, the reader will find every thing to commend. The larger and most important part of the sketch is a delineation of Dr. M'All's personal character, talents, and professional habits, into which the biographer enters *con amore* and at great length. Ministers and candidates for the ministry can hardly fail to reap as much advantage as pleasure from the masterly and ample analysis of character which the biographer has furnished, and will gratefully appreciate the value of this part of his labors. The communications from various friends in the form of sketches, are able and beautiful, and have been

wrought into a most interesting *cento*. We must find a place for Dr. Wardlaw's happy description of Dr. M'All's conversational talents.

'He was no monopolist of conversation. He neither aspired at being sole speaker, nor chief speaker. He gave it its turn, or he took the turn given to it, with the same unaffected readiness and grace,—leading or following, as it might happen,—drawing out others, or drawn out himself. He alternately imparted information and elicited it; and in the very eliciting of it he imparted it, showing how instantly and how perfectly he could make what was elicited his own, and follow out facts and ideas to applications and uses new even to the mind from which he had drawn them. On all subjects he was at home, or, with the quickness of intuition, made himself at home,—even the inquiries of his curiosity indicating the extent of his knowledge. He could pass, by the most rapid transitions, from subject to subject;—and whether he spoke of the most ordinary or the most abstruse, there was a rapidity of conception, an originality and diversity of thought, and a varied appropriateness of diction,—elegant without ostentation, familiar without meanness, and every word and phrase the best that could be chosen without the appearance of selection,—such as astonished strangers, and gave ever fresh delight to familiar friends. There was the sparkling of wit,—and the playfulness of humour,—and the happy hits of innocuous raillery,—and the gravity of serious reflection,—and the pathos of exquisite sensibility,—and the vivacity of graphic anecdote,—and the eloquence of picturesque description, whether of natural or moral scenery,—and the accuracy and clearness of scientific statement,—and the lofty flights of fancy,—and the quick and penetrating pursuit, apprehension, and hair-splitting dissection of some abstract nicety of metaphysics,—all blending in rapid and returning succession, according as the different members of the social coterie might, purposely or accidentally, supply the varied impulse.'—pp. lxxxii., lxxxiii.

The following account of his ordinary style of preaching is from the pen of his medical friend and constant hearer, Mr. Roberton.

'He was too perspicuous not to commence with a distinct aim, seeing the end of his argument from the beginning. His most logical mind was not to be supposed deficient in the powers of arrangement and rigid method in the stating and developing of his theme. And yet it must often have appeared to his hearers as though he was 'at large' in the wide field of thought,—owing to the disproportionate length of his introduction, and the temptation, to him generally irresistible, of pouring out a flood of illustration on certain particulars in the text, until the plan and method seemed to be forgotten. Although this vast and too exhausting introduction was a defect, an attentive and intelligent hearer was sure to reap a rich reward in the stream of striking thoughts, poured forth with surpassing ease of manner, and in diffuse

but beautiful and appropriate diction, until the passage of Scripture stood in bold relief,—its scope and all its important relations perceived, its difficulties mastered, and the listener, with his reason satisfied and conciliated, prepared to bow to the practical application of the great truth. This defect, however, was too considerable, to possess counterbalancing advantages. Too many hearers—the majority I fear—were lost and bewildered in the wide field he traversed, until they no longer could discover what he was aiming at, or what connexion at all his reasoning had with the text. Besides, his time was often exhausted, when as yet the sermon was hardly, as some thought, begun; so that he was led to be far too lengthy in general, and, in the end, had to dismiss numbers dissatisfied with the brief and hurried, though pointed and admirable, application of the subject. As a further consequence, he was sometimes tempted to preach two or even more sermons on the same text;—a practice not generally to be commended in any preacher, and especially in one so copious, discursive, subtle, and rapid in thought and utterance, as Dr. M'All. Such consecutive discourses, with some few exceptions, were the least profitable of any to his flock,—because the least distinctly apprehended, and consequently the least perfectly remembered, after the hearer had reached his own home.

'But this inordinate length of introduction was not a uniform practice, many of his discourses being in admirable proportion as to their separate parts;—as a whole, models according to the most approved rules. In truth, it might be said, that no two consecutive sermons were exactly alike in style or construction. In variety, he surpassed all preachers; and a stranger who, on one occasion, had been displeased by a rapid and lengthy introduction, full of prodigious parentheses, and sprinkled with technical and scientific phraseology, would on the next, perhaps, hear a sermon remarkable for simplicity, and for the sweet and affectionate spirit with which it was delivered.

'Much of this diversity was owing to varying states of bodily health, or rather conditions of the nervous system,—his being as susceptible of change as the most sensitive thermometer to variations of temperature. Sometimes, on his entering the pulpit, it would be apparent, from his pallid and anxious countenance, that his feelings were uncomfortable, owing, nine times in ten, *solely* to corporeal states;—in which case the discourse was sure to be delivered with rapidity and vehemence, often with surpassing eloquence, but not exactly so as a lover of the gospel, and an admirer of the preacher, would have desired:—for it might be noticed, that, in meeting the supposed arguments of an opponent, or in pointing out some fallacy in the ordinary modes of dealing with divine truth or with the text he had chosen, his manner would be severe and contemptuous, reminding the listener of the Bar rather than the Pulpit. At such times, too, the smallest interruption, as a loud cough, near or opposite to him, or the rattling of a passing carriage, would produce a visible pang of annoyance.

'But ill or well, comfortable or uncomfortable in his feelings, there was never to be discovered the slightest obscuration, feebleness, or exhaustion, of mind; although I have often heard him complain of want of confidence in himself,—so much so as to make him, on entering the

pulpit, feel in doubt whether he should be able to go on. But such hesitancy and embarassment were known to himself alone; to others he appeared self-possessed and masterly. In private, I ever remarked the same peculiarity. Even, indeed, throughout his long afflictive illness, his intellect, though not his spirits, appeared to remain *above* the influence of bodily conditions. With truth it may be affirmed, that his was the most ready and *usable* mind with which any mortal was ever gifted; and, had his body possessed equal vigor and endurance, he would have been a phenomenon amongst men.'

—pp. cii.—civ.

His failings are frankly and candidly, yet delicately, touched by his biographer, who shows from the testimony of the same medical friend, the large share which an exquisitely sensitive nervous temperament had in producing them. On this topic we may have a remark or two to add before we close; but in the mean time we state our opinion that nothing has to be subtracted, on the score of partiality in the biographer, from that most pleasing view of personal excellencies by which the necessary reference to infirmities of character is finely relieved. The following passage, relating to his devotional habits, is too interesting to be omitted.

'My brother,' says the Rev. Samuel M'All, 'spent much of his time in devotion. He did not neglect those stated religious exercises, which seem essential to Christianity; but his devotion was not confined to them,—nor did he profess to be a stranger to the difficulty of commanding the thoughts in prayer. It is well known, that he lay sleepless a great part of every night; and that this time was usually filled up with communion with God;—his thoughts (as he himself expressed it) naturally forming themselves into prayer. He had often, as he told me, found it profitable, to sit alone in his study, in the evening, and without a light, to indulge in religious meditation. It may be truly said, that he spoke the things which he had felt, and tasted, and handled of the word of life, never imposing on others duties from which he excused himself, nor offering consolations which had not their full influence on his own heart.'

'Of this devotional spirit various pleasing instances are mentioned by correspondents; and while they stand associated with his benevolent interest in his brethren, especially when called to new and trying service or exposed to special difficulties, they show, at the same time, the value he set on the intercession of others for himself. 'His devotional habits,' writes the Rev. John Ely, of Leeds, 'were often incidentally brought to light, in the mention of those intercessions which he offered up for his friends. One example of this, involving many elements of true loveliness, occurred, when I was called upon to preach before the Missionary Society, in London. 'Fletcher,' he said, 'we must pray for Ely, that assistance may be given him on this great and trying occasion, that he may take his proper station in London.' This Mr. Fletcher

reported to me at the time; and I felt that, while it betokened his warmth of friendship, it proved how strong was his faith in the efficacy of prayer, and how habitually he carried every matter that interested him into his closet.' 'As an illustration of his habits of devotion, and to show how he valued the prayers of the righteous,' says Mr. Griffin of Manchester, 'let me remind you of the fact mentioned recently by Mr. Knill. Being, on some occasion, in this town, Dr. M'All sent for him to his house; and, after conversation on Christian character and the work of the ministry, he said—'I have requested to see you, brother, that you may pray for me:—let us go up into my study, and you shall pray for me.'' 'Some of the sweetest and most solemn moments I have ever spent,' says Mr. Fletcher, were in his society, in the adoption of what he called *the Dual system*—that is, two Christian friends engaging to pray with each other. He proposed to me to act upon this plan,—a proposition to which I gladly assented;—and several precious seasons have we thus enjoyed in each other's studies. On these occasions, in which there was the nearest approach to the secrecy of personal devotion, without being quite alone, his heart, free from all restraint, seemed to unveil itself; and nothing could exceed the tenderness, the humility, the affection, the holy warmth, and panting desires after celestial good, which characterized his prayers in those never-to-be-forgotten interviews.'

'This devout and prayerful spirituality of mind appears to have grown rapidly, in the observation of his brethren, during the later years of his life. 'About two or three years ago,' (I cite the same authority), 'before that morbid condition of his frame which at length terminated his life had gained so much ascendency, he seemed to me to be under the special and extraordinary influence of the Spirit of God. He had the most powerful impressions of spiritual things, and the deepest conviction of the inadequacy of our ordinary religious emotions:—and there are many of my brethren who can bear witness to the warm and holy influences which emanated from him, tending to a revival of religion in all around him. At that period, for a space of two or three years, you could scarcely converse with him but his soul seemed all on fire with devout affections; and he evinced a constant anxiety to stimulate and raise all his brethren to the attainment of a higher tone of piety. In the fraternal meetings of his brother ministers in Manchester, which were held at frequent intervals, he freely poured out the hallowed emotions of his soul, and inflamed us all with a warmer love to Christ and his cause. M'All never appeared greater or lovelier than among his brethren. In such a circle, where he was perfectly at home, he gave vent to the gushing feelings of his heart. The most holy and heavenly affections, associated with the most lofty and noble thought, and clothed in the richest diction, fell in exhaustless abundance from his lips, which seemed touched with the fire of the altar. His brother ministers in this town are accustomed to look back to these meetings, as perhaps the most hallowed and delightful seasons they ever enjoyed.''—pp. clxi.—clxiii.

A reader of the memoir cannot fail to be struck with the great

amount of interest in Dr. M'All's person and character which was excited in the minds of intelligent persons with whom he came into contact. This arose not more from the moral attractions he presented to all who had a favorable, or, we ought rather to say, a fair view of his character, than from the remarkable vividness and copiousness which marked the manifestations of those rare mental endowments of which he was possessed. There is a fascination in genius, of which all who approached Dr. M'All were sensible. Few men have had a greater number of curious and admiring observers of their mental movements than he, or more who were willing to record their impressions respecting them. In stating those which have been produced upon our own mind by the perusal of these volumes, and past personal observation, our remarks shall assume the form of an attempt to exhibit the more elemental peculiarities of his mental constitution, which in their combination made him what he appeared to be. This kind of analysis is the only contribution we can offer in addition to the very ample and elegant delineations which have come from so many pens. In this attempt we commence by observing, that an exquisite susceptibleness in his general mental organization, which gave rise to a most sensitive correspondence of movement between all its parts, was both itself a leading peculiarity, and apparently the basis on which all the rest worked. The perceptiveness and intelligence of his mind might be compared to that of an extended *retina* of nervous filaments, sensible at every point, and so connected by the nicest sympathies that, wherever an impression was made, the whole cooperated with the quickest concentration. When we ask what were the other mental powers which gave this sensibility its specific directions, we are struck with the uncommon measure in which two orders of faculties, not often found in equal perfection in the same mind, were combined in him—we mean those which, on the one hand, fitted him for observation and acquisition, and those, on the other, which carried him irresistibly to philosophic investigation. The possession of the former, with but a small proportion of the latter, would have made him the ready man he was, but withal a superficial one: the opposite combination would have formed him a philosophic generalizer, but of less universal ability; a profound analyser of materials, but with fewer materials to analyse. It is observed by a writer in the memoir, that in him the faculty of analysis appeared to be developed to excess. The cause of this is discoverable in the above combination. Had he been merely an abstract thinker, he would have dwelt more among general principles, and we should have had fewer of those ceaseless efforts of analysis by which all things were resolved into them. Had he possessed merely a capacity for details, without the disposition to resolve them into principles, this analytical

character of mind would never have been remarked. It is difficult to say which class of faculties he possessed in greater perfection. His powers of observation were apparently incapable of being surpassed. His attention was incessantly awake to all surrounding objects and persons, and to all circumstances connected with them by the slightest link which memory supplied; so that he appeared ever unconscious of that *absence* of mind by which many men of genius are marked, and from which few ordinary minds are altogether exempt. He maintained, at all times, the quickest apprehension of the proprieties, even the most trivial, required by the relations in which for the moment he stood to external circumstances. Hence the general perfection of manner which distinguished all his habits in his official and his private engagements. And hence, also, his extraordinary readiness and copiousness in the selection of his ideas; although that was doubtless greatly aided by his immense command of the stores of language, which not only furnish the vehicle of thought, but connect thought itself by such links as marvellously assist in its ready re-production. It may appear singular that, with such a faculty as this, Dr. M'All should have complained of want of memory, a fact which is referred to by the Rev. Mr. Kidd in a vigorous, though we cannot think a very correct, description of Dr. M'All's intellect, forming part of the Funeral Discourse which was placed at the head of a former article in this journal. He was not to be charged with affectation in the complaint; for, while he did not profess to be wholly serious in making it, there was a foundation for it to the extent in which he meant his words to be understood literally, in the fact that he seldom preserved either words or things in the same order of place or succession in which they had been presented to him. His mind, as Mr. Kidd justly observes, had an order of its own, in which it deposited its acquisitions. The truth is, he could do either as he chose. No one could more easily command the most superficial local or historic details, when they were only to be viewed as matters for observation and memory. But this was not usually the case: while incessantly engaged in observing, the powers of interior thought were equally at work, comparing, distinguishing, analysing, combining; and while the slighter links of knowledge were often forgotten, the more philosophic were preserved, strong and permanent, for future applications. His profounder powers may perhaps have been originally the strongest; at all events they were likely, as the most allied to intellectual eminence, to be most actively cultivated in the career of mental discipline through which he led himself. Whatever might be the cause, these were the faculties in most vigorous and incessant action, and they gave a decided cast to his entire mental habits. There were numberless occasions when the lighter play

of mind appeared, in which the most trivial connection of ideas, the merest verbal association or accidental collocation of circumstances, furnished topics of felicitous allusion, or brilliant wit, or descriptive illustration: and when his mind played upon the surface of passing things, nothing could possibly surpass his readiness of recollection, and dexterity in turning every circumstance to the purpose of the moment. But in his habitual course of thought he was the philosopher, if philosophy consist in the investigation of causes and principles. This tendency, re-acting upon the former, lent assistance to him even in the command of his mental stores, while it was displayed in the unrivalled ingenuity with which he formed them into new combinations. We may here mention an incident which came under our notice, illustrative of this, and explanatory of that surprising extent of acquired knowledge ascribed to him by all his acquaintance, which but for the consideration just adverted to would be little short of miraculous. It was mentioned to him on one occasion, what surprise had been excited in a certain company by the amount of information he had shown himself to possess on some branches of trade and political economy that had been the subject of discussion, and that men in business who had been present declared he knew as much of mercantile affairs as they did themselves. He answered with unaffected modesty, that it was a mistake to imagine his acquisitions to be such as had been represented; and that what he had said was the result of the application of general principles, worked up into system under the impulse of the occasion with the aid of that partial knowledge which observation had supplied. He probably underrated his acquired knowledge in thus expressing himself; but the circumstance shows to what an extent the command of our knowledge is aided by the principles of philosophic classification, and how an ingenious mind can transmute its own inferences into the substance of tangible facts.

In a passage of the memoir from Mr. Roberton's able pen, it is observed that 'the character of his mind was 'more 'analytical than synthetic,—more fitted to elicit truth—to 'penetrate and solve difficulties—than from apparently discordant 'and widely scattered materials, to construct new systems.' We imagine that this can with more propriety be said to have been the *habit* than the character of his mind, as we cannot easily conceive any intellectual distinction between the tendency to analysis and generalization, and the exercise of the synthetic faculty. Every act of generalization contains the principle of synthesis: to extend a truth beyond the particular instance in which we discover it is the partial construction of a system; the rest is the work of patience and labor. Dr. M'All's writings abound, if we mistake not, in instances of a briefer and more insulated synthesis: and we are strongly of opinion, that there needed only the

demands of some greater work, calling him to prolonged attention, and requiring that completeness of structure of which none better than he knew how to judge, in order practically to develop the faculty in question to its full extent,—in which his command of details would have been found an important auxiliary.

The bold excursiveness of his mind, which may, at first sight, be conceived to be attributable to his fancy, was mainly connected with his power of applying general principles; which, deduced from things coming more immediately under human cognizance, he could transfer to those belonging to states of being not directly known. It has been observed of Mr. Hall that he had no propensity to speculate, and that his thoughts ventured little beyond the range of actual observation or direct divine discovery. This, which may be attributed by most to the sobriety of his judgment, had probably its origin in the fact that his mind was much less given than that of Dr. M'All to the process of generalization. In the latter the propensity was strong; but it was restrained in its application to religion and science by that practical wisdom which he had learned from both. In the flights to which we refer, philosophy marked out his track, while fancy lent her wings, and sometimes indeed, to shift the metaphor, concealed his course with her splendors. We do not substantially dissent from Mr. Fletcher's representation, which occurs in p. xci. of the sketch, 'that he restrained himself from indulging 'that curiosity, so natural to minds of his order, to penetrate the 'dark regions of conjecture, where truth refuses to guide the 'explorer.' None knew better than he the legitimate province of investigation, and he did not entertain his hearers with theories 'on subjects which it is not given to man to know.' We now speak rather of those 'subjects of transcendent loftiness' to which the biographer refers, 'embracing the whole character and 'government of God,' and other kindred topics, on which the partial light of revelation may be made to bear. In conversation, also, rather than in the pulpit, he would at times, with penetrating originality, though with the modesty of true wisdom, embody the imperfect views of profound subjects which presented themselves to his mind. How exciting and elevating his conceptions on such topics were, those who have had opportunities of listening to his eloquent speculations may remember.

One writer who has described Dr. M'All, observes that profundity was not a characteristic of his mind. This seems scarcely reconcileable with the tendency to generalization which all agree in ascribing to him; for what is generalization but the discovery of those general laws which are the secrets of existence? Nature contains no other depths than these. Yet the observation could not have suggested itself to the writer who has stated it, without a foundation. It is certainly true that Dr. M'All's mind did not

dwell so much as some philosophical minds do on those ultimate principles at which investigation terminates, nor employ itself in their elaborate development. But for this reasons may be assigned of such a kind as to throw no doubt upon the profoundness of his philosophy. One of these, we apprehend, is that alluded to in the words of a writer in the memoir, who says that, 'if the power of great abstraction did not obviously appear, this 'arose from the ease and amazing rapidity of his mental move-'ments, his mind accomplishing in a few moments what, in the 'case of an ordinary though vigorous thinker, would have con-'sumed hours of close application.' Besides, to a mind which is familiarized with philosophic speculation, and has made the profoundest truths of science its own, general principles become little more than common-places, to be applied rather than to be established; and such a thinker will be apt to state in a sentence what another, more new to inquiry, might employ pages to expound. The one is the characteristic of youth, the other of maturity. The fulness of Dr. M'All's faculties, also, gave him tastes which led him in the same direction. He was not encumbered by details, as some philosophical minds are; he delighted in variety, and received exquisite pleasure from the contemplation of existence as he found it, with all its varied combinations, which his memory had no difficulty in retaining, and which his philosophical ingenuity was constantly occupied in analysing. He could not, therefore, be detained upon abstractions, but might be said rather to dwell in that middle region which gave full scope to the exercise of his powers, in which the spirit of analysis found its materials, and from which fancy rose in her flights. If any one challenged him to penetrate the depths, he was sure to find Dr. M'All his equal, or something more, in this philosophical 'art of 'sinking'—and if to the excursions of imagination, he soon perceived that a mind more sportive and agile than his own was in his company, surprising him by its evolutions, or soaring beyond him in flights which seemed to escape envy by the very vividness of the admiration which they excited.

Our analysis would be very imperfect did we not include another peculiarity as an elementary one in the constitution of Dr. M'All's mind,—the vivid *concentration* of mental power which marked all the manifestations of his faculties. This may be in part attributed to the general excitability of his mind as its cause, but it must be considered rather as a distinct peculiarity of his mental structure; for there was not mere excitement, but a perfect unity and definiteness in all the exercises of his mind; and strong emotion, which often disorders the thoughts of others, appeared rather to collect his. One of the friends whose communications are inserted in the sketch, 'doubts if he possessed patient 'determination and power of concentration in a degree such as

'has generally distinguished the highest order of intellect.' Understanding this to refer not to the characteristic of which we now speak, but to that prolonged concentration of the attention which is chiefly a matter of voluntary habit, the remark may be admitted to describe a fact, which might be observed at least during the more public part of his ministerial life. We suppose this to have been the result of a physical temperament unusually excitable, constantly operated upon by external circumstances. That it was not properly a mental defect may be inferred from his habits of study as described by the Rev. J. Griffin; to which we might add a similar statement respecting his method of study when at Macclesfield. The reason we have heard him assign for a fact referred to in the memoir, that he had never read Sir Walter Scott's novels, was that his mind was given up for the time to whatever he undertook, and had he begun with one he must have gone through the whole, a work for which he had not time. But what we now speak of is not this continued absorption in a pursuit, so much as the concentration of the moment, by which his whole mental energy was fixed upon whatsoever, as it passed, occupied his attention. This appeared to us as, more than any thing else, the secret of his power of impressing others. It gave a wonderful intenseness to all his ideas and feelings. Some minds have more of a certain fixed and rigid strength than his—some work powerfully with a portion of their faculties—some move with a kind of ponderous energy—some have a 'great deep' of passion or pathos within, and can make a single word a passage for a flood of feeling which carries a thousand minds before it. Dr. M'All's power appeared to lie in the aggregate contributions of his whole mind, which were collected for the purpose of the particular occasion; and in order to produce the highest effect, his thoughts required some space along which to travel. His course of eloquence was like that of a stream, gathering its waters from many tributary sources, till its tide swells into breadth and depth. At the same time, all who have heard him much in public will remember, that when he had brought his hearers to a state of preparation, or when feeling had been already excited, his rapid mind threw forth on the instant the most vivid flashes of thought or passion, which carried impression at once to its height. But in every thing the concentrative character of his intellect was seen.

Its influence on the effectiveness of his eloquence, indeed, depended much on what was the principle of combination in his mind at the time. If that happened to be some feeling by which he was powerfully affected, whatever flowed into his mind was converted into a contribution to the single object of communicating it to others; and the impression produced on them was prodigious. But if it was some truth to be established, or some fact

to be impressed by illustration, such an accumulation of thoughts and images was often poured upon each topic by his fertile mind as to perplex the auditor with variety, and dissipate the attention of other minds even while his own was fixed. Thus from his united copiousness and concentration of mind, he failed in that unity and simplicity which are indispensable in popular eloquence. His reasonings, however clear in themselves, often produced confusion, and his brilliant imagination rather left impressions of an indistinct splendor than fixed some definite image to retain a permanent possession of the thoughts.

Although imagination was a very prominent characteristic of Dr. M'All's eloquence, particularly during the more public part of his life, we do not attribute to this faculty, in him, so much original and native power as belonged to his more intellectual faculties, which were his master ones. It seemed to be the result of his general exquisite sensibility of mind, and his keen perceptiveness of all the appearances and qualities of objects in nature and in art which presented themselves to his observation. Fancy, when largely and natively predominant, seems to dwell in a sunlight of its own, through which it perceives all nature invested with splendor; and may be said less to discover beauty in objects than to impart it. With the subject of our sketch, thought, and the reality of things, were essentially the basis of all his emotions; and he rather sensitively perceived the grand and the beautiful as they existed than created them. His range of thought in this department, as everywhere else, was wide; and his mind kindled in the survey of its conceptions. When moral beauty was added, to which his mind was exquisitely sensible, the vividness of his emotions was greatly enhanced. Hence, although not essentially a poet, there was not a little poetry in his compositions. The readers of these discourses must be struck with the fact, that he rises far higher in the moral and religious sublime than in the physical. In the latter, he does not leave enough to be supplied by the imagination; this is not perceived in the former, which is in its nature indefinite, and free from those limits which abridge the fancy in its flights. With respect to his other faculties, of whose manifestations we have many happy descriptions in the sketch and elsewhere, it may be said that there was rather a masterly and dexterous activity in all their efforts, which gave him a superiority even in them to most other men, than such a development of any one as would have stamped him a genius in its single department. They were the filling up and finishing of a mind of singular completeness and versatility.

We had intended to advert, chiefly for the sake of a few inferences which might have been serviceable to our younger ministers, to the causes of that comparative want of direct success of which Dr. M'All had so painful a sense—which lay chiefly,

we conceive, in those characteristics of his preaching which tended to separate it from the sympathies of ordinary minds. He was formed, in short, to think for the intellectual rather than to speak to the million; and though he labored much to do the latter well, he could not have thoroughly succeeded without ceasing to be the man he was. But the length to which our remarks have extended warns us to close with a few observations of a more general cast on the moral and religious aspects of Dr. M'All's character; in which we shall still keep in view some connexion with the mental characteristics which have been already touched upon. The biographer judiciously commences with the shades of the portrait, and we shall imitate his example. Considerable difference of opinion existed, it is well known, as to the amiableness of Dr. M'All's character—and, of course, it must have worn contrary aspects, otherwise the difference would not have existed. Pride, and an extreme jealousy of his personal honor, are justly said to have been his chief blemishes. That very irritability of temper which made him sometimes unpleasant to others, found in these dispositions its chief excitements; for, separate from them, unkindness in others rather gave him pain than awakened him to resentment. The influence of physical temperament has been referred to by his medical friend, as explanatory of the peculiarity last mentioned, in a manner which must awaken towards him the candid sympathies of many who, perhaps, never knew so much of him during his life as to make the necessary allowances for what offended them. Another consideration may be presented, connected with our foregoing speculations, and that is the unmixed character which all his feelings assumed in consequence of the structure of his mental constitution. He was never abandoned to passion, as one unable to control it; but his mind so vividly centred upon whatever was its object, that he was for the time engrossed with it. Hence the most marked contrarieties, yet still without conscious moral inconsistency—at least without the usual measure of it, for, as Dr. Wardlaw properly observes, it is not good to carry our apologies for infirmity too far. In his mental cup every ingredient of pain or pleasure, benignity or displacence, was a concentrated extract, an essence, whose sensation was intense. Considering such peculiarities as connected with the *morale* of character, we would neither, on the one hand, press them too far in extenuation, nor add on the other one iota to the admissions of failing made in these volumes by Dr. M'All's friends. But it is, perhaps, better to acknowledge that, as they presented themselves in fact, their influence was sometimes greater than the biographer appears to have been quite aware of, in obscuring the exhibitions of personal worth. We put both things together, because justice will be more readily done by

many to Dr. M'All's high excellencies of character when they know that those by whom they are eulogised were not insensible to the circumstances which prevented their being appreciated by all. These were the sources of more discomfort to himself than they could possibly be to others. His mind was intensely alive to their influence for the time; and the darkest and coldest storm of a wintry night presents not an image too strong to describe the comfortless scene which appeared to an onlooker on such occasions to be passing within. But he strove against the causes of his distress, and the influences of high and heavenly principles were not distant. A friend of his who shall be nameless, at one such season reminded him of considerations of Christian truth and duty by which the feelings he was expressing might be controlled. The form of reproof was not employed in the suggestion, but his penetration without doubt perceived that it was implied: yet, far from taking offence, he replied with unaffected submissiveness to the authority appealed to, 'Ah, I have tried to 'bring my mind under such influences as those you refer to, and 'surely not always without success;'—and his mind seemed anxious to take the course attempted at the moment to be given to it. It was not to be wondered at if those who saw him chiefly under such aspects, conceived an opinion unfavorable to his amiableness; but those who saw most of him knew best how far and how habitually the lovelier features of his character predominated. The sunshine was brighter than the shade was deep. His benignity shed the kindest and softest warmth of a vernal day. Without affectation he made himself the friend and the servant of his brother Christian or his fellow man. Many were the seasons at which those looking on him not only 'saw his face as it had been 'the face of an angel,' but felt that they were communing with a soul near to the celestial purity of just men made perfect. His spirit of devotion, at seasons of religious intercouse, was inexpressibly seraphic, reverential, and elevating to those who came under its sympathetic influence.

It is observed in the sketch, that there was an evident advance in matured, experimental piety, made by him during the years of his residence in Manchester. It is possible that some persons may have been placed in such relations towards him as made this less apparent to them than it was to others; but the fact was as unquestionable as to witness it was delightful. The friend above alluded to, has a strong and affecting impression of the marked contrast presented by the circumstances of his first interview with him at Macclesfield, and those of his last at Manchester which took place only a few months previous to his decease. The style of his conversation at the former was more exclusively intellectual than it usually was in after years. The

interview, also, presented one of the painful occasions above referred to, when his mind became ruffled by a reference to unpleasant topics. He paced the room in prolonged disquietment, and could not quit the subject of discourse till some hours after midnight, when he retired to bed, but did not close his eyes. The last was one in which his advice was asked on a particular piece of business. His health was then suffering, and the closing illness of his beloved daughter had commenced: he was evidently very anxious, and his mind occupied. Notwithstanding, he entered with the most patient attention into the subject submitted to him, gave it, as was usual with him, the minutest consideration, and offered his best advice—manifesting throughout a spirit so humble, so fraternal, so free from the least assumption of superiority, so marked by confiding resignation to the divine will under his trials, so calmly and strongly realizing the unseen world, so pervaded by the chastened affections of the experienced Christian—as to awaken in his friend more of reverence for him as a father in Christ than even of affection to him as a brother. His sun was soon to set; and it then appeared in the calm and sobered beauty of the evening hour, which it is delightful to enjoy even after a brilliant day, and grateful also to look back upon.

The interest which had been awakened towards Dr. M'All's person and ministry while he was yet at Macclesfield, continued to extend and deepen as his character matured; and during the later years of his ministry he filled a large space in the view of the denomination to which he belonged, and even of others, in that quarter of the country which was the scene of his labors. He exerted a very important influence, especially upon the character of the ministry, to whom he presented an example of intellectual attainment, in union with a deep and devotional piety that derived its complexion from the most simply evangelical views. We have no hesitation in saying, that he left his section of the general church better than he found it. In an age such as the present, and with such prospects as are opening before us in the progress of events, that elevation of the standard of ministerial qualifications, both as to acquirement and piety, which he contributed to effect, is a circumstance immensely important to the interests of religion. The impulse has not been lost; nor will it be,—for there is every thing in the state of society to quicken the progress of intellectual improvement, and a greater than human agency maintains the vital power of piety undecaying in the church. An energy less refined and more practical than his, may be equally conducive to the religious progress of our denominations: but every thing has its place and its time, mysteriously fixed by highest arrangement; and 'every man hath

'his proper gift of God.' Happy that man who, while he knows his peculiar talent, uses it for the best!—happy the faithful steward whom his Lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing! And if, as to duty, it be well to learn from the history of fellow servants, a lesson of faithfulness, it is equally desirable for our own happiness to draw the lesson of contentment with our several gifts and spheres. With what drawbacks are the most rare and splendid endowments inseparably linked! How affectingly apparent, that capacities for the most exquisite pleasure are as inevitably the inlets to keener suffering! The very powers which lead us on to an enviable perfection of attainment, enhance the painful perceptions of defect: and that intellectual ambition which conducts its possessor to a proud pre-eminence of knowledge, is accompanied with a sharper sensibility to all the mortifications of defeat. While we admire exalted endowments as the divine workmanship, we may profitably remember that they are not indispensable to that real usefulness which is above all things to be coveted by Christian ministers.

The life and closing scenes of this gifted individual re-impress on our minds the truth that the Christian is the highest style of man. Dr. M'All owed the moral dignity of his character to his religion; without which the intense activity of his faculties, notwithstanding all the impulses of a generous nature, was most likely to have formed a character repellent to mankind. Wanting it, he would have been a man admired, dissatisfied, and perhaps voluntarily insulated in a world in which he would have found so many sources of distress to his ardent and over-sensitive spirit, while yet, without society, he could not have been happy. His splendid powers, after having glittered, like the northern light, with a radiance cold because earthly, would have sunk to be extinguished for ever. But his religion, drawn from the Bible, fixed on a basis of settled faith, saved him from such a destiny, and made his character, notwithstanding some remaining shades, a bright and fascinating one. It made him a lover of his species; it made him holy and heavenly; it made him as happy as, with sensibilities like his, amidst the evils of this disordered world, it was ever possible for him to be. Weak as a man, his feet were placed upon the Rock of Ages, never to be removed. And the humblest Christian partakes with him in his best and brightest anticipations—brighter perhaps in his soaring imagination than in less gifted minds, but consummated in a reality which far transcends them all. This is not the place to preach;—yet would we say to each reader, Be wise for thyself! Admired and renowned we may never be; but happy all may be, and that for ever. The way is *one*—and it is so plainly marked out by heaven to man that he may run who reads it!

We cannot conclude without expressing a hope, that if other

discourses of Dr. M'All's remain, of similar, we do not say equal merit, to those contained in these volumes,—which we believe to be be the case,—they will be given ere long to the public.

Art. II. *Episcopacy, Tradition, and the Sacraments, considered in reference to the Oxford Tracts; with a Postscript upon Fundamentals.* By Rev. William Fitzgerald, B.A. Dublin: William Curry.

IT appears strange to many, that the political party which is peculiarly loud in its outcry against Popery, should embrace a section of high Churchmen who teach doctrines closely akin to those of Rome; while the majority of Dissenters, who are most hostile to such views, are ostensibly associated with Roman Catholics against the Establishment. But there is no real inconsistency here. The former party has, doubtless, a violent antipathy to Papists, and to the domination of Rome; but why should they not love the essential principles of Popery, if established at Oxford or Canterbury? The latter party, while they spurn ecclesiastical tyranny, and Popery as embodying such tyranny, for this very reason advocate the civil rights and religious freedom of Roman Catholics. *We* hate Popery in the church, but fraternize with all men (and therefore with Papists) in the state; *they* hate Papists in the state, but can at least wink at Popery in the church.

Now it is worth observing, that Ireland is the rock upon which the high Church and Tory party split, both civilly and ecclesiastically. Their effort to seize political power is mainly thwarted by the Irish Roman Catholics, upon whom they so long trampled: their aspirations after a Popish power in the church of England throw them into collision with the Irish Protestant clergy. That clergy is in a very different position from their Anglican brethren. The latter stand *really* upon the preference felt for an episcopal establishment by the laity at large, and especially by the aristocracy; upon their exclusive occupation of the national universities, and upon the great control of the public mind, which is by these things afforded them. But they do not choose to confess where their strength really lies, and are amusing themselves with claims of apostolic succession, traditionary authority, and sacramental powers. The Irish clergy feel that this may be sport to the English divines, but is death to them. *They* have not a sympathizing nation to fall back on; *they* cannot afford to coquet with the characteristic errors of Romanism, or to forswear Protestant weapons in compliment to

Oxford nicety. If the evangelical body could be charmed over, and the old high Church held silence for expediency's sake; and if thus the palpable schism of the English clergy might be suppressed; this would only make the schism of the Irish and of the Anglican church more deeply marked. If report deceives us not, the clergy of Ireland have been much benefited, spiritually, by their unenviable position. Some of them are far too full of noisy declamation against Papists, and too intolerant themselves, to please our taste or our judgment; but we believe that, as a body, they understand and inculcate Protestant truth with infinitely more intelligence than their brethren on this side of the channel.

We have before us a small book, the substance of which first appeared in the Dublin Christian Examiner. It is a favorable and interesting specimen of the tone and ability with which the Irish clergy meet the new Oxford views. In judging how far the writer substantiates his argument, we ought perhaps to forget that we are ourselves Nonconformists; for it is not to be expected that a clergyman should write on these topics so as altogether to please us. Moreover, it would lead us into too wide a field, to criticize his Introductory Sketch (on the Origin of the high Church party), which begins from Calvin's Institutes, and proceeds to Knox, Whitgift, Cartwright, and Hooker; thence to Grotius, Laud, Sheldon, Bull, and the opponents of Hoadley. The style is spirited, and his remarks discriminating; though we naturally demur to some of his opinions. He brings down his narrative to modern times in the following words.

'Late events, however, have convinced the world that, all this time, there was an extensive though noiseless underground vegetation of the good old non-juring principles; and that the stock yet remaining in the earth, was soon likely to take as firm a root, and bear as luxuriant foliage, as in the glorious days of the great Sacheverel :—

Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus,
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro.

'. . . . As the Knight of la Mancha grew so extravagantly enamoured of the world he read of in romances, that, sooner than distrust those veracious chronicles, he would transform, despite his senses, the real world into accordance with their testimony; so our modern Quixotes are so deeply in love with the picture of primitive christianity, as drawn by certain grave historians (about as faithful in this respect as the biographers of Palmerin and Amadis), that they must needs, in spite of logic and common sense, count every father of the church a saint, every argument he uses a demonstration, every

puerile flourish of his pen an unrivalled stroke of eloquence, and every dogma which he begs, borrows, or invents, as certain (if not more so) than the Holy Scriptures.'—p. 12.

Mr. Fitzgerald concludes his Introduction with declaring his conviction, that 'the Oxford theology is fraught with the seeds 'of those corruptions which appear full-blown in the Romish 'system:' he justly complains that, 'the Oxonians dissuade us 'from using those defensive arms which the first reformers 'wielded with triumphant success. Thus (he proceeds) in a for-'mal enumeration, in one of the Tracts for the Times, of the 'proper topics to be handled in the controversy with the Church 'of Rome, not only are *ecclesiastical infallibility, and the right* '*of private judgment, and the sufficiency of Scripture excluded* '*from the list,* but the doctrine of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH 'ALONE. . . . This vital doctrine is judged forsooth of far 'too *ultra Protestant* a complexion to be so much as hinted at by 'these staunch defenders of the Church of England.'

These extracts will suffice to show that Mr. F. is nowise disposed to mince the matter, nor to shrink from direct collision with the new school: but we are glad to add, that the address which he employs towards them as individuals is courteous and forbearing, and we think that our readers will be gratified with the christian tone of the following passage.

'We beg earnestly to disclaim all share in, or approbation of, the personal violence with which they and (even still more perhaps) their coadjutor, Dr. Pusey, have sometimes been assailed—a violence the more inexcusable, because (whatever may be said of *their friends*), it seems to have been in no way provoked on *their own* parts. Demanding for ourselves an unrestrained liberty of thinking freely, and as freely expressing what we think, we should be strangely inconsistent with our own principles, if we refused to others the same privilege. To reprobate the opinions we think erroneous, to expose the arguments we deem weak and insufficient, are things which appear to us to come fairly within our province; but personal animosity and angry vituperation we leave to those *qui nesciunt quanto labore veritas inveniatur et quam difficile caveantur errores, et quibus suspiriis et gemitibus, fiat ut ex quantulacunque parte intelligi possit Deus.* Those who take either side in a great public question, are more responsible than they generally seem to think for the misconduct of their allies, and certainly are not quite exempt from blame, if they encourage *that* by their *silence,* which their conscience will not suffer them to *praise,* and a polite regard for party forbids them to *reprehend.*'—p. 28.

The nucleus of our author's publication consists of three essays, on Apostolic Succession, on Tradition, and on the Sacraments. To characterize them generally, we should say, that the first is

directed to prove the new Oxford doctrine on that subject not to be *Anglican;* while the other two address themselves to the question of *truth.* That there is much weight of argument in them we know not how to assert or to deny; for when an opponent advances notions unproved and arbitrary, and repugnant to first principles of reasoning, to oppose him by reasoning is difficult enough. A plain naked avowal that he is absurd and is overturning the foundations of *all* reasoning, is perhaps all the refutation which the case admits; and if any one cannot see this when stated concisely, a more ample and forcible exhibition of the same is probably useless. In such case, refutations are not absolutely strong or weak, but are strong to some minds, weak to others. The new Oxonians (or *Nicenists*, as we think they may with much propriety be called), tell us that there is some spiritual virtue in a bishop's hands; we cannot here stop to guess what: well, this is to us as odd as to teach the magical powers of a particular family (the power, for instance, of royal persons to cure scrofula by a touch with the hand); and we naturally ask some *proof* of so wonderful a phenomenon. The only proof offered, amounts to this; that such and such divines, many years ago, fancied it to be the case, and that it is more humble and pious to believe than to dispute. Now if any one cannot see that this is no proof at all, and that the very notion of offering such a proof, manifests the hopeless absurdity of the thing; what refutation that we can devise will ever seem powerful?

The essay on Apostolical Succession, insists that at any rate the church of England has not pronounced the doctrine of the Nicenists to be true, and that an Anglican clergyman is not bound to hold it. Mr. Fitzgerald will not allow that the *preface* to the Ordination Service need be believed; for a clergyman does but pledge himself to the *use* of the service, and the preface is not among the parts which he is called on to use. He argues that the definition given of a Church and of lawful ministry in the thirty-nine Articles proves nothing, and that this was intentional on the part of their framers. In confirmation of this point, he rejects, as wholly unfounded, the convenient opinion which teaches the Articles to be a mere protest against particular errors, and consequently not really to represent the substance of doctrine upheld by the Anglican Church.

'No unprejudiced person,' he says, 'can examine the Articles without being convinced that they are very little 'polemical' in their caste, and that it is rather by setting forth (positively) the whole truth, than by directly controverting, or anathematizing falsehood, that they protest against the errors of the times. They are entitled, *Articles for the avoiding the diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion;* and in his Majesty's declaration

prefixed to them, they are recognized as *containing the true doctrine of the Church of England.*'—p. 20.

It is certainly curious to notice the opposite classes of divines who have sought relief in the notion that the thirty-nine Articles are but *protests* against special errors. Archdeacon Paley* regards it as evident that they were only intended to exclude, 1. 'All 'abettors of Popery; 2. Anabaptists; 3. The Puritans who 'were hostile to an Episcopal constitution;' and infers, that a person who is none of these three, may safely subscribe the Articles, whatever may be the repugnance of his mind to their details. The new Nicene school maintain Paley's principle with an opposite inference, viz., that the true doctrines of the church are *not* to be sought in the Articles, *but* in the Liturgy; and that the Articles are a very secondary matter. Now, while we fully agree with Mr. Fitzgerald, that the Articles are of a most positive substantive character, and that it is absurd to deny that they are a 'body of divinity,' or to call them 'articles of 'peace;' we yet think he is in a position as indefensible as are his opponents. The knot of the controversy consists in this: that the Articles are directly in collision with the Liturgy (and with the present practice of the Establishment), in the matters under debate; yet every clergyman is bound to believe *both.* Each party can make out a strong—we think, an irrefutable—case against the other.

Mr. Fitzgerald will have it, that he is not bound to submit to the *Preface* to the Ordination Service, because he is not required to USE it. True, but he declares his 'unfeigned assent and consent to the use' of *the Service itself;* and the most important part of that service contains an unequivocal claim on the bishop's part, to bestow the Holy Ghost, with power to absolve or retain sin. No man can 'assent to the use' of this without dissembling, who thinks the bishop to be unable to bestow what he pretends. Hence the new Nicenists conclude, with logic which we think irresistible, that one who submits to such ordination recognizes their doctrine of Apostolic succession; and that 'the Church' holds the bishop to *transmit* apostolic authority by virtue of his *office* alone. Our author does not touch this point, which is one of their strongholds.

On the other hand, he reasons less cogently than we might have expected from the twenty-third Article, on Public Ministry. In the well-known pamphlet, 'Fundamental Reform of the 'Church Establishment,' attributed to an eminent and valuable clergyman, this article is clearly and honestly developed. It de-

* Moral and Political Philosophy, book iii., chap. 22.

clares that 'we ought to judge those to be lawfully called and 'sent into the ministry, which are chosen and called to this work 'by men who have PUBLIC AUTHORITY given them in the con-'gregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vine-'yard.' Now it is obvious, that this is a positive recognition of the validity of a presbytery to ordain, if it have but public authority; and equally obvious, that while public authority may in itself refer either to the case of a State Church, or of an Independent congregation, it can by no means whatever be interpreted to demand episcopal apostolic succession. The article not merely does not say this last to be needful, but distinctly declares it to be needless; for (it says) 'we *ought* to judge' persons lawfully called, who possibly are without it. And upon this, the history of the Church Establishment is a commentary not to be evaded; for Presbyterian ordination was recognized in the Anglican Church for many years after the article was composed and subscribed. Is it that Mr. Fitzgerald, with all his candor, cannot reach the boldness of the author of Fundamental Reform? A clerical instinct, we fear, makes nearly all shrink from a truth leading to consequences so plainly deduced by the last writer; viz., that the twenty-third article recognizes the orders not only of Continental Protestants, but of American and English Dissenters.

Mr. Fitzgerald proceeds to cite the opinions of Ridley, Whitgift, Bp. Cooper, Chillingworth, &c. &c., and among laymen, King James and Lord Bacon. We cannot take much interest in this matter except that it is curious to find so strong an extract from Bp. Cosin (a favorite divine with the Nicenists), recognising the Presbyterian churches. It is, however, probable, that the weight of these ancient names is of great value to feebler minds than that of Mr. Fitzgerald, to trim them against being swamped by these modern worthies. The following passage we are glad to transfer to our pages.

'The Consistory of Oriel [College], in their zeal for the rights of *bishops*, seem quite to have forgotten that antiquity is every whit as unanimously agreed in asserting the privileges of that *council of presbyters*, without which the bishop used ordinarily to do nothing of importance. Were we disposed to make a parade in that way, we might easily crowd our pages with testimonies from the Fathers to this important fact; and whoever will look into Bingham's Sections upon Presbyters, will (we hope) give us credit for our abstinence, when he sees what facilities have been there provided for appearing learned with very little trouble.'—p. 25.

We may add, that the Consistory of Oriel has forgotten that all antiquity witnesses to the fact that popular election, or at least approval, was essential to the appointment of a bishop. They must either take antiquity *entire*, or confess that mere antiquity is not our rule.

In the Essay on Tradition, Mr. Fitzgerald examines the scriptural texts adduced by Mr. Keble, to prove that *previous to the completion of the canon of the New Testament*, there was a received 'Code of Apostolic Traditions,' well known and recognized by all Christian churches as their rule of faith and morals. Were this ever so true, it would avail us little, unless Mr. Keble could furnish us with a *genuine copy* of this code; which of course will then be added to the received canon of Scripture. The texts, 1 Tim. i. 18, vi. 20, are easily and satisfactorily vindicated by Mr. Fitzgerald, by showing that in 1 Tim. i. 3, 5, and vi. 13, we have the same *commandment* and *charge* laid on Timothy by the apostles, without any such formal notion as Mr. Keble would have us believe. On 2 Tim. i. 12, 14, which Mr. Keble selected for his text, Mr. F. remarks:

'Here, not only is the word in question ['that good *deposit*'] referred to special instruction given to Timothy, but used so little in any technical appropriation of meaning, that it is applied, in the verse immediately preceding, to quite a different subject, viz., the apostle's own soul.'

We do not regard this interpretation as quite certain; for the verse may be understood: 'I am persuaded that he is able to 'keep my deposit [i. e. the gospel which has been committed to 'me] without spot and unrebukeable, until that day.' Compare 1 Tim. iv. 14. Yet the comments of Mr. Keble are any way quite unsubstantial. The 'deposit' spoken of, was to be 'kept 'by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us,' and was lost out of the church just in proportion as the Spirit was lost. The same is true at the present day.

Mr. Fitzgerald startles us by his boldness of assertion concerning the canon of Scripture; a boldness which reminds us of the blind enthusiasm of his opponents. He declares, p. 30, 'The canon of the 'Holy Scriptures (notwithstanding all the wrong-headed para-'doxes of Dodwell) has been often shown to have been com-'pleted, and *recognized throughout the churches, before the death 'of St. John.*' This would be to ourselves a most interesting fact, and certainly would diminish the cares of controversy, if *true;* but whatever acquaintance we have with church history, leads us to fear that it must be looked on as only the rash assertion of a controversialist, and out of harmony with the writer's general spirit. Certainly neither Origen, Dionysius, Eusebius, nor Jerome were aware of this universal concord of the churches on the subject.

To the objection that 'tradition is the only ground on which 'we believe the genuineness and authenticity of the sacred Scrip-'tures,' Mr. F. replies (p. 35)—'True: tradition is the *prin-'cipal* ground upon which we believe these *facts*, and when they

'produce to us a tradition *so circumstanced and verified* as to 'other *facts*, we shall believe them also no less firmly.' It is wonderful how this old Romish fallacy, reproduced by the Nicenists, is able to perplex minds not generally deficient in acuteness. The term tradition seems to be purposely selected for its vagueness, in order to confound valid external evidence with mere rumour.

One favorite assertion by which the Nicenists would terrify us is, that without tradition we cannot prove the doctrine of the Trinity! Against this Mr. Fitzgerald enters a protest, declaring that 'the 'doctrine is capable of a proof from the Bible, far simpler, easier, 'and more evident,' than any argument drawn from the Fathers. We hardly know a greater instance of infatuation in the Nicenists than this. Are they, indeed, ignorant, that English Christians, *therefore* believe the doctrine, because they apprehend it to be authoritatively revealed in the genuine apostolic writings? Do they suppose that they can bring us to rely on that most shadowy and flimsy of supports, oral tradition, by denying that the doctrine of the Trinity is capable of scriptural proof? ought they not to see that they are doing their best to undermine our belief in the doctrine itself?

Mr. Keble has endeavored to support Vincentius's criterion of sound doctrine (antiquity, universality, and catholicity), by arguing that it is by such tests that Jurists determine the common or unwritten laws of any realm. To this Mr. Fitzgerald replies, that in civil courts, it is not *abstract truth*, but *public convenience*, which regulates the practice; so that there is no analogy between the cases. Against Vincentius's test, he objects* also that it really means nothing; for if antiquity is to be considered, the highest antiquity is that of the apostles, and the appeal is really to their genuine writings. And this we apprehend is the readiest and adequate answer to that shallow sophism.

Mr. Fitzgerald proceeds to comment on the well known want of judgment which the 'Fathers' show in the interpretation of Scripture, and the 'ridiculous principles' on which they proceed. 'In 'point of fact,' he says, 'it is notorious that the *earliest* Fathers, 'such as Barnabas, Clemens, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Origen, 'are the most intolerable and fantastic expositors; while the later, 'who went upon the principles of common sense, are much to be 'preferred, as Chrysostom, Gregory, Basil, and above all, Theo-

* Professor Powell, in his 'Tradition Unveiled,' puts the objection into this form. Vincentius pronounces that 'that those doctrines are the catholic faith, which have been always and everywhere held by all *orthodox* persons;' a mere truism, useless for ascertaining the character of a doctrine; for it recurs, *Who* are orthodox?

'doret.' At this we somewhat hesitate. Theodoret is a good name; the other three, in common with their contemporaries, have many extravagancies of error far beyond the earlier fathers. Both the one and the other, however (except Clemens *Romanus*), are so bad, that we allow it is very difficult to choose between them.

Mr. Fitzgerald winds up his disavowal of the authority of tradition by a spirited passage from *Bishop Jeremy Taylor*. It must, indeed, be trying to the Nicenists to find their dearest friends thus quoted against them! Bp. Cosin, Saunderson, Hall, have been already adduced on his side, and now, alas, Bishop Taylor. One remark may possibly here shelter them. This divine wrote his book on the Liberty of Prophesying while the Puritans were in power; and being himself interdicted from public preaching, he learned for the time liberal principles, which ill suit the thrones of bishops.

We proceed to the Essay on the Sacraments. Mr. Fitzgerald comments on a singular point, in which the Nicenists display affection for an oft-refuted Puritan error, viz., that divine origination equalizes precepts; by help of which they would make church ceremonies as important as righteousness, peace, and love.

> 'So strangely,' he says, 'do some men contrive to put things together, the circumstance of the gospel's being the LAW of LIBERTY has been made the foundation for enforcing a punctilious ceremonialism; and certain warm admirers of antiquity in these 'Tracts for the Times' would fain persuade us that the main difference between the two dispensations consists in the greater *difficulty* of discovering the precise requirements of the Christian ritual; the vagueness of its promulgation being compensated by the zeal of its subjects, to discover and comply with its prescriptions (see Vol. i. No. 8, 45); while the acknowledgment that 'the epistles were not written to prescribe and enforce the ritual of religion,' is, with equal perverseness, made a reason for looking for it in the gaudy pageants of the church of the fourth century.'—p. 48.

In expounding the scriptural doctrine of the Lord's Supper, we think Mr. Fitzgerald rightly insists that there is no difference of sense between the phrase εὐλογήσας, 'having blessed it,' and εὐχαριστήσας, 'having given thanks.' The latter occurs Matt. xxvi. 27, and Luke xxii. 19. Accordingly, 'the cup of blessing' is equivalent to 'the cup of eucharist,' that is, of thanksgiving; and with this simple remark the vast structure raised upon the notion of *consecrating* the elements, falls to the ground.

Yet we think he himself presently makes a fatal concession to his opponents, while wishing to choose a judicious Via Media, in contending for the 'proper efficacy of the sacraments.' Slippery ground, in truth, for one who has given his 'unfeigned

'assent and consent to the USE' of the liturgy! We are satisfied that there is here no middle way. He alleges that in baptism 'our pardon is sealed to us,' and that in the holy supper the Lord 'has promised that his body and blood, in all their sacrificial virtue and life-giving efficacy, shall be present to the mind 'of the *worthy* receiver of it.' This last statement appears to us like a truism; viz., that the Lord's death shall be viewed by faith in the mind of him who partakes of the supper *with intelligent faith;* for this is a main part of worthiness. But let us consider what this sacramental 'sealing' of the promises can mean, to which so many good men cling. It seems that God somehow confirms his promise (either making it surer, or applying it to ourselves personally), by OUR participation. Yet evidently no act *of our own* can be a confirmation of his promise. It must be something done or said to us, *on his part*, in the ordinance, that has this effect; and this can only be if he have some representative (a priest, in short) ministering to us in his name; a person who can speak to us with authority. Thus the 'proper efficacy of the sacraments' naturally allies itself to priestly pretensions, and these, with apostolic succession. Mr. Fitzgerald is unwilling 'to degrade the sacraments to the rank of mere significant emblems;' but if this is degradation, Dr. Pusey may equally maintain that our author is 'degrading the sacraments' in stopping short where he does. For (we are glad to add) the latter maintains against Dr. Pusey, that 'the sacramental participation of 'Christ is the same as that out of the sacrament;' and alleges the language in John vi. by way of proof. But in truth, as long as the word 'sacrament' is allowed to stand, superstitious notions will always recur. It is ever used as a vehicle for insinuating as much absurdity as the times will bear.

To his own views of Baptism, Mr. Fitzgerald annexes an exposé of Dr. Pusey's doctrine of baptismal regeneration; which he finally sums up thus:

'That it is only in baptism that our sins can be forgiven, and the Holy Ghost imparted to us; that the visible church is crowded with men once regenerate, but fallen from their first love, who have no means left them to which a promise of forgiveness is attached, and who would be wholly without all glimpse of hope if the Fathers had not kindly discovered a path through penitence and maceration, by which, if they do not obtain eternal life, they may at least earn A FREEDOM FROM PUNISHMENT.'

Against this dreadful error and its monstrous results, he expresses himself with becoming indignation. Indeed, throughout the whole tract it is refreshing to feel, that, with little care for technical divinity, he has a keen sense that the 'forensic doctrine'

of justification contains a deep and vital truth at bottom, which the Nicenists utterly destroy; a doctrine which fixes the sinner's eye on something beyond himself as the ground of hope, peace, and joy; which revives the heart of the contrite, and preaches to the backslider some better gospel, than the prospect of maceration and misery in this world with entire uncertainty as to the next.

In his postscript on Fundamentals, Mr. Fitzgerald brings a serious but just charge against his opponents, that their arguments lay a broad foundation for universal scepticism. It is habitual with them, by appealing to *human ignorance* to reject the probable conclusions of human reason; which (he observes) in the hands of Hume or Boyle, would prove subversive of all moral evidence soever. The question concerning Fundamentals, he continues, is one which we become involved with rather in our *social*, than in our *individual* capacities. Each of us is bound to believe and act upon all that is true, whether it be fundamental or not. But when a society has to settle the terms of communion, then the question arises, which doctrines are fundamental? And he here excellently lays down, that 'the burden of proof' that any particular doctrine is so, 'lies with the affirmer.' For, *primâ facie*, our duty is to receive as fellow Christians all who, professing themselves to be such, live consistently with that profession. 'From hence it appears, that we are in much greater danger of 'adding to, than of diminishing from, our catalogue of essentials.' He proceeds eloquently to set forth the great prominence given by the apostles to the doctrine of the atonement, and to contrast it with the (new and old) Nicene doctrine, which deprecates 'the 'naked exposure of so very sacred a truth.'

We must in conclusion say, that we have had much pleasure in reading this pamphlet, although, as our remarks show, we cannot tie ourselves to its opinions; and that we heartily hope its sentiments will be re-echoed among a large body of English as well as of Irish clergy.

Art. III. *The Oration of Demosthenes upon the Crown. Translated into English, with Notes and the Greek Text, with various Readings selected from Wolff, Taylor, Reiske, and others.* By Henry Lord Brougham, F.R.S., and Member of the National Institute of France. London: Charles Knight. 1840.

IT has been said, that in order to apprehend and to relish the beauties of poetry, a man must be a poet himself; and every one will allow that he at least must have a poetic feeling. It

may not perhaps be necessary for him to have the gift of song, but he must at any rate possess those susceptibilities, albeit undeveloped, which at once respond to the notes of the poet's minstrelsy. Most men feel; but few can analyse their feelings, or develop them in words, so as to make them objective to the mind. They have a meaning, but they require an interpreter to explain it to others, and almost to themselves. Their feelings are subjective and unconscious. Poets are the interpreters of nature. Hence the general and well founded opinion, that a poem can be worthily translated only by a poet. Hence the popular preference of Dryden's Virgil to Lauderdale's or Ring's,—hence the almost undivided supremacy of Pope's Homer and the comparative disregard shown to Cowper's. For though a poet, and in many respects a great one, Cowper has made his fidelity control and keep under his poetry, while Pope has made his poetry control and supplant his accuracy. Who does not feel that Lowth must have been a poet to translate Isaiah, and Mickle to translate the Lusiad? In oratory, however, the correspondent truth, if acknowledged, has not been dwelt on; and till now we have had no opportunity of felicitating ourselves on the appearance of an orator translating an orator. We have had poets translating poets, we have had Dryden's Virgil, and Pope's Homer, but we have never had either Demosthenes or Cicero translated by an English orator. When the greatest of modern orators, then, comes forward as the translator of the greatest oration of the greatest of ancient orators, we have to hail a new and auspicious phenomenon in literature.

Lord Brougham has, as he tells us in his introduction, long been familiar with the Oration on the Crown in all its parts, and has known most of it by heart. So far back as 1812, he had entertained serious thoughts of attempting to transfer its incomparable beauties into the English tongue; and upon the whole subject of his plan he had large communications with some of the most eminent statesmen and accomplished scholars of the day. At length, encouraged by the opinions of some learned friends, good scholars and admirable judges of oratory, he has brought himself to commit the result of his labor to the press.

The whole of the translation and text, with the exception of a few pages, has undergone the revision of Dr. Arnold, the Head Master of Rugby School, who, by his edition of Thucydides* and History of Rome, has done much to redeem the hodier-

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* An edition of Thucydides has been published also by Dr. Bloomfield (Vicar of Bisbrooke, in Rutland, and editor of Robinson's Lexicon to the New Testament), whom many people confound with Dr. Blomfield, the Bishop of London, and editor of Æschylus. The names are not spelt alike.

nal character of English scholarship, and to restore it to its olden rank.

Of the great orator whose greatest achievement in eloquence is here translated, it would be almost unseemly to say any thing without saying much. Satius est silere quam parum dicere. Of his political character, tragic as it was, this is not the place to speak; and of his private, we know next to nothing. This is, in fact, a grand leading distinction between Demosthenes and Cicero. Cicero seems, in his numerous writings and especially in his letters, to have so unbosomed his soul that we read his thoughts and feelings almost as our own, certainly with as much clearness as those of any modern statesman or philosopher. He is, in fact, for all practical purposes, all but a modern. His writings are so various in subject as well as in style, that we can hardly mention a topic of interest or importance on which we could not cite some apt and pertinent saying from Cicero; or on which we do not seem to imagine just what he *would* say if he were writing upon it. His letters introduce us into his family circle, his confidential intercourse, his secret, and not always consistent, motives. We see him in the forum, and in the country; in the senate and in the villa; we can almost realise the cum in Cumano essem and the in Tusculano ero, which so much abound in his Letters and his Dialogues. We can not only see him amidst the stir and stun of forensic business; but we can fancy him at the country-seat or the watering-place; promenading in the portico with a chosen friend, saluting kindly a third on his arrival, proposing an adjournment to the garden to enjoy the sun,* changing the current of the conversation, speculating on the Being and Providence of God, the duties and endowments of man, the nature and objects of government, the best form of polity, the bestial degradation of tyranny, the fouler licentiousness of anarchy, the scope and dignity of eloquence, the merits of the Greek orators, the possibility of teaching the Latin tongue to convey Demosthenic fire, gossipping on the news of the day, recounting some whimsical anecdote, perhaps at his own expense† (for though vain, he knew it), looking out for a letter from Atticus, or bargaining for some new mansion. All this we can realise in Cicero, and we seem to gain, by so doing, a more vivid idea of the scope and animus of his works. In Demosthenes, on the other hand, we have no such aids. We have his political portrait drawn by himself in his orations, and by his contemporaries in theirs, and if we correct the one by the other, we shall not be likely to err in our estimate. But of his every day proceedings, of his actual at-home life, of his private opinions on subjects which interest all mankind,

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* See De Repub. i. 12. † Pro Planc. § 26.

we know little beyond a few floating anecdotes which traditional history has preserved from the wreck. Hence Demosthenes, as a man, does not awaken in us the deep interest which we feel in the Roman orator. He stands out as the greatest of ancient orators, by the confession of all who have most nearly approached him in all succeeding time; but as holding this opinion or that opinion, as living in this way or that way, as doing this or not doing that, as corresponding with a friend or conversing with a select company of the choice spirits of the age on politics and religion, on friendship and on age, on rhetoric and on poesy, we can hardly form to ourselves any probable conception of Demosthenes. As an orator he has ever since been the wonder of all, and the model which his greatest successors have aimed to copy.

Cicero, the greatest of ancient orators in the sister tongue, as well as a consummate judge of oratory, though he repeatedly places Demosthenes before all others in every department and kind of speaking, yet when summing up the character of the principal of the Attic orators, seems after all to fix on strength as the distinguishing characteristic of the Demosthenean style. 'Suavitatem,' he says, 'Isocrates, subtilitatem Lysias, acumen 'Hyperides, sonitum Æschines, *vim* Demosthenes habuit.' And undeniably, if we were to speak of a modern orator, who possesses that strength in the nearest degree of approach to him, we should be saved the necessity of naming Lord Brougham. No English orator has cultivated so assiduously and successfully the Saxon element in our tongue, which is confessedly the quarter to which, not neglecting the sparing and severe use of other materials, we must look for the force of English style. Lord Brougham cherishes his mother tongue with a filial devotion. The marks of eld are in his eyes venerable. He has done much to revive words, and phrases, and modes of speech, which an affected, and gallicised, and poverty-stricken style had almost entirely lost. In Lord Brougham's style there is a dash of antiquity, and it has always been deemed a merit and a beauty in style rather to fall back on antiquity and revive expressive and idiomatic, though obsolete or obsolescent, phrases, than unnecessarily to invent new ones. New words have a character to make; the old have one long established. Auctoritatem habet antiquitas. Cicero and Sallust both understood this; Charles Lamb understood it; so did Edward Irving; and we cannot but believe that we can trace the influence, though unconsciously felt, of the erratic divine upon the style of many other writers of the day. Lord Brougham is constantly using words which ten years ago scarcely a writer of any reputation would have employed. It will almost invariably be found that these are old genuine Saxon words, full of strength and meaning. An imitator of Brougham's style would be very likely to make this feature

more prominent than he has made it himself, just as a caricaturist exaggerates the peculiarities of a strongly-marked countenance. But judiciously used, and Lord Brougham rarely, we will not say never, uses it without judgment, the antique element in style is, regard being had merely to the antiquity, a merit, and no defect. But as we have said, the words which belong to this class in our language are of the number of those which are undeniably the most forcible and strong. As an instance of what we mean, not the best, but one that happens to occur to us, we may take the following passage from his Speech, delivered in the House of Lords on February 20, 1838, for the Immediate Emancipation of the Negro Apprentices.

'I know the nature of man, fond of power, jealous of any interference with its exercise, uneasy at its being questioned, offended at its being regulated and constrained, averse above all to have it wrested from his hands, especially after it has long been enjoyed, and its possession can hardly be severed from his nature. But I also am aware of another and a *worser* part of human nature. I know that *whoso* has abused power, clings to it with a yet more convulsive grasp. I dreaded the nature of man, prone to hate *whom* he has injured—because I know that law of human weakness which makes the oppressor hate his victim, makes him who has injured never forgive, fills the *wrong-doer* with vengeance against those whose right it is to vindicate those injuries on his own head.'

And yet who ever uses words of Latin origin more happily? One more passage in the same Speech we will cite as perhaps unsurpassed in rhythm and in the blending of the various elements of our language. See here,

> 'The man, the man only, in whom we admire
> Demosthenes' force and Demosthenes' fire.'

'You have gone too far, if you stop here and go no further; you are in imminent hazard if, having loosened the fetters, you do not strike them off—if leaving them ineffectual to restrain, you let them remain to gall, to irritate, and to goad. Beware of that state, yet more unnatural than slavery itself—liberty bestowed by halves—the power of resistance given—the inducement to submission withheld—you have let the slave taste the cup of freedom; while intoxicated with the draught, beware how you dash the cup away from his lips. You have produced the progeny of liberty—see the prodigious hazard of swathing the limbs of the gigantic infant—you know not the might that may animate it. *Have a care*, I beseech you, have a care, how you rouse the strength that slumbers in a sable peasant's arm! The children of Africa under the tropical sun of the west, with the prospect of a free negro republic in sight, will not suffer themselves to be tormented when they no longer can be controlled. The fire in St. Domingo is raging to windward; its sparks are borne on the breeze, and all the Charaibean Sea is studded with the materials of explosion. Every

tribe, every shade of the negro race will combine from the fiery Koromantin to the peaceful Eboe, and the ghastly shape of colonial destruction meets the astonished eye. I turn away from the horrid crisis that my eye may rest once more on the prospect of enduring empire and peace founded upon freedom.'

Perhaps there is no man living who so thoroughly feels the English language as Lord Brougham, who so well knows its resources, and has them so entirely at his command. If even in Demosthenes, the refined ear of Cicero desiderated something; it will be no disparagement to Lord Brougham, when we say, that 'non *semper* implet aures.' We could name passages, in which there is something wrong, something faulty, something yet wanting to fill the ear and satisfy the requirements of the mind, but we should find it difficult to name any other author in whom this is so rare. With all prose it is more or less the case; with English prose more than with that of the classical languages, which by virtue of their highly artificial, and systematic, and flexile structure possessed powers of condensation and concentration unknown to modern tongues. Pope wrote his Essay on Man in verse in preference to prose, because verse was susceptible of so much more force and finish, so much concision and perfection. And who has not felt the same, though he may never have reflected on the feeling? In poetry we may often find a line, sometimes several together, which we can pronounce to be perfect: but in prose how rarely is this the case! A perfect prose style is the very last reach of art. Poetry is the first form of literature: perfect prose the last and most difficult. But how much are the essential and necessary difficulties of prose composition enhanced in the work of translation. Indeed, the attempt to transfer the sense and beauties of a composition, whether prose or poetry, from one language into another, wholly different in its genius and structure, the sense and beauties of such composition being kept unadded to and undiminished from, and this too for the instruction or entertainment of a people whose modes of thought and habits of feeling are as different as their forms of speech, might a priori have been expected to be given up as hopeless and vain. For be it remembered, in oratory and poetry, it is the words and style (not the thoughts merely) which form the great beauty and charm of the composition; and these it is impossible always to transfer. Translation in *perfection* is in the nature of things an impossible thing. It cannot be done so as to possess the freshness and wholeness of an original, and yet be correct to *the* original. It has been well said that 'translation in 'itself is after all but a problem, how, two languages being given, 'the nearest approximation may be made in the second to the ex-'pression of ideas already conveyed through the medium of the 'first.' But it can only be an approximation: something must

be sacrificed, exactness or spirit. If critically and, so to speak, grammatically correct, it will lose vigor; if vigorous and easy, it will lose accuracy, understanding by accuracy verbal faithfulness. Now in translating one person will prefer one, and another another; but no one can have both. The nearer the *approach* can be made to both, the greater will be the merit of the translation as such. In a work meant to be popular and effective from its ease and force, it is obvious that when the choice lies between precision and spirit, the former must in the nature of things be sacrificed, unless the popular feature of the work be relinquished, which would alter the hypothesis. We are of opinion that Lord Brougham has said more of his adherence to the form and idiom of the Greek original than is warranted by his execution of his task; but those persons who think they find in every little, or to them apparently great, point, a deviation from the sense and spirit of the original, because a particle is omitted, or a tense altered, or a degree of comparison changed, or a mood varied, and then quiz the matters in question as mistakes, only show their utter incompetence to understand that which they presume to condemn. Such persons we would in the present instance recommend to read and ponder well the following maxim of the great Niebuhr.

'It is always a mistake to attribute ignorance on subjects of 'general notoriety to eminent men, in order to account for what 'we may find in them that runs counter to current opinion.'*

But to return to the thread of our remarks; we say, it is not possible to remove *ideas and their formal expression*, thoughts and their external form, bodily from one language into another. For there is no one language that contains words or phrases which can be considered the exact equivalent of all the words and phrases in another language. Words get associations, which we cannot take from them or give to others. These associations follow them wherever they go, and invest them as a sort of atmosphere. Are there not scores of words in Latin, for example, and in Greek, which are absolutely untranslateable? That is to say, although they may be rendered verbally, you cannot transfuse their life and soul. This difficulty has always been felt; and hence it is that what is called the most literal version will in fact convey frequently the least correct idea of the original. A thought which is expressed well by one word in one language, will require several in another; if, indeed, it can be expressed at all. One instance only shall be given: Demosthenes, in the exordium of the oration now before us, supplicates the gods that they will incline the judges to pronounce upon the impeachment the decision which shall contribute καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ

* See *Guesses at Truth* (by Julius Charles and Augustus Hare), p. 143.

πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἑκάστῳ. Now this in its present pointed, rigid, and rhythmical form it is absolutely impossible to render into English. No allowable English phraseology can by any artifice be made to convey the *form* of this clause. But, it may be said, the meaning can be given. True: but in oratory, as such, as a work of art, it is not the meaning which is principally looked at, but the style. Now, how does Leland render the clause? Thus: May heaven 'direct your minds to that determination, which 'shall prove most conducive to the general honor of all, and most 'exactly consonant to the religious engagements of each indi-'vidual.' This is a paraphrase, and no translation. Lord Brougham has greatly improved upon this, and we do not know that it could be done better than he has done it. As we said before, the thing itself is, strictly speaking, impossible. The clause in question, and one example is as good as twenty, is in the Greek perfect, viewed artistically: it cannot be mended, no word can change its place. The antithesis in the sense is rendered obvious by the perfect respondence of term to term. In English this cannot be done. What can we think of 'the general 'honor of all,' for εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ, or 'the religious engagements 'of each individual' for εὐσέβειαν ἑκάστῳ? We mention these points to show that what we may sometimes regard as faults in a translator are in reality necessary results of the very nature of things. Cicero, when he translated the two orations of Aeschines and Demosthenes, translated them not as an interpreter, but as an orator, not rendering them *verbum de verbo*, but preserving the force and meaning only as far as he could. 'Non enim,' he adds, 'ea [verba] me *annumerare* lectori putavi oportere, sed 'tanquam *appendere*.' In a similar way, Lord Brougham has made the present attempt in English. Undeniably, it is far better than Leland's, being the work of an orator, as well as a scholar. A short passage or two would give no notion at all of the style or manner of the translation; and, therefore, strongly recommending the cultivators of oratory and the students of Demosthenes to the diligent perusal of the whole volume, we shall conclude by extracting the exordium, as a specimen.

'Let me begin, men of Athens, by imploring of all the heavenly powers that the same kindly sentiments which I have throughout my public life cherished towards this country and each of you, may now by you be shown towards me in the present contest! Next I beseech them to grant, what so nearly concerns yourselves, your religion, and your reputation, that you may not take counsel of my adversary touching the course to be pursued in hearing my defence—that would indeed be hard!—but that you may regard the laws and your oaths, which, among so many other just rules, lay down this,—that both sides equally be heard! Nor does this merely import that no one shall be pre-

judged, or that equal favor shall be extended to both parties; it also implies that each antagonist shall have free scope in pursuing whatever method and line of defence he may be pleased to prefer. Upon the present occasion, Athenians, as in many things, so especially in two of great moment, Æschines has the advantage of me. One is, that we have not the same interests at stake; it is by no means the same thing for me to forfeit your esteem, and for him to fail in his impeachment. That to me indeed—but I would fain not take so gloomy a view in the outset. Yet he certainly brings his charge, an unprovoked volunteer. My other disadvantage is, that all men are naturally prone to take pleasure in listening to invective and accusation, and to be disgusted with those who praise themselves. To him, therefore, falls the part which ministers to your gratification, while to me there is only left that which, I may almost say, is distasteful to all. And yet, if from such apprehensions I were to avoid the subject of my own conduct, I should appear to be without defence against his charges, and without proof that my honors were well earned; although I cannot go over the ground of my councils and my measures without necessarily speaking oftentimes of myself. This, therefore, I shall endeavor to do with all moderation; while the blame of my dwelling on topics indispensable to my defence must justly rest upon him who has instituted an impeachment of such a kind. But at least, I think I may reckon upon all of you, my judges, admitting that this question concerns me as much as Ctesiphon, and justifies on my part an equal anxiety; for to be stripped of any possession, and more especially by an enemy, is grievous and hard to bear; but worst of all thus to lose your confidence and esteem, of all possessions the most precious.

'Such, then, being my stake in this cause, I conjure and implore of you all alike, to give ear to my defence against these charges, with that impartiality which the laws enjoin—those laws first given by Solon, one as friendly towards you as he was to all popular rights—laws which he fixed, not only by engraving them on brazen tables, but by the sanction of the oaths you take when sitting in judgment; not, I verily believe, from any distrust of you, but because he perceived that the accuser being armed with the advantage of speaking first, the accused can have no chance of resisting his charges and invectives, unless every one of you, his judges, keeping the oath sworn before God, shall receive with favor the defence which comes last, and lending an equal and a like ear to both parties, shall thus make up your mind upon the whole of the case. But on this day, when I am about to render up an account, as it should seem, of my whole life, both public and private, I would again, as in the outset, implore the gods, and in your presence pour out to them my supplications, first to grant me at your hands the same kindness in this conflict which I have ever borne towards our country and all of you; and next, that they may incline you all to pronounce upon this impeachment the decision which shall best consult the glory of the state and the religious obligations of each individual judge!'

If we had more space, we should take advantage of the present

opportunity to allude at some length to the recently published volume of Latin and English Poems by Lord Wellesley, dedicated by that elegant scholar and distinguished statesman, 'Viro 'eximio Henrico Brougham, amico suo dilectissimo.' As it is, we must content ourselves with this passing mention, simply pointing to the work as an incidental confirmation of some remarks on education, which we made in a late number of this Review.

Art. IV. *Concordantiae Librorum Veteris Testamenti Sacrorum, Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae, secundum literarum ordinem et vocabulorum origines distincte ordinateque dispositae; Lexico utriusque linguae tum Rabinico tum Latino, hoc est, interpretatione omnium vocabulorum completa locupletatae, atque, fructibus, quos instituta et nostra et patrum memoria linguarum orientalium investigatio ac collatio prebuit, industrie comparatis et conditis, accuratissima cum diligentia absolutae.* Auctore Julio Fürstio, Doctore Philosophiae. Lipsiae. Sumtibus et typis Caroli Tauchnitii. 1840.

GREAT credit is due to the first compiler of a Hebrew Concordance. It was a work of immense labor protracted through many years, and entitles the indefatigable scholar who achieved it to the grateful respect of all succeeding times. The individual who voluntarily subjected himself to so much literary drudgery was RABBI NATHAN. He commenced the work in the year 1438, and finished it in 1448, although it was not published for some time afterwards, being printed at Venice in 1523. Notwithstanding the great faults and numerous errors of this *Editio princeps*, it has made the labors of succeeding editors comparatively light; it being evident that the correction of a concordance, or even an alteration of its arrangement, is a much less operose task than its original compilation. We say *comparatively* light, for we must not be understood to suppose that the editorship of such a work is easy. If no alterations had been contemplated in the original publication of Nathan, the mere toil of verification, and of carrying such a book through the press, would be sufficient to entitle any one to honor. The Concordance now published is not a mere reprint or a re-arrangement of any former work, and it will justly confer on Dr. Fürst the full praises earned by talent and industry.

As we are not about to present our readers with a history of Hebrew Concordances, we shall only mention the successors of Nathan—Calasio, Buxtorf, and Taylor—and pass on to the magnificent volume at the head of this article. From the scarcity of previous Hebrew Concordances, and their numerous imperfections,

such a work was greatly needed, and the desideratum is now supplied in so masterly a manner, that we shall make no excuse for detailing at some length the peculiarities of this work, which has been issued in parts, and is now completed. An age will probably roll away before a similar monument of learning requires attention from the critic, and we therefore gladly award a niche to a production destined to survive all present strifes and party questions, and to confer lasting benefit on the church of God.

We feel too much indebted to German booksellers to allow us gratuitously to reflect on their manipulations, especially those of the spirited and enlightened Tauchnitz, but we must nevertheless be allowed to say that this Concordance is strikingly contrasted in execution and appearance with the ordinary style of books on the other side of the water. When Schleusner complained of the Glasgow reprints of his Lexicon to the New Testament, the clever Scottish pirates replied by taunting him with the inferiority of the German editions to their own. 'Vix et ne vix quidem 'sperare potuit ipse volumina Germanica emptores inventura, 'chartâ sordidâ et faeculentâ, obtusis et exesis literarum formis, 'ut Britannis fastidium moveant, cum penes nostrates sit editionem 'multo elegantiorem exhibere.' To the truth of the charge conveyed in this passage all scholars will feelingly assent who have worked much in the continental mines of philology. We have now before us the Göttingen edition of the English Translation of Ewald's Hebrew Grammar, printed in 1836, and it will not bear comparison as to paper and typography with Dr. Lee's Grammar, for instance, printed in London some years before. But this Concordance can compete with any work of the kind which has hitherto appeared in the world. The best printed book in Hebrew literature was Lee's translation of Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon, executed at the Cambridge University press, but this is quite as elegant. The paper is very fine in texture and color, and *will bear ink*; a great and unusual recommendation of a foreign book. This circumstance, and the very ample margin, will afford facility for that correction and criticism in which scholars delight. The matter is arranged in four columns, and disposed as lightly as such masses of Hebrew letters can be. The references in Buxtorf are all in the Hebrew character, a sad stumbling-block to an unpractised Hebraist; these are in Roman letters and figures. The whole is contained in one handsome volume, folio, and will form a conspicuous ornament of the library of the divine, and the general scholar. We know there may be a love of books as mere works of art irrespective of their contents, and we shall therefore pursue the subject no further, leaving to a Dibdin to expatiate on the voluptuousness of paper and print so honorably furnished '*sumtibus et typis Caroli Tauchnitii.*'

The basis of the Concordance is a Lexicon of the Hebrew and

Chaldee languages as contained in the Old Testament. This part of the work is specially worthy of attention, since it will, in most cases, render any other Lexicon unnecessary. As is indicated by the title-page, it is not a mere explanation of each word, hastily and briefly given, but a full and learned philological exposition—'interpretatione omnium vocabulorum completa.' The meaning is first fully given in the Rabbinical dialect, for the benefit, we presume, of the Jews,—then follows the same in Latin. The cognate or similar words in the Semitic dialects, and those in the Indo-Germanic family come next, and then the various renderings of the Septuagint translation. Interspersed are the various critical observations alluded to in the title—'fructibus, 'quos instituta et nostrâ et patrum memoriâ linguarum orientalium 'investigatio ac collatio praebuit, industrie comparatis et conditis.' Immediately beneath this lexicographical department is the Concordance, the proximity of which to the explanation of each word has advantages which must be evident at once. The labors of Schleusner on the New Testament, and of Gesenius on the Old, derive much of their value from their copious selection of passages corroborative of the meanings they give; and for the same reason this arrangement of the Concordance cannot be too highly prized, since it presents at one view *every passage* in which the word to be explained is found.

The Concordance is arranged according to the grammatical inflections of the words, beginning with the simplest, and descending to the more complex. Thus, the verbs are exhibited first in kal, then in niphal, &c., through all the conjugations; and the nouns, consecutively, in the absolute form, the status constructus, and with affixes and suffixes. This we esteem a prime excellence, as the object contemplated by a Concordance will be secured at the least possible expense of time and labor. If, for instance, the word whose meaning we wish to elucidate is a verb in hiphil, instead of running through all the ramifications of the root arranged in order from Genesis to Malachi, we find all the hiphil forms together. To the tyro this will familiarize the verbal inflection, and to the advanced student it offers facilities which he will know how to appreciate. In every case the passages are quoted at sufficient length to convey a knowledge of the connection in which the required words stand; by this means a reference to the text of the Scriptures is rendered unnecessary, and much time is gained. We have verified many of the articles, and find that the nicest accuracy pervades the work; indeed, it is surprisingly correct when the great intricacy of the matter is considered. The quotations, abbreviations, and various characters with which the Lexicon abounds, would generally lead us to expect defects; but, while minor errors *must* sometimes creep into

a book like this, it is something to be able to say that we have diligently sought for them and have found none.

As justice requires that we notice what we regard as defects in this beautiful book, we commence by asking why the oriental style of *beginning at the end*, as we say, should have been adopted in printing it. To print a really oriental book in modern fashion, would be barbarous, but can a Concordance with all the references in Roman characters, and a Lexicon, interpreting in Latin, be properly considered oriental? If so, then all Hebrew Lexicons are in the same category. Then, we think that all illustrative words from the Semitic dialects should have been given in their own characters; instead of which, we have Arabic, Syriac, and Æthiopic words in Roman letters. Why not have Romanized the Greek words as well as those of the specified languages? That types were not wanting we are well assured, and we wish the learned compiler had used them. Scholars are pleased to see the fair forms of the languages which throw light on Biblical studies, in their native dress. Finally, the *etymological* order, exploded in all recent Lexicons, is here used in preference to the alphabetical arrangement, to the coming perplexity of Hebrew students who may use this Concordance. Respecting these three complaints, difference of opinion may prevail, and what we have ventured to call imperfections, others may consider advantages. Our conviction of the vast profit likely to accrue from the publication makes us quite willing to acknowledge that, the only materials which a critic's eye can detect for reprehension, are, after all, probably mere matters of taste.

We confess that to our mind, there is something more than ordinarily interesting in a work of this character, requiring for its production such apparently incompatible qualities—true scholarship, mere plodding, and unconquerable industry. Before the Biblical student can calmly place himself in his study with his Hebrew Bible before him, and this Lexicon and Concordance to make a plain path for his feet, what prodigious toil must have been encountered, and what years of anxiety incurred! The wings of genius would fain carry it above labor, and care, and toil, but here they are contented to droop, and genius must work its way, not on wings, but with almost a snail-like pace, to the accomplishment of its object. We can easily see how labor can be procured if wealth is to reward it, but who can expect to be adequately repaid for the production of the work under review? Hence the conclusion is plain—good and learned men are now, as heretofore, willing to spend and be spent in a good cause, regarding the prosperity of the commonwealth of letters as a sufficient reward for their highest exertions.

If learned men *are* thus contented to lay out their energies

for the good of their generation, how eagerly should the young student grasp the aid afforded, and, by all the helps which the present time furnishes, make full proof of his ministry. We would remind all who in the prime of youth are contemplating the engagements of the Christian ministry, that the sentiment of Luther cannot be gainsayed—'Qui versiones tantum norunt, 'aliorum oculis vident, et cum plebe in atriis stantes, e longinquo 'sacra contuentur. Qui vero ipsum textum Originalem intelligit, 'cum sacerdotibus in sanctuarium admissus, omnium quae in 'penetralibus aguntur ipse testis est et arbiter. Hinc etsi exigua 'sit mea linguae Hebraeae notitia, cum omnibus tamen totius 'mundi gazis non commutarem.' If at any period of the history of the church, a neglect of the sacred originals of the holy Scriptures could be excusable, this is not the time. We are advancing near to an epoch when all who officiate in holy things will be compelled to refer to the law and the testimony, not at second hand, but as to sources of intelligence at which they have drank deeply for themselves, or, to change the figure, as to intelligences with which they have immediately communed. We have no hesitation in saying that this Concordance, used as the principles of philology dictate, will advance the student rapidly in an acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures which are able to make men wise unto salvation.

After the opinion we have given as to the immense labor required in the production of a Concordance, we shall perhaps be thought hard task-masters if we express a wish that some energetic scholar would commence and bring to a happy conclusion, a Concordance to the Syriac Scriptures, both the Peshito and the Philoxenian. If the task is hard, we are sure the labor would have its ample reward in the great benefits such a work would confer on true Biblical students. Must we look to Germany for this?

Art. V. *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham; compiled chiefly from his Correspondence preserved in Her Majesty's State-Paper Office: including Notices of many of his Contemporaries. With Illustrations.* By John William Burgon. In two volumes 8vo. London: Robert Jennings. 1839.

MR. BURGON, whom we do not recollect to have met before, tells us in an agreeable preface, how he was led to commence this memoir. It was announced that a premium would be given by the then Lord Mayor for the best essay on 'the

'Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham.' In what manner this intimation was given we are left to guess—whether there was a placard posted throughout the city, signed by order of the Lord Mayor; or whether, with a more generous catholicity, it was thrown open to public competition by being regularly gazetted—or whether it was slyly proclaimed over the grace-cup to a circle of private guests, we are not informed—on all these points the preface observes a provoking silence. Moreover, what might be the amount of this premium: whether it really told, in the current coin of the realm, for as much as an able hand might be induced to *do* a religious or moral essay for (a curious point this, and important to future generations, so far as the doctrine of prices in the respective literary markets of the world and the church is concerned) we have not a hint given; nor whether the alderman required, as we have heard of other patrons, a stamped receipt from the fortunate competitor for the sum paid out; furthermore as to the number of candidates; or who sat as literary assessors upon the occasion; whether other aldermen were called in, or whether any one but the Mayor himself sat, as lord of articles—on these several points the author is as uncommunicative as he well could be. Who the identical Lord Mayor was, we are permitted to know; and the name of 'William Taylor Copeland, Esq., M.P.,' will be a guarantee for munificence of reward and sufficiency of taste. His generosity is known to all, who recollect how handsomely he offered to relieve an exhausted national treasury of no small portion of the expenses of a Coronation dinner, when he and the Marquis of Londonderry had ascertained there would be no such banquet; and his taste is so notorious that we can only refer our readers to the Directory for the sphere of its daily exercise. But how the idea ever came into the Mayor's cranium we are not informed: whether it was of spontaneous origination, or foreign growth—whether it might be indigenous or imported—how long it took to mature and ripen into a positive, out-spoken proposal for a premium—what process of *capital* digestion it underwent in the brilliant atmosphere of city regalities—how the idea, after primary germination, expanded and grew up, in spite of a civic, magisterial, and senatorial environment—whether it arose from any fancied resemblance between himself and Sir Thomas: here again there is *hiatus lacrymabilis*, and the author leaves us to sheer groping and conjecture. We may assure our readers that such is the modesty of the compiler, he does not positively state who was the successful candidate. They must bear up as well as they can against so afflictive an uncertainty in such momentous matters. One circumstance, however, does transpire so exceedingly characteristic, that the able biographer shall be forgiven all other omissions for its mention, to wit, that the essay 'was to be com-

'prised within such limits that the public recitation of it should 'not exceed half an hour.' What an aldermanic stipulation! and yet half an hour of antiquarian lore is a tolerable dose for a chief magistrate, and that chief magistrate the worthy individual whose name is revealed. We admire the stipulations, and recognize high wisdom and prudence in them. There is a fine touch of Mansion-House vanity, too, in the recitation part of the condition; although we are at a loss to understand in what way the recitation could be called a 'public' one. Neither can we nonconforming critics clear up the obscurity, as we have no Mansion-House guide to aid us, and unlike some of our more favored contemporaries, we humbler cultivators of the critical vineyard partake not as yet of civic hospitalities. The author was not called upon to read his own performance—a clerical elocutionist undertook the recitation; and this circumstance, in connexion with the indispensable brevity of the essay, evinces the singular determination of his lordship not to overdo any body—his guests, author, chaplain, or himself.

Seeing that we are about to enter upon the examination of a piece of antiquarian biography, our readers will pardon these prelusive sallies, which we have indulged in as well for their sakes as our own. Henceforth we shall suppress these ebullitions, and proceed with a plodding yet cheerful gravity, becoming our vocation, to give our readers a taste of this very careful, ingenious, and creditable production.

It may not be amiss just to mention, that the slight essay soon assumed the size of a small volume; and after being laid aside, the author resumed his labors when 'The Exchange' was burned down, thinking that an auspicious moment for the appearance of a life of its founder; but on inspecting the Correspondence of Sir Thomas Gresham at the State Paper Office, hundreds of letters were found, instead of the scanty documents hitherto known,—'and these volumes are the result.'

As might have been anticipated in such a compilation, there is no strict adherence to its principal subject; but persons and events only indirectly connected with Sir Thomas Gresham are noticed. Indeed, from the title of the work, we are led to expect some account of his times, as well as a narrative of his life. The author observes, with equal truth and felicity, by way of apology for the size of his publication; that 'history presents us with 'groups of men rather than with individuals,' and we say with him, 'what is antiquarian biography but the magnifying-glass 'applied to a particular portion of history?' His work is conceived and executed in this enlarged spirit; and being, therefore, a successful performance, we are thus presented, not merely with a life of this extraordinary man, far superior to the general class of biographies, whether political or ecclesiastical,

together with admirable accounts of those about him, in his family and his business, to say nothing of distinguished contemporaries,—but we have really a great deal of valuable general matter, collected from a variety of sources, and throwing a direct light on public, as well as private affairs—on the religious struggles, commercial transactions, and political relations of the period, as well as the workings of ordinary civic life at that day. Some readers could have spared, perhaps, many of the original letters, and others might wish the explanatory digressions either omitted altogether, or very considerably curtailed; but in works of this description, as it is impossible to please every body, the rule must be for the author to please himself, in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred a vastly more difficult party to please than the most fastidious reader.

When we recollect Mr. Burgon's fortunate discovery in the State Paper Office, and also bear in mind at what an expense of wearisome research the antiquarian procures every particle of information, we are rather surprised at the close and compact manner in which his materials are bestowed, than inclined to grumble, like some of our craft, that we have two volumes instead of one. Although these sudden shoots of growth are sometimes suspicious, it is not the case, we are happy to say, with this expansion of the short Mansion-House essay into upwards of a thousand pages. The materials are good throughout; and probably the new timber sounder than the old.

It would be unpardonable not to mention the 'illustrations' in both volumes; the vignettes, the fac similes of autographs, the sketches of buildings, and especially the views and portraits exhibited in the initial letters of the chapters, are admirably executed; and they are, all and each, as useful as they are ornamental. The portrait of Sir Thomas Gresham is beautifully engraved.

As Mr. Burgon's work is made up of such a variety of materials, we cannot pretend to furnish even an outline of its contents; but we will endeavour to make such selections from the stores which he has so laboriously collected and so tastefully arranged, as will interest our readers, and assist in forming an estimate of the man whose life has been thus worthily illustrated; of the scenes in which he moved, the affairs he transacted, the benefactions he conferred, and the treatment he has received at the hands of posterity. For the present, therefore, we may hope for the reader's concurrence in not attempting, within our allotment of room, any further reference to the innumerable digressions of our antiquarian; but in endeavouring after the manner proposed, to throw some of this borrowed light on the Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham.

Sir Thomas must be considered as a fortunate man. Every thing

conspired to favor him. He was of a good family; his natural abilities were excellent, and highly cultivated; his university education at Cambridge was a splendid foundation for his honorable apprenticeship to a merchant-adventurer for nine years. To these advantages, which completed his training for private or public business, must be added, the character of his connexions, both with the city and the court. While his integrity (conventionally speaking) was unimpeachable his commercial credit was unparalleled, both at home and abroad; and he seems to have maintained, rather by sheer business talent than low intrigue, his reputation and influence as a courtier. In his business, which must have been a strange medley,—what with his engagements as a private merchant, as a royal factor, as ambassador, to which must be added the trades of banking and perhaps pawnbroking,—he was invariably successful. Judging from these specimens of the letters which passed between the government and himself, there can be no question that he was one of the ablest, as well as one of the most fortunate men in his generation. In all this variety of pursuits and duties, he was equally fortunate in the character of his servants; they were worthy of their master, and some of them rose to opulence in his employ. Take him altogether, and looking at him as a city-man, as a man of business, who had always the 'main 'chance' in view, we do not think that in three centuries of money-seeking, the city has produced his superior, perhaps not his equal; for, after doing well for himself, well for the crown, well for the country, he concluded by acting nobly for his fellow-citizens—by building for them a Royal Exchange, founding Almshouses, and (with the happiness of a good as well as a great genius) erecting endowments for a College, which, with merely *honest*, to say nothing of proper, management, might have rivalled any in the world.

All these points might be easily illustrated from these volumes, but we shall only be able to present a few extracts.

'The office of Royal Agent, was of a very early origin. It naturally arose out of the exigencies of an imperfectly organized system of finance, which, when the country was threatened with war, or some other source of heavy expenditure, recognized but two modes of replenishing the coffers of an impoverished treasury; viz., to levy subsidies by an unjustifiable stretch of arbitrary power; or to induce wealthy merchants, under sufficient security, to advance the sums required. The former of these methods, which in remote times was doubtless had recourse to in the majority of instances, and with most success, was too convenient ever to be totally relinquished: but as the commercial wealth of Europe increased, the practice of obtaining loans from the opulent merchants settled in Germany and the low countries, became more and more prevalent, until it was finally found expedient, on the part of government, to employ an agent for the

express purpose of negociating them. This was always some one of high ability, influence, and integrity, whose province it was, in addition to the immediate duties of his office, to supply the state with whatever was required of foreign production. It was also expected of this servant of the crown, that he should keep the privy council informed of whatever was passing abroad; and he was not unfrequently called upon to negociate with foreign princes in the additional capacity of ambassador.

'The office of 'agent to the crown, with the trading interest, or as 'it was called, King's merchant,' says an elegant modern writer, 'was 'one of the highest importance and trust; inasmuch as it united the 'duty of raising money for the royal occasions by private loans, with 'that of protecting and cherishing the sources from which they were 'derived.' It is to be observed, that this office was distinct in itself, and altogether independent of the occasional employment of one or more domestic financial agents. It is from a misapprehension on this head, that so many erroneous statements have been circulated relative to the father of the subject of this memoir.'—Vol. i., pp. 54—56.

'Thomas Gresham, Mercer,' seems to have been frequently consulted by the council on financial affairs, before his appointment as royal agent, king's merchant, or factor, in 1551. The duties were sufficiently extensive.

'Besides the care of providing money in Flanders to meet the necessities of the state, we learn from Gresham's correspondence that many other duties devolved upon him. It was expected of the Queen's agent, that he would keep the council constantly informed of all that was passing in his neighbourhood, or rumoured beyond seas; a task, the faithful, frequent, and expeditious performance of which was rendered particularly acceptable by the imperfect system of communication in those days, and which Gresham's position enabled him to perform in a most satisfactory manner. It was, moreover, his province to supply the country with whatever articles of foreign manufacture were required, as arms, plate, or jewellery. Thus, in King Edward's Journal (11th Feb., 1552-3), Sir John Gresham is said to have 'delivered of armour, 1100 pair of corselets, and horsemen's 'harness very fair;' and on the expectation of a visit from certain French noblemen, we find that 'provision was made in Flanders for 'silver and gold plate, and chains to be given to these strangers.' Accordingly, throughout Mary's reign, we find Gresham repeatedly commissioned to purchase arms and ammunition, which the hostilities so hotly maintained by King Philip had rendered necessary for the security of the realm.'—Vol. i., pp. 163, 164.

The financial embarrassments of the country were very considerable when 'the mercer' was dispatched to Antwerp, then the great emporium of western commerce, where he had previously passed nearly seven years of his life as a merchant.

His co-operation with the then Chancellor of the Exchequer appears to have been most timely.

'The King's (Edward the VIth) financial affairs then began to wear an alarming appearance, having been conducted up to that period with very little dexterity, or rather with none at all. The expensive wars carried on with France, had obliged King Henry VIII. to incur debts, which not being always in a condition to discharge, he was compelled, as often as his bonds became due, to renew on most disadvantageous terms. The annual interest on his bonds amounted to £40,000; which (while the exchange was reduced to sixteen shillings Flemish to the pound sterling) he was compelled to pay in English money; and he was required, at every renewal, to purchase jewels or wares, and sometimes both, to a large amount, as a consideration for deferring the liquidation of the debt; which, combined with the exorbitant rate of interest, necessarily operated much to his disadvantage. Thus in Henry's reign, Vaughan, writing from Antwerp to the Secretaries Paget and Petre, says of a rich merchant named Jasper Dowche, 'he offerith to serve the King's Majestie this next somer dewring the 'space of vi months, with C thousand ducats every month, during the 'nomber of months vi. foresade, for reasonable interest, and upon the 'obligacons and bond of London; so the King's Majestie woll please to 'take a jewell therewith which he priseth at C thousand, and swerith 'it is so much worth. It ys a great poynt dyament sett about with 'other poynt dyaments lik a rose.' During the following reign, we find another curious instance of this kind of transaction (which having passed into precedent it was not easy to discontinue), in the MS. Journal kept by Edward VI. [1551, April,] '25. A bargaine made 'with the Fulcare for about £60,000, that in May and August 'should be paid, for the deferring of it. First. That the Foulcare 'should put it off for ten in the hundred. Secondly. That I should 'buy 12,000 marks weight, at six shillings the ounce, to be delivered 'at Antwerpe, and so conveyed over. Thirdly. I should pay 100,000 'crownes for a very fair jewel of his—four rubies, marvellous big, 'one orient, one great diamount, and one great pearle.'

'This iniquitous imposition on the part of the money-lenders was of old standing; and sanctioned by the usage of preceding reigns, it had at last grown into a custom.'—Vol. i., pp. 68—70.

After serving Queen Mary in the same capacity, we may note that his faithful services were soon in request again under the Queen Elizabeth. In one of his letters to the Lords of the Council, during the 'bloody reign,' he alludes to the rumors of an expected birth of a Prince, so industriously spread by the Popish faction, and 'trusts in God the news be trewe.' After quoting the lugubrious reference, Mr. Burgon says:—

'Notwithstanding a certain degree of concern which this passage in Queen Mary's history excites, there is something irresistibly ludicrous in the accounts transmitted to us of the extent to which the delusion

alluded to was indulged. 'All the court,' says Grafton, 'was full of 'midwives, nurses, and rockers; and this talk continued almost half 'a year, and was affirmed true by some of her physicians, and other 'persons about her; which seemed both grave and credible. Insomuch 'that divers were punished for saying the contrary.' On the 3rd of May, the Bishop of Norwich received 'the sodeine good news of the 'Queene's Highnes moost joyfull deliverance of a nooble Prince; 'whereupon to laude God, *Te Deum* was solemnly sung in the Cathe-'drall Churche, and other places of the Cytye [of Norwich] wyth 'woonderful joye and muche gladness of all people throughowte all 'the whole cytye and the countrye thereabowtes.' The parson of 'Saint Anne, within Aldersgate,' says Fox, 'after procession, and Te 'Deum sung, took upon him to describe the proportion of the child; 'how faire, how beautiful, and how great a prince it was, as the like 'had not been seen.'

'But by far the most extraordinary circumstances connected with this delusion has never yet been noticed in print. There is in the State Paper office an original letter to Cardinal Pole, *signed by Philip and Mary announcing the birth of a Prince* as an event which had already occurred. 'Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, of his 'infinite goodnes, to add unto the great number of other his benefits bestowed upon us, the gladding of us with *the happy deliverie of a Prince*.'—Vol. i., pp. 169—171.

Notwithstanding this, it is pretty plain that Gresham was a 'good protestant,' (that is, a good political churchman), and even in great personal peril on account of his creed. His life appears to have been saved by a virtuous Papist, Sir John Legh; and Sir Thomas returned the compliment, and became his friend and protector in a similar fearful exigency. The statement illustrative of this circumstance is perhaps the most interesting part of the work.

By the change of dynasty from Papist to Protestant, his difficulties as an agent for Queen Elizabeth were now greatly increased; and what may be called commercial bribery and corruption (such was the morality of this much-vaunted period), were by no means impediments to his enterprise.

'In the beginning of Dec., 1558, he was despatched to Antwerp, to assure the merchants of that town of the validity of all outstanding obligations; to buy ammunition, and to take up some additional sums, for the repayment of which the city cheerfully gave their bonds. His commission assigned to him, as usual, an allowance of 20s. per diem, 'and for the time he hath been in the realm, since 'his last coming over, 13s. 4d. by the day: the declaration of the days 'he hath been here, to be taken by his own oathe.' On the 23rd, he received a communication from the council, ordering him to take up a further sum: all which he accomplished, and he had returned to England before the close of the year.....

'The royal lady who had just ascended the throne of her ancestors, had assured him with her own lips of her good opinion and favorable disposition. Once more, therefore, did he briefly expose his views, and sketch what he conceived to be her best line of financial policy; closing his address with these words;—

''An it please your Majestie to restore this your reallme into such 'estate as heretofore it hath been.—First. Your hyghnes hath none 'other wages, but when time and oppertunyty serveth to bring your 'base money into fine, of xi ounces fine. And, so goulde, after the rate.

'Secondly, nott to restore the Still-yarde to their usorped privilege.

'Thirdly to grant as few licenses as you can.

'Fowerthly, to come in as small debt as you can beyond seas.

'Fifthly, to keep your credit; and especially with your own mar- 'chants; for it is they [who] must stand by you, at all eventes, in your 'necessity.''—Vol. i, p. 232.

'You shall know that you have served a king,' was the princely saying of King Edward the Sixth to our 'Mercer,' on his appointment; and he was as good as his word. Queen Mary performed all her promises; and Queen Bess behaved better than might have been expected from the grandchild of the penurious Henry the Seventh. Nor when we consider the inconveniences occasioned by the frequent neglect of private business, as well as the important facilities secured by this most diligent negociator, could the rigorists of reform have grudged the rewards he was entitled to expect. Queen Elizabeth in some economical fit proposed to reduce his stipend, or, as he styles it, 'to abrigge him 'of his dietts;' upon which he wrote a very firm remonstrance, thinking the 'Queen's Majestie dealt verie hardlie with him.' We intended to have concluded our extracts, touching his factorage for the crown, with a portion of this admirable letter; but we have already exceeded our limits.

In December, 1559, Gresham was knighted, on the occasion of his being sent to Brussels in the capacity of an ambassador; but instead of following him abroad again whither he frequently went either on his own business, or his mistresses errands, let us see where he lived; although we cannot even glance at his country residences. The following account of some important trades and interesting localities will not be unacceptable.

'At this period (December, 1559) Sir Thomas Gresham resided in Lombard Street, which was then the handsomest street in London; and, like all other bankers and merchants living in that street, he kept a shop. It stood on the site now occupied by the banking-house of Messrs. Stone, Marten, and Co., and over his door was his crest, a grasshopper, by way of sign. This was no uncommon practice even at a later period; for we are told that the sign of the house in Bread Street, where Milton's father resided, and where Milton was born, was *the spread eagle*,—an heraldic symbol, which appears in the family

arms. The original sign of Gresham's shop was seen by Pennant, and I am informed continued in existence as lately as the year 1795; when on the erection of the present building, it disappeared from the station which it had so long occupied over the door: its metallic value having probably aroused the cupidity of some of the laborers. But the term *banker* when applied to a former age, is so likely to produce misconception, that before proceeding further, it seems advisable to explain it.

'A banker in early times pursued a very different trade from that which occupies the attention of the opulent and influential class so called at the present day. It is well known that the latter derive their profits from the employment of fluctuating sums of money, deposited in their hands for convenience and safety by the public; and for the security of which, the respectability of the banker is a sufficient guarantee. But this is a refinement of comparatively recent introduction, with which our forefathers were wholly unacquainted. As late as the time of Swift, bankers gave and took a bond on receiving and lending money; and made their profit by obtaining a higher rate of interest, or usury as it was called, on the latter operation, than they allowed on the former. Ten or twelve *per cent* was the customary rate of interest during the reign of Queen Elizabeth; at which period, we mean no disrespect to the banker when we say, that he united in his person the trades of the usurer, the pawnbroker, the money-scrivener, the goldsmith, and the dealer in bullion. A German traveller who visited England in 1593, says, that he saw in Lombard Street 'all sorts of gold and silver vessels exposed to sale, as well as ancient and modern coins, in such quantities as must surprise a man the first time he sees and considers them.' At the period of Gresham's death, a considerable portion of his wealth consisted of gold chains. It is a curious circumstance, that Lombard Street should have retained its character as well as its name for at least five centuries and a half: and it may not perhaps be out of place to mention that within the last thirty years several gold and silver lacemen lived there; a link between the ancient and modern occupants of the street, which has now almost wholly disappeared.

'The earliest money-lenders in England were the Jews, a people proverbial among us to this day for their riches; and who, if they behaved as extortioners, were certainly treated as such by our early monarchs, and became in turn the objects of every description of hardship and ignominy. To them succeeded the Lombards,—by which general appellation the early Italian merchants of Genoa, Lucca, Florence, and Venice were designated. They obtained a footing in this country about the middle of the thirteenth century, and established themselves in Lombard Street: making it their business to remit money to their own country by bills of exchange, which was found particularly useful by the Italian clergy, who were thus enabled to receive the income of their trans-alpine benefices. In spite of the prejudices which at first obstructed their reception, they by degrees acquired a firm footing; and in process of time, became the richest merchants and the greatest money lenders in the kingdom. In the

early part of the fifteenth century they advanced a large sum for the service of the state, and had the customs mortgaged to them by way of security.

'We have already in some degree explained the nature of the business pursued by these early goldsmiths, or as they are sometimes called, bankers; and pointed out wherein their operations differed from those of bankers at the present day. The transition period was about the reign of Charles the First, 'until which time the whole and proper business of London goldsmiths was to buy and sell plate, and foreign coins of gold and silver; to melt and cull them; to coin some at the mint, and with the rest to supply the refiners, plate-workers, and merchants as they found the price to vary.' In the time of the subsequent troubles, merchants and tradesmen, who before had intrusted their cash to their servants and apprentices, found that practice no longer safe. Neither did they any longer dare, on account of the distresses of majesty itself, to use the Mint in the Tower as a place of deposit. They now began to lodge their necessary cash in the goldsmiths' hands for the sake of greater security. This was in the year 1645, when goldsmiths first exercised both professions; and Pennant writing in 1790, says that even in his day there were several eminent bankers who kept goldsmiths' shops. The first regular banker was Mr. Francis Child, goldsmith, who began business soon after the Restoration.

'In Lombard Street, then, at the sign *of the grasshopper*, dwelt Thomas Gresham; and I beg the reader will not lose any of the respect he may have received for him, on being informed that he was a banker such as I have described, as well as a mercer and merchant adventurer; and that he kept a shop. All the trading community at the time did the same; and a banking-house is technically called a *shop* to this day.'

—Vol. i. pp. 279—284.

Sir Thomas lost his only son shortly after; and from the period of his untimely death, the father seems to have entertained 'higher views for the disposition of his wealth, and to have cher-'ished the idea of employing it for the public benefit.'

'Allusion is made to the founding of the Royal Exchange, which was projected in the year 1564, though the laying of the first stone did not occur until two years later. This fact is derived from the minutes of the Court of Aldermen; wherein it is stated, that on the 4th of Jan., 1564—5, a proposal was made to the court by Sir Thomas Gresham (through his servant Anthony Strynger), that a Bourse or Exchange should be built in London at his expence, for the accommodation of merchants, provided a site was found on which the edifice might be conveniently erected.'—Vol. ii. p. 80.

It is not generally known that in 1534, it was proposed, under royal letters too, to take Leadenhall for an Exchange; but such was the 'inhabitiveness' of our ancestors, that the offer was

rejected on a show of hands; nor was Sir Richard Gresham, the uncle of Sir Thomas, four years afterwards, more successful. Its accomplishment was left to the 'Mercer.' His munificent offer to defray the expenses of the building, if the city would find a site, was accepted. Seven hundred and twenty 'civic wor-'thies,' whose names are still on record, subscribed the purchase-money, £3737 0s. 6d. The subscription commenced in March, 1565, and terminated in October, 1566. The ground was purchased in September, and the site on which the Exchange now stands was conveyed to Sir Thomas Gresham.

Mr. Burgon has succeeded in discovering frequent allusions to the progress of the Exchange in Sir Thomas's letters; but these allusions, as might have been anticipated, are brief and business-like, worthy of the man, who evidently had not the slightest notion he was engaged in any wonderfully generous undertaking. He was a great, sincere man, and very properly left it to his precious committees and trustees to prate and publish, and— do nothing. They are mere allusions, 'to the progress 'of an edifice with which posterity has identified his name; but 'which occupied in truth but a small portion of his time.' All credit, nevertheless, is due to the indefatigable author, for discovering where he got his timber and his free-stone, where he obtained the wainscot and glass, and whence he procured his architect, for the noble erection. It did get finished at any rate, and in no great length of time either. With the assistance of Mr. Burgon's plates, his reader can easily follow his description of the building, but we may venture on his account.

'The form of the building,' says a contemporary writer, 'is quadrate, with walks round the mayne building supported with pillars of marble; over which walks is a place for the sale of all kinde of wares, richly stored with varietie of all sorts.' Hentzner, the German, when he visited England in 1598, was evidently struck with its appearance. 'It has a great effect,' says he, 'whether you consider the stateliness of the building, the assemblage of different nations, or the quantities of merchandise.' There were, in fact, walks above as well as below; the upper part of the building being divided into no less than one hundred small shops, from the rents of which Gresham proposed, in part, to reimburse himself for his outlay in its erection. An equal number of vaults were also dug beneath, adapted for the reception of merchandise; but these were found to be so dark and damp, that they soon became of little value.

'Desirable for a display of wares, as a shop must have been in a place of so much resort as the Bourse, we learn from the chronicler who interested himself most in the history of the city, that for two or three years after its erection the shops remained 'in a manner empty:' Queen Elizabeth, however, having signified her intention of visiting the founder, and in person inspecting and naming his edifice, Gresham

naturally became anxious to improve its appearance, and render it fitter for the reception of his royal guest. 'He went,' in consequence, says Stowe, 'twice in one day round about the upper pawne, and besought those shopkeepers then present that they would furnish and adorne with wares, and waxe lights, as many shops as they either could or would, and they should have all those shops so furnished rent free that yeare. And within two years after, he raysed that rent unto foure marks a yeere: and within a while after that, he raised his rent of every shoppe unto foure pounds tenne shillings a yeere, and then all shoppes were well furnished according to that time; for then the milliners or haberdashers in that place solde mouse-trappes, bird-cages, shooing-horns, lanthorns, and Jews-trumpes, &c. There was also at that time that kept shoppes in the upper pawne of the Royal Exchange, armorours, that sold both old and new armor, apothecaries, booke-sellers, goldsmiths, and glasse-sellers; although now it is as plenteously stored with all kind of rich wares and fine commodities, as any particular place in Europe. Unto which place many forraine princes daily send, to be served of the best sort.'

'It was in consequence of the season of the year at which Queen Elizabeth made her progress into the city, that Gresham required the aid of illumination to set off the Bourse to advantage. Stowe relates, that on the 23rd of January, 1570—1, 'the Queen's Majesty, attended with her nobility, came from her house at the Strande, called Somerset House, and entered the citie by Temple-bar, through Fleete-streete, Cheap, and so by the north side of the Bourse, to Sir Thomas Gresham's in Bishopsgate-streete, where she dined. After dinner, her majestie returning through Cornhill, entered the Bourse on the south side; and after that she had viewed every part thereof above the ground, especially the pawne, which was richly furnished with all sorts of the finest wares in the city, she caused the same Bourse by an herald and a trumpet to be proclaimed the *Royal Exchange*, and so to be called from thenceforth and not otherwise.' Such is the brief account which has been transmitted to us of the event from which the Bourse, as it was till then called, dates its present name.'

—Vol. ii. pp. 348—352.

We come to the most important of Gresham's projects, with Mr. Burgon's account of which we shall conclude.

He determined on founding a College in London for the gratuitous instruction of all who chose to come and attend the lectures. The University of Cambridge was excessively jealous of this proposal, and used all its endeavors, by flatteries and courtly threats, to divert him from his purpose. If Gresham could have anticipated the mal-administration of his Trustees, he would doubtless have yielded to the solicitations of Alma Mater.

'He accordingly framed his will, and made every necessary arrangement for the permanent prosperity of a college, which might be justly called 'the epitome of an university.' He ordained that the

Lady Gresham should enjoy his mansion-house, as well as the rents arising from the Royal Exchange, during her life, in case she survived him; but from the period of her death both these properties were to be vested in the hands of the corporation of London and the Mercer's Company. These public bodies were conjointly to nominate seven professors, who should lecture successively, one on every day of the week, on the seven sciences of divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, law, medicine, and rhetoric. The salaries of the lecturers were amply defrayed by the profits arising from the Royal Exchange, and were fixed at £50 per annum;—a more liberal remuneration than Henry VIII. had appointed for the Regius Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, and equivalent to at least £400 or £500 at the present day.....

'These preliminaries being settled, Sir Thomas further ordained that the professors should all be unmarried men, and that separate suites of apartments should be allotted to them in his house; while the large garden which surrounded it, and the quiet and retirement of the place, he rightly deemed would be highly conducive to the comfort, and most favorable to the pursuits of the scientific persons who would in future make it their residence.'—Ib. pp. 437—440.

How have these companies dealt with this public property? Hear Mr. Burgon.

'The *facts* of the case are lamentable, and cannot be too often brought forward and insisted upon. Sir Thomas Gresham left to the city his own mansion; in the vastness of its proportions, and the extent of its accommodations, perfectly well adapted for the purposes of a college. He most liberally endowed seven lectureships for the gratuitous instruction of all who chose to be instructed in divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, law, medicine, and rhetoric; and to secure to his fellow citizens the advantages which he proposed conferring on them, he appointed the City of London and the Mercers' Company his joint trustees. In process of time, the ground on which Gresham College stood became so valuable, we are told,—the trust so unprofitable (in consequence of the expenses incurred in rebuilding the Exchange after the great fire), and the building itself so ruinous, that it was found expedient to dispose of the property; and in the year 1768, an act of parliament was obtained, authorizing the sale of the estate; it was accordingly disposed of to government for an annual payment of £500; and—the excise office arose on its site. A more unjustifiable proceeding, when all the circumstances of the case are considered, does not exist on record. From that time an obscure room over the Royal Exchange was appointed for the delivery of the lectures; and a pecuniary compensation was made to the seven professors for the loss of their pleasant collegiate residences. So immensely has ground in the city of London increased in value of late years, that had Gresham College been suffered to remain, or had any reasonable use of that property been made during the interval, the trustees to whom the management of its funds was confided, would have been enabled, long before the present period, to erect a college on the ancient site, whose

revenues would have been as immense as its benefits would have been incalculable.'—Ib. pp. 494—496.

In the appendix to the second volume Mr. Burgon presents us with a very elaborate and important history of the 'Royal Ex-'change and Gresham College' (the reader will observe that it forms part of the appendix instead of occupying its proper place in the work in consequence of obstacles thrown in the author's way by certain city authorities); and we wish he would publish it separately for the guidance of the citizens of London. Some of his suggestions are valuable; but will not receive the slightest attention from the parties appealed to, unless some 'pressure from without' be used.

Before parting with the author there is one point which calls for observation. Mr. Burgon is at no pains to conceal his high church and Tory propensities. Now in a work of this description, perfect neutrality would, perhaps, have been advisable; but to indulge in sneers at 'reformers,' when the main, practical object of the writer *is* reform—the reform, restoration, and perpetuity of a noble institute—strikes us as being ridiculously inconsistent. The insinuations, in themselves, may be true or false—we look upon them as the little harmless sallies of a vivacious temperament—but viewed in connexion with the author's object, they merit animadversion.

Art. VI. *Visits to Remarkable Places, Old Halls, Battle Fields, &c., Illustrated.* By William Howitt. 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 526. London: Longman. 1840.

IN laying open some of the interesting scenes of his native country to the more perfect knowledge of the public, Mr. Howitt has rendered an acceptable service. The English are a singular people, and always have been such: with an abstract patriotism so intense as to make them look with contempt on every thing in other countries which differs from the customs of their own; they are practically the admirers and followers of every thing of foreign origin. From the day when Shakespeare spake of the sumptuary laws which were enacted to deprive our English gallants of

> 'The remains
> Of fool and feather which they got in France,'

down to the present time, the case is just the same. The French

marchande des modes is patronized in preference to the native artist; and the foreign cook may demand and receive his hundreds a year, with the exclusive use of a horse and cabriolet, while his English brother may go on foot—and starve. It is much the same with our travellers: the cinders of Vesuvius crackle beneath the feet, and the waters of the Rhine bear along hundreds of our countrymen and women who have probably never bestowed a glance, or even a thought, on the noble scenery and interesting associations with which their native land is rife; and who seem to value and enjoy the natural and artificial beauties which they seek, in proportion to the distance at which they lie, and the difficulties to be encountered in the search.

Still our native land is rich in places and associations such as these; and multitudes of those who are running to and fro in distant regions, might be as pleasantly, and more profitably, employed in bestowing their attention nearer home: and it is for these reasons that we consider Mr. Howitt's work as one which deserves the approbation of the public. It is eminently adapted to meet the wants of the class of people of whom we have been speaking. Those who are well read in history would probably find little with which they were not already acquainted; but the general reader will derive both amusement and instruction from its pages; and what is more, it may be instrumental in forming a taste for the scenery, the history, and the antiquities of his native land; and enable him to perceive that he need not cross the sea, and traverse continents for scenes of interest and delight.

The selection of places is scarcely what might have been expected. Stratford on Avon and Hampton Court, for instance, are subjects which have nearly been exhausted; though the interest which attaches to them can never cease or diminish. Penshurst must ever be a hallowed spot; and the name of Sidney will ever excite an interest in the hearts of Englishmen while the land and language last:—it has become the synonyme for virtue, and honor, and public spirit—the watchword of the free.

Of Sir Philip Sidney we need not speak. His star has risen and will never set, and all men are familiar with its aspect. To his celebrated sister we cannot now devote our space. Of Algernon, the descendant of the same house a century removed, we wish to say a word; because it has of late become a fashion with the school of Clarendon—among whom Mr. Lodge is conspicuous, to depreciate the character of the man, on account of the opinions which he held; and to the maintenance of which his life was ultimately sacrificed.

It is admitted on all hands, that he was blameless in every relation of private life, and a man of the strictest honor; and we must take into consideration the state of things and of opinions

in his day, before we can fully estimate his principles and conduct. Of his political principles we are no admirers, yet, though the goddess of his idolatry, the ideal republic which he worshipped, might be indebted for her divinity to his own imagination only, he was a true, an upright, and a faithful worshipper: and the man who knew, and in part had witnessed, the miseries which had been brought upon his country by kingcraft, tyranny, and profligacy, is entitled to a large excuse for wishing or even for contriving to expedite their downfall.

His moroseness and repulsive manners might very possibly be owing to the same causes as his ultra politics; to disgust at men who, tainted with every moral and political iniquity, were yet distinguished for the suavity and polish of their bearing: nor do we see that his high character and stern integrity are less to be admired on this account; nor why he should be less a patriot because he did not, like Harmodius, conceal his purposes with smiles, or hide the sword with wreaths of myrtle. Of course we do not offer these desultory observations as an adequate vindication of this extraordinary man; but with his name before us we could not refrain from making them.

Penshurst is interesting not only from the recollections which it conjures up, but from the objects which it actually presents. It is worth a visit to see its paintings only; and the books in which the habits and expenses of the family are noted down are sufficiently curious. We quote the following short extract as a specimen of the amount and manner of expenditure.

'Prices of expences for this week—kitchen, for flesh, fish, poultrie, butter, eggs, and groceries, £29 17s. 10d. Pantry and cellar, in bread, beere, sack, claret, &c., £14 13s. 10d. Brewhouse, laundrie, soape and starge, 1s. 11d. Stables, for hay and oats, £1 14s. 8d. Fewell, in charcoal and billets, £3 9s. 0d.

'This, it must be confessed, was jovial housekeeping, amounting to about £50 for the week, or £2500 a year, for mere eating and drinking, when a good pig was worth 1s. 8d. and every thing in proportion.

'These are striking testimonials to the truth of Ben Jonson's description in the poems already quoted, of the liberal and ungrudging hospitality of the Sidneys. Towards the alleviation of this cost we find continual entries of gifts from friends and tenants—another fact also mentioned by Ben Jonson:

> 'All come in, the farmer and the clowne,
> And no one empty-handed.'

'The singularity of the entry is, that even these gifts have a value attached to them, as thus, in 1625: Gift to the Lo. of Leycester, from

the Earl of Dorset, 1 stag, £2; from Goodman Edmunds, 1 pig, 1s. 8d.'—p. 45.

Most of the scenes selected by Mr. Howitt possess sufficient interest to demand our notice, and we are somewhat at a loss to choose. Stratford on Avon, on which so much has been already said, that we need say no more, thus much excepted; that there is now living there a lad, the descendant of William Shakespeare, named after him; on whom, we agree with Mr. Howitt, that some part of the gratitude which the country owes to his illustrious ancestor, might be suffered to descend in a tangible and serviceable shape, without any impeachment of our generosity or justice. The Field of Culloden—where the last Stuart pretender made his last effort for a crown. Edgehill—where the first battle of the Civil wars was fought, and neither side obtained a victory:—the first dubious struggle of infant liberty with tyranny approaching to decrepitude. Flodden and Lindisfarne—names which in our day excite an interest, half real, half romantic. The character and actions of King James IV. have supplied materials for romance; and romance has rendered his career still more attractive. Romance, however, does not seem to thrive in this world; actual romance we mean—romance on paper does well enough—as witness Scott and many others. But a character half feeling and half imagination, is little calculated to force its way in the stern strivings of this work-day world. There *should* be a better world, that the heart and the affections may have fair play at last. King James was no exception to the rule; the waywardness of passion and the high flown notions of gallantry and honor by which he suffered himself to be deluded, brought him to his end; and by a strange coincidence, that end itself was wrapt in a kind of mystery that deepened the impressions which his life had made.

For a great length of time his countrymen contended that he did not fall at Flodden; that his body was never found; and for many years afterwards he was expected, like Don Sebastian and King Arthur, to re-appear. They have ceased at last, we believe, to expect his second advent: they might have done so from the first.

'The body (says Sir Walter Scott) which the English affirm to have been that of James, was found on the field by Lord Dacre, and carried by him to Berwick, and presented to Surrey (who commanded the English at Flodden). Both these lords knew James's person too well to be mistaken. The body was also acknowledged by his two favorite attendants, Sir William Scott and Sir James Forman, who wept at beholding it.'

'The singular history of these remains, Stow, in his 'Survey of London,' 4to. p. 539, thus furnishes from his own knowledge. What

a strange end for so proud and chivalrous a king, and what treatment from the hands of a brother-in-law, Henry VIII., who certainly refused the body Christian burial.

'After the battle, the bodie of the same king being found, was closed in lead, and conveyed from thence to London, and to the monasterie of Skeyne in Surrey, where it remained for a time, in what order I am not certaine; but since the dissolution of that house, in the reygne of Edward the Sixt, Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolke, being lodged, and keeping house there, I have been showed the same bodie, throwne into a waste room, amongst the old timber, lead and other rubble. Since the which time, workmen there for their foolish pleasure, hewed off his head; and Lancelot Young, master glazier to Queen Elizabeth, feelinge a sweet savour to come from thence, and yet the form remaining, with the hair of the head and beard, brought it to *London* to his house in *Wood-street*, where (for a time) he kept it for the sweetness; but, in the end, caused the sexton of that church to bury it among other bones, taken out of their charnel.'—pp. 195, 196.

The visit to the scenery of the 'White Doe of Rylston'—to Wharfdale and Barden Tower, we think will interest the reader; the place is full of natural beauties and historical recollections. Barden Tower was the residence of 'the stout Lord Cliffords that 'did fight in France,' and elsewhere also. The history of the shepherd lord is particularly interesting; and it is only in such times and circumstances as those in which they actually occurred, that such adventures would have happened. In this country, probably, they never could take place again.

'The history of the Shepherd Lord is one of the most singular in the peerage. When his father, Lord John Clifford—the bloody or black-faced Clifford—fell at the battle of Towton, which overthrew the house of Lancaster, and placed Edward the Fourth on the throne, his mother was obliged to fly with him, for safety, into the wildest recesses of Yorkshire and Cumberland.* She afterwards married Sir Launcelot Threlkeld, of the latter county, who assisted to keep him concealed from the knowledge of the York family, to whom the Clifford blood was, for notorious reasons, most especially odious; but to effect this, he was obliged to be brought up as a shepherd, and so lived for twenty-four years. On the accession of Henry the Seventh to the throne, the attainder against his father was reversed, and he succeeded to his ancestral honors and estates. At this period it appears that he was as uneducated as his fellow shepherds; but he was a man of strong natural understanding, and had, it would seem, learned much true wisdom in his simple abode up among the hills. He resorted to this Barden Tower, and put himself under the tuition of some of the monks

* The black Clifford did not fall in the battle of Towton, but at the attack on Ferrybridge the night before the battle.

of Balton. With these he appears to have contracted a strong friendship, and to have passed a life of what must have been a very delightful prosecution of the popular studies of the time. They applied themselves to astronomy, and it seems equally certain to *astrology*. In the archives of the Cliffords have been found manuscripts of this period, and supposed to belong to the shepherd, which make it more than probable that *alchemy* was another of the fascinating pursuits of Lord Henry and his monkish companions. He emerged, after he had so spent the whole of the reign of Henry the Seventh, and the first years of Henry the Eighth, at the age of nearly sixty, as a principal commander of the victorious army at Flodden, showing that the military genius of the Cliffords merely slumbered beneath the philosophic gown.'

The day-dream of Tintagel is very good in its way. Mr. Howitt is evidently a man of poetical temperament; and his dream has this advantage, that its circumstances cannot be contradicted by the stoutest stickler for realities. We suspect, however, that the representation of Arthur and his court, their habits and their manners as given in the Mabinogion, comes nearer to the truth than the scenery of Mr. Howitt's dream. We cannot give up our old friend Arthur as a fictitious personage.

Wotton Hall, in Staffordshire, is chiefly noticed by the author as the habitation of Rousseau during his stay in England; and a somewhat curious list of distinguished foreigners who have visited this country is given at the commencement of the chapter.

'Charles the Fifth, on his visit to Henry the Eighth. Peter the Great of Russia. Marat, the bloody Marat, the friend of the ferocious Robespierre, who fell by the hand of Charlotte Corday, teaching French at a Dissenting academy at Warrington, in Lancashire, intimate with the Aikins, and Barbaulds, &c. Louis Philippe pursuing the same humble vocation at Richmond. Dr. Franklin, busy in London as a journeyman printer. La Mennais, seeking employment in London, and refused, as stupid looking. Mina and Miguel, the lions of London drawing-rooms, surprising all the young ladies by their meekness and gentleness, the more to surprise them afterwards with the news of their bloody deeds. Two of the most extraordinary men, however, of the last century who have made any considerable sojourn in this country, are Alfieri and Rousseau.'

Nothing could possibly be more in keeping with the received accounts of the latter extraordinary man, than the whole of his conduct at Wotton Hall, and the manner of his quitting it. He was evidently the subject of mental aberration: and probably many of the peculiarities of his works were the result of—perhaps—extraordinary organization; or at least of diseased action.

The author runs a singular parallel between the tastes and habits of Alfieri and Lord Byron, which appear to have been similar even to minute particulars. We are not surprised at this.

It is not that Alfieri, though he several times visited and even resided in England, and was partial to it, had any thing of the Englishman in his composition; but it has always appeared to us, that Lord Byron had much of the Italian. We doubt greatly whether he ever felt himself thoroughly at home in England—for the last twelve years of his life at least; and we believe that he never intended to return to it: and his temperature and genius bespoke a man who was born on the Phlegræan fields, and reared beneath the suns of Italy.

The last places which we can notice are the enchanted lands of Staffa and Iona; the latter sacred to the memory of learning passed away, and immortalized by the pen of Johnson. Here they say are buried forty kings of Scotland (?); four kings of Ireland; eight kings of Norway! What a royal fellowship in Death! And they rise at midnight and hold solemn council round their tombs.

> 'As in pale Hades, midst dim-visioned things,
> Stalk the proud shadows of forgotten kings.'

Of these things, however, we must say no more; as we wish to make an extract which we cannot abridge, and which will leave us no space for further observations: it will probably please the reader better than any thing of ours. It is the description of the interior of Fingal's Cave, in Staffa.

'We advanced along a sort of Giant's Causeway, the pavement of which was the heads of basaltic columns, all fitting together in the most beautiful symmetry, and, turning round the precipice to our right hand, found ourselves at the entrance of the great cave. The sea was too stormy to allow us to enter it, as is often done in boats, we had, therefore, to clamber along one of its sides, where a row of columns is broken off at some distance above the waves, and presents an accessible, but certainly very formidable causeway, by which you may reach the far end. I do not believe that any stranger, if he were there alone, would dare to pass along that irregular and slippery causeway, and penetrate to the obscure end of the cave; but numbers animate one another to any thing. We clambered along this causeway or corridor, now ascending and now descending, as the broken columns required, and soon stood—upwards of seventy of us—ranged along its side from one end to the other. Let it be remembered, that this splendid sea cave is forty-two feet wide at the entrance; sixty-six feet high from the water: and runs into the rock two hundred and twenty-seven feet. Let it be imagined that, at eight or ten feet below us it was paved with the sea, which came rushing and foaming along it, and dashing up against the solid rock at its termination; while the light thrown from the flickering billows quivered in its arched roof above us, and the whole place was filled with the solemn sound of the ocean; and if any one can imagine to himself any situation more sub-

lime, I should like to know what that is. The roof is composed of the lower ends of basaltic columns, which have yet been so cut away by nature as to give it the aspect of the roof of some gigantic cathedral aisle. Lichens of gold and crimson have gilded and colored it in the richest manner. It was difficult to forget, as we stood there, that, if any one slipped, he would disappear for ever, for the billows in their ebb would sweep him out to the open sea, as it were, in a moment. Yet the excitement of the whole group was too evident to rest with any seriousness on such a thought. Some one suddenly fired a gun in the place, and the concussion and reverberated thunders were astounding. When the first effect was gone off, one general peal of laughter rung through the cave, and then nearly the whole company began to sing, 'the sea! the sea!' The captain found it a difficult matter to get his company out of this strange chantry—where they, and the winds and waves seemed all going mad together—to embark them again for Iona.'—p. 358.

We are particularly partial to the kind of engravings with which this volume is illustrated, and are pleased to see it becoming so prevalent in England. A great point is gained in our opinion, where the same artist both designs and engraves the embellishments, he knows his own meaning best, and can express and convey his own feeling better than any other person. Mr. Williams is entitled to great credit for the manner in which he has executed his task, and the interest of the work is much enhanced by his assistance. Some of the landscapes are very picturesque and effective; and the figure of the young Shakespeare is a highly successful attempt; whether it is equal in execution to the drawing or not. Mr. Howitt thinks it is not. It is free from the fault of many of our English figure subjects, where mere effect is more attended to than drawing and character, and the work suffers in proportion. They do these things better in France, where the drawing is considered as a matter of the first importance. In landscape the case is different, effect is there the principal consideration; and the artist in these subjects has been happy and successful. The character of wood-engraving too, is quite in keeping with the kind of work with which Mr. Howitt has presented us. We must not omit to notice the vignette of Wolsey blessing the children, which it seems was designed by Mr. Howitt's daughter, and is highly creditable to her taste and talents.

Mr. Howitt is no doubt a practical writer, but his style is unequal. Some parts of the work are evidently written con amore, and with considerable effect; in others the style is defective and the language even incorrect. This should not be; the finer parts, perhaps, are shown to more advantage by the contrast; but an author who can write so well at some times, should never write so ill at any. The book, however, is a good book, and will do good; and in that hope we wish it success.

Art. VII. 1. *Debate on the Evidences of Christianity; containing an Examination of the Social System, and of all Systems of Scepticism of Ancient and Modern Times, held in the City of Cincinnati for Eight Days successively, between Robert Owen of New Lanark, Scotland, and Alexander Campbell of Bethany, Virginia. With an Appendix by the Parties. Complete in one volume.* London: Groombridge, 1839.

2. *Discourses, on various subjects, designed to illustrate the Excellency of Christianity; as compared with the pretensions of Infidelity, and especially of Socialism.* By Alexander Ewing, M.A. 8vo. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

3. *Socialism, in its Moral Tendencies Compared with Christianity. The second of three Lectures on Socialism (as propounded by Robert Owen and others), delivered in the Baptist Chapel, South Parade, Leeds, Sep.* 30, 1838. By J. Eustace Giles. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

THE day in which we live, but for the enterprises of Christian philanthropy which distinguish it, might with strong emphasis be denominated the golden age of quackery. The honorable occupation, in which strolling players, conjurors, dancing-dogs, and mock-auctioneers formerly enjoyed a snug monopoly, is now invâded by mountebanks of a different order; who, crowding in Egyptian swarms into every walk of life, seem resolved on showing that charlatanism and folly are the order of the day; and on taxing, to the utmost point of endurance, the patience or credulity of an oppressed and insulted nation. Certainly, it sets the question of ghosts and apparitions for ever at rest; that the mighty dead of this country can be quiet in their graves, while the stations which they once held in public observation are filled by men, who, heedless of honest fame, are striving to outdo each other in the acquisition of a most unenviable notoriety. Never has there been a period throughout the history of the nation, in which its interests have required more profound attention from the legislature than during the last five years; and session after session have we waited for the successive meetings of Parliament, in the hope that something would be done to remove the burdens, by which our liberties and commerce are oppressed. But no sooner has an unmeaning speech from the throne been read, than both houses, all alive, with a few honorable exceptions, for pelf and patronage, have begun to squander away the public time, in contentious spoutings about their party interests; and never has the opposition of the one side been so strong, or the support of the other so feeble, as when some really honest measure has been introduced,—as for instance that of Mr. Thomas Duncombe on Church-Rates,—to ensure the rights and comfort of the people. Nor from these

disgraceful bickerings, as farcical without being so innocent as those of the redoubtable Punch and his wife Judy, do the two leading parties in the senate ever cease, excepting when, like Herod and Pontius Pilate, they shake hands over the mockery or crucifixion of religious liberty.

While the great vulgar are thus "taking infinite pains to render themselves infinitely ridiculous" in the senate, similar diversion, out of doors, is provided for the people, by a more plebeian tribe of charlatans, in the shape of itinerant philosophers or lecturers on protestant reformation, phrenology, education, and social improvement; who, though they play such 'fantastic tricks before high 'heaven, as make the angels weep,' find pence and followers amongst the deluded people.

Were we to lay before the reader a list of public names, that might be fairly included under these animadversions, he might mistake it, from its length, for a catalogue of Hindoo gods, or one of the endless genealogies, of a Jewish rabbi. Two, however, as acting conspicuous parts in the great farce of human folly, as seated at opposite ends of the blessed see-saw in which society is now moving, and as more immediately connected with the subject of this article, may be deemed not unworthy of notice. We refer, as our readers probably anticipate, to the Right Rev. Father in God, as he styles himself, Henry Lord Bishop of Exeter, and Robert Owen, Esq., 'founder of the Rational System of Society,'

> Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina Mævi,
> Atque idem jungat vulpes et mulgeat hircos,

which, in modern English, runs thus, 'Who loathes not 'Owen's stupidity may admire Exeter's intolerance, and let him 'who can endure either, go and yoke foxes, and milk the he-goats.'

In many respects, these worthies, as public men, for it is in this character alone that we refer to them, differ from each other as much as a demagogue usually differs from a bishop. Trained up in the most Gothic and intolerant of our universities, Dr. Phillpotts is profoundly learned in things of which he had better have remained for ever ignorant; while Mr. Owen, partly through the want of early education, and partly through his own neglect, appears utterly ignorant of the things which it is of infinite importance to know. The one, with the wisdom for which prelates in all ages and countries have been celebrated, has chosen a sure path to rank and emolument; the other, amusing himself, like many an infidel speculator before him, with sensual and golden dreams, has found a path, equally sure, to poverty and degradation. In all the efforts of the atheist, we see the demagogue and the libertine; in those of the high-priest, the formalist, and inquisitor. Grant the wishes of the one, and you subvert the

laws; grant those of the other, and you put an end to liberty. Owen is an enemy to the government: Phillpotts to the people.

Along with this difference, however, there are not wanting considerable points of resemblance between them; and their efforts, whatever diversity there may be in their motives, of which we do not pretend to judge, tend to the same object, viz., the subversion of genuine Christianity. Equally fanatical, bigoted, self-important, and eager for power, both concur in offering to the people a humanly-devised substitute for the word of God; the one, in a semi-papistical rubric; and the other, in the laws and dogmas of an atheistical creed. Both, too, are agreed in calling upon governments* to promote their objects, and are equally the advocates of persecuting principles; the bishop insisting, that the instruction of the population, both juvenile and adult, should be under the exclusive direction of the priests; the demagogue, that none should be entrusted with the work, who retain a particle of reverence for the worship of God. Whether mankind would suffer most from the priestly intolerance of Exeter, or the atheistical intolerance of Owen, is a problem of no easy solution. But unless the civil power should once more, at the prayer of the bishops, become the hangman, as it is at present the turnkey and extortioner-general of the Church, it is impossible to conceive of two antagonists, better suited to carry on an interminable war; since each may find in the other the most plausible pretext which the nature of things will allow for his own errors: nothing, on the one hand, affording to priestcraft so specious an argument against liberty, as atheistical licentiousness; or lending, on the other, so powerful a plea to infidels, as episcopal pride and rapacity.

The writer of an Article on Socialism, in the last number of the Quarterly Review, who is not ashamed of prostituting his fine powers to the service of tyranny and superstition, assures his readers that Socialism is only one of the forms of 'Dissent;' most dishonorably taking advantage of the two-fold meaning of the word 'dissent,' to persuade them that there is a close affinity, or indeed, an essential identity between the opinions of Robert Owen and those of Protestant Dissenters; so that the one naturally if not necessarily arise out of the other. That the first and most determined opponents of Owen have been nonconformists he does not attempt to deny; but, as *nothing good can come out of Nazareth*, he maintains, in defiance of the most undeniable facts to the contrary, that they have only increased the mischief which they attempted to destroy. And, either ignorant or, what

* "This system can be best commenced by convincing governments of the truth of the principles on which it is founded." *Outline of Rational System*, p. 15.

is more probable in the case of so able a writer, *pretending* to be ignorant that the only formidable arguments employed by the Socialists are those afforded by the abuse of Christianity by ecclesiastical establishments, maintains that the one effectual cure for the evil is to relieve the *extreme poverty* of the Church, and to set up a far more costly and extensive apparatus of Puseyism and persecution under the command of the Bishop of Exeter and Dr. Hook.

Essential, however, as some men seem to regard a gorgeous anti-christian hierarchy to the preservation of religion, they may rest assured, that England will never want for infidels till she parts with her priests. While her clergy retain titles which it is blasphemy to utter, she can never want for blasphemers: nor for successful scoffers at religion, as long as wigs, aprons, and lawn, croziers, mitres, and the mace, splendid equipage and princely revenues extorted from the poor, are deemed essential to the profession of self-denial and humility; or as long as the apostolical succession of the Bonners or Bancrofts shall last, to call the unwilling sword of the magistrate from its scabbard, for the propagation of meekness and love.

Whatever may have been the evils inflicted on Christianity by infidels, they are light when compared with those that have arisen from priestcraft. The one has slain its thousands, the other its tens of thousands. And if barbaric splendour, Babylonish garments, and despotic power, are essential to the comfort of the successor of the apostles at Exeter, we entreat him, in mercy to Christianity, to enjoy them in profound silence, and to abandon to those who imitate more closely the lowliness and self-denial of their Lord, the defence of his religion: lest the infidels should profanely ask, 'Doth Job serve God for nought?' The high standing of Dr. Phillpotts in the Church of England, is no doubt regarded by her devout children as an undeniable demonstration of his disinterestedness: yet, with every atom of reverence due to his spiritual rank and titles, we assure him, that there are not wanting persons to surmise, that tender concern for a princely income, a love of priestly power, and a desire to damage a hostile government in public opinion, have contributed quite as largely as zeal for the glory of God, to his recent efforts. How it was that he never discovered the horrors of Socialism until the introduction of Owen at court by the prime minister; or that he continued his attacks upon the administration after Lord Melbourne had made atonement for the indiscretion by his frankness in acknowledging it, the Right Rev. Prelate has yet to explain. Nor, until that explanation be given, shall we be able to regard his priestly fulminations in any other light than as the unsanctified explosions of party rage, or the idle bustle of 'much ado about nothing.' By the release of John Thorogood from prison, the successors of the apostles might wrest from infi-

delity a weapon, to which the punishment of Robert Owen could only impart a keener edge and a more deadly point.

If, however, bishops and the sword could, with safety to our liberties, and consistently with our religion, be let loose against any opinions, it is but due to the warlike churchman to say, that they ought to be employed against those of Owen; which may be summed up in the three words, blasphemy, anarchy, and lewdness; or, yet more briefly, as we would charitably hope, in the single term—insanity. With madmen, nothing is more common than to imagine themselves born to be reformers; and the opinion they entertain of their elevation above the highest of the human race, is generally in exact proportion to the melancholy want of understanding which places them beneath the lowest. Such was the case with the late unfortunate 'Sir W. Courtenay,' to whom we are indebted for a new set of 'Canterbury Tales;' and such appears to be the case with Mr. Owen, the Johanna Southcote of infidelity. Destitute of rank, genius, or learning, or even the lowest amount of common sense; in an evil hour, this unlucky visionary dreamed th he was a philosopher, who, under a peculiar inspiration, had made a discovery, which would entitle him to everlasting admiration, as the wisest of men, and the renovator of the world. Nor is the account which he gives of the origin of this bright discovery unworthy of the discovery itself. When asked, if he could state how it was, since there were no rational beings in the world and men were the creatures of circumstances, he himself had become rational,

Mr. Owen replied, "With the greatest ease in the world. Those who had been in Wales knew what *flummery* was. From its appearance, a person was very likely to be deceived; and, on one occasion, in his anxiety to be at school, and imagining that the flummery was sufficiently cool, he began to eat it, when it scalded his stomach! For some time his parents thought he would die; and, the consequence was, he was taken from school society. He had a great liking for reading; and this was the cause of his reading and reflecting, and thus differing in his thinking from the rest of his fellow-beings!! He dared to say that nobody else ever experienced this.' *Halifax Express, Patriot.*

Under the inspiring fumes of '*flummery*,' and the quickening pangs of a scalded stomach, who can wonder at Mr. Owen's fruitfulness in "thoughts that burn?" Yet the means of accomplishing his modest undertaking, to renovate the world, do not appear to have been so clearly revealed as to enable him, at once, to realize his lofty destiny. His experiments at New Lanark, Rahaline, and New Harmony, to say nothing of one or two abortions, of which we have heard, in the neighbourhood of London, have ended in discord, ruin, or disappointment to his followers, and an acknowledged loss to himself of a *hundred thousand pounds.* And,

as Mr. Owen is now approaching his seventieth year, it is time that he should open his eyes to the conclusion, that happiness, in the present life, is not the necessary consequence of scoffing at eternity. But it is not in madness to learn from experience. Like the vanquished sailor, in one of Goldsmith's tales, who boasted that his party would have beaten the French, had not all their men been killed, just as they were getting the victory; Mr. Owen comforts himself with the assurance, that his system must have worked well, but for the irrationality of his followers; which is the same as saying that it must have succeeded had it not failed; the work which he professedly undertook, and declared to be most easy of accomplishment, being that precisely which he failed to accomplish; viz. the making of men 'rational.' How happy are they who draw their comforts from imagination! How impossible that so ready and pertinacious a dreamer as Mr. Owen should want for consolation! What to him is the paltry loss of a hundred thousand pounds? If his guineas are gone, he has still left him the "laws and facts of the Rational 'System;' still, like Alexander, rich in hope, he has golden mines in futurity; and nothing is wanting, but that his followers should raise him a sufficient capital to work them, in order that he may yet convert a 'Pandemonium into a Paradise' before he dies.

Indeed, his past failures, when traced to their real cause, only serve, he assures us, to demonstrate the infallibility of his system; since they all arose from the imperfect extent to which it was tried. Among the mobs whom, under the name of communities, Mr. Owen drew around him at New Harmony, there were some who unhappily carried into the experiment "insane" prejudices in favor of marriage and religion. This was the fly in our philosopher's ointment which converted its fragrance into stench; they were not sufficiently lewd and atheistical to be happy. In future, therefore, Mr. Owen has resolved to banish from his communities, not only private property, but marriage and religion; since "these three together form the great trinity of causes of all crime and immorality." (*Mar. Syst. New Mor. World*, p. 54.) Much of the unhappiness of life arises from fraud, rapine, litigation, rapacious wars, and the various ways in which men are attempting to grasp each other's possessions. Hence Mr. Owen maintains the importance of putting an end to private property, because, where there is *no* private property, there can be no fraud or violence employed to obtain it. In the same way, as an antidote to the evils of mercenary and unhappy marriages, to adultery and the pitiable sufferings of those who are kept from adultery by legal restraints, he has resolved on the extinction of marriage; and, with the no less laudable purpose of destroying the evils of religious controversy, bigotry, persecution, remorse, and apprehen-

sions of future misery, on that of religion also; very justly concluding, that, should he succeed in the annihilation of these three things, which he denominates Satanic devices, raving insanities, accursed things, and unnatural crimes; all the evils *they produce* will perish with them.

In this reasoning, it may perhaps be said in reply, by some of our readers, that there is a trifling oversight of the distinction, usually drawn, between the *use* and *abuse*, or the *cause* and the *occasion*, of a thing; that the evils which Mr. Owen attributes to marriage, private property, and religion, have been generally thought to have a closer connection with lewdness, cupidity, and irreligion, and that his reasoning still leaves it uncertain, whether greater evils might not arise from the *want* of the things condemned than from the things themselves. But, as it is certain that the man who kills his horse can never be thrown from it, that the man who gets his head chopt off can never suffer from the head-ache, or that he who ladles the ocean dry will never be drowned; so we are sure that, if Mr. Owen should but succeed, mankind, whatever else they may endure, or however in the New Moral World they may quarrel about their employments, paramours, &c., will suffer nothing from marriage, private property, or religion. Our wonder, therefore, is, not that Mr. Owen has made this discovery, but that it should have been necessary for such a philosopher as he to swallow scalding "flummery," to make it; or, having made it, that he does not carry it out to its legitimate length, by resolving to put all mankind to death; since it is certain that where there is no human existence there can be no human misery; to say nothing of the greater ease with which, by such means, he would get rid of private property, marriage, and religion.

This expedient, however, though one of the most obvious suggestions of Mr. Owen's arguments, he appears wholly to have rejected or overlooked; and, without putting an end to human life, he has formed a scheme for accomplishing his object; which, though in our opinion, less efficient, possesses the merit of great originality. To get rid of those prejudices in favour of religion and virtue by which such shallow minds as Bacon and Locke, Barrow and Newton, have been deceived, infidels have hitherto thought it necessary, if not seriously to attack, at least to sneer at the evidences of Christianity. To this purpose the learning of Gibbon, the subtilty of Hume, the wit and malignity of Voltaire, were directed. But Mr. Owen, with a wisdom and good fortune peculiarly his own, has discovered a plan by which the necessity of examining either the evidences of Christianity or Christianity itself may be spared; which is nothing less than proclaiming to the world, "five fundamental facts and twenty facts and laws of human nature on which the Rational System is founded:" which he de-

nominates "divine, immutable, and eternal laws," and uses, as his armor offensive and defensive, whatever may be the subject or the occasion of the controversy in which he is engaged. His adversary may prove, to demonstration, the accomplishment of prophecy and the truth of miracles; he may expatiate, with equal force, on the purity, sublimity, simplicity, fidelity, and wisdom, of the word of God; he may show how the advancing lights of science have scattered the objections of its enemies; or dwell on its heavenly triumphs, whenever cordially received, over human depravity and woe; but he might as well belabor a rhinoceros, or any other "thick-skinned monster of the ooze and mire," with his syllogisms, as Mr. Robert Owen; who, having never troubled his head with the examination of history, or argument upon the subject, is far too wise to open his lips upon such questions; especially as he finds, in the following "facts and laws," a power, not only sufficient to subvert Christianity, to annihilate the old and to establish the New Moral World upon its ruins; but "to accomplish results far more extraordinary than any miracles which the wild fancy of superstition has yet imagined." The following is his own statement of these "facts and laws."

THE FIVE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS.

'1. Man is a *compound* being, whose character is formed of his constitution or organization at birth, and of the effects of external circumstances acting upon that organization, which effects continue to operate upon, and to influence him from birth to death.

'2. Man is compelled, by his original constitution, to receive his *feelings* and his *convictions*, independently of his *will*.

'3. His *feelings* or *convictions*, or both of them united, create the motive to action called the *will*, which stimulates him to act, and decides his actions.

'4. The organization of no two human beings is ever precisely similar at birth; nor can art subsequently form any two individuals, from infancy to maturity, to be the same.

'5. Nevertheless, the constitution of every infant, except in case of organic disease, is capable of being formed or matured either into a *very inferior* or a *very superior* being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence that constitution from birth.

'TWENTY FACTS AND LAWS OF HUMAN NATURE ON WHICH THE RATIONAL SYSTEM IS FOUNDED.

'1. Human nature in the aggregate is a compound, consisting of animal propensities, intellectual faculties, and moral qualities.

'2. These propensities, faculties, and qualities, are united in different proportions in each individual.

'3. The different proportions of the same general propensities, &c. constitute the sole difference by which one individual is distinguished from another.

'4. This difference in each is made by a power unknown to the individual, without his knowledge or consent.

'5. Each individual comes into existence within certain external circumstances, which, acting upon his peculiar organization during the early period of life, impress their general character upon him; and thus the local and national character is formed unknown to the individual.

'6. The influence of external circumstances is modified in a particular manner by the particular organization of each individual; and the distinguishing character of each individual is thus formed, continued, and maintained through life.

'7. No infant has the power of deciding at what period of time, or in what part of the world, he shall come into existence; of what parents he shall be born, what particular religion he shall be trained to believe, or by what other external circumstances he shall be surrounded from birth to death.

'8. Each individual is so organized that, when young, he may be made to receive either true ideas derived from a knowledge of facts, or false notions, derived from the imagination, and in opposition to facts.

'9. Each individual is so organized that he must necessarily become irrational, when he is made from infancy to receive, as truths, false notions; and can only become rational, when he shall be made from infancy to receive true ideas, without any admixture of error.

'10. Each individual is so organized that, when young, he may be trained to acquire injurious habits only, or beneficial habits only, or a mixture of both.

'11. Each individual is so organized that he must believe according to the strongest conviction that is made upon the mind; which conviction cannot be given to him by his will, nor be withheld by it.

'12. Each individual is so organized, that he must like that which is pleasant to him, or which, in other words, produces agreeable sensations in him; and dislike that which is unpleasant to him, or produces in him disagreeable sensations; and he cannot know, previous to experience, what particular sensations new objects will produce on any of his senses.

'13. Each individual is so organized, that his feelings and convictions are formed *for* him by the impressions which circumstances produce upon his individual organization.

'14. Each individual is so organized that his will is formed for him by his feelings or convictions, or both; and *thus* his *whole character, physical, mental, and moral, is formed independently of himself.*

'15. Each individual is so organized, that impressions which, at their commencement and for a limited time, produce agreeable sensations, will, if continued, without intermission, beyond a certain period, become indifferent, disagreeable, and ultimately painful.

'16. Each individual is so organized, that when, beyond a certain degree of rapidity, impressions succeed each other, they dissipate, weaken, and otherwise injure his physical, mental, or moral powers, and diminish his enjoyment.

'17. Each individual is so organized, that his highest health, his

greatest progressive improvement, and his permanent happiness, depend upon the due cultivation of all his physical, intellectual, and moral faculties, or elements of his nature; upon their being called into action at a proper period of life; and being afterwards temperately exercised according to strength or capacity.

'18. Each individual is so organized, that he is made to receive what is commonly called a bad character, when he has been created with what is now termed an unfavourable proportion of the elements of his nature, and has been placed from birth amidst the most unfavourable circumstances.

'19. Each individual is so organized, that he is made to receive a medium character, when he has been created with what is now termed a favourable proportion of the elements of his nature, and has been placed from birth amidst unfavourable circumstances. Or when he has been created with what is now called an unfavourable proportion of these elements, and when the external circumstances in which he is placed, are of a character to impress him with favourable impressions only. Or when he has been created with what is now called a favourable proportion of some of these elements, and an unfavourable proportion of others, and has been placed, through life, in varied external circumstances, producing some good and some evil sensations. This compound has hitherto been the general lot of mankind.

'20. Each individual is so organized, that he is made to receive a superior character, when his original constitution contains the best proportion of the elements of human nature, and when the circumstances which surround him from birth, and through life, are of a character to produce superior sensations only; or, in other words, when the laws, institutions, and customs under which he lives, are all in unison with the laws of his nature.' *Book of New Moral World*, pp. 1—4.

Such, then, are these 'Five fundamental Facts, and Twenty other Facts and Laws of Human Nature,' which, 'after crossing so many lines of latitude and longitude,' after visiting the principal capitals of the old and new worlds, after expending a 'hundred thousand pounds,' together with hard study and many experiments for more than fifty years, Mr. Owen has succeeded in bringing together into a system; which, infinitely more potent than Fortunatus's cap, or Aladdin's lamp, is to produce results that shall surpass 'any miracle which the wild fancy of superstition has yet imagined.' How many of these facts are *alike*, how many *contradictory*, how many *absurd*, how many *unintelligible*, how many *false*, or how many, though true, *impertinent* to Mr. Owen's object, we shall not stop to inquire. Our readers, no doubt, will assign them their proper place among 'articles rare and curious,' and regard many of them as well worthy of their author and their alleged origin. But, be this as it may, they serve Mr. Owen just as well as any thing else, for premises to the following, amongst other infallible conclusions;

as Macbeth's witches manage, from a rather unpromising hodge-podge, to draw forth oracles and predictions.

'Man is the creature of circumstances.

'The whole man, physical, mental, and moral, is formed independently of any original will and choice of the individual; and is consequently irresponsible for what he is formed to be and made to do;' 'he is, therefore, irresponsible for the character formed for him whatever it may be.

'Courts of justice have no other real object, than that the few may rule over and plunder the many, that error and injustice may be perpetuated, under the plausible terms of law and religion.

'There is no fixed standard in any part of the world, of a good or bad man.' Those who are called bad are not really such, but only persons that 'have been ill-treated by nature and society;' and to punish them is to inflict 'injustice' on persons already 'injured.'

'The offices of emperors, kings, princes, legislators, professors of divinity, law, medicine, arms, 'manufacturers,' 'merchants,' and 'tradesmen,' together with all the 'laws and rights of private property,' should be abolished.

'Celibacy, after the age plainly indicated by nature, is a great crime,' and men, like other animals, should in this matter be left to nature; there being no more occasion for laws to guide them in this respect 'than for the regulation of food and sleep.' Marriage is an 'accursed thing,' the 'source of endless and multiplied miseries and crimes.' It is an 'impure and false shame' that leads men or women to esteem any 'one portion of the human frame more secret or sacred than another;' and single families are 'dens of selfishness, discord, and deceit.'

'Man is irresponsible for his belief, and 'his feelings and convictions within him are to him the truth while they continue.'

'Though there is a 'First cause,' there is 'no Personal Deity,' 'no Devil,' no 'future state,' no 'Heaven, no Hell;' and 'all religions founded under the name of Jewish, Budha, Jehovah, God, or Christ Mahomet, or any other, amount to three absurdities, three gross impositions upon mankind.'

'The sooner the order of the priesthood shall be made to cease over the world the sooner will the human race become prosperous and rational, or moral and happy.'

'All public worship is 'irrational,' and it is 'impossible to train men to become rational in their feelings, thoughts, and actions, until all such forms shall cease.'

'The earth should be divided into 'parallelograms;' and men and women should live, not in single families, but in communities of about two thousand each.

'The internal affairs of these communities should be managed by all the men, between the ages of thirty and forty, and their foreign affairs by all those from forty to sixty years of age.

'All the children, though allowed to be visited by their parents, shall from the birth be under the special care of the community, and

trained together as one family,' and taught nothing but 'the laws of nature.'

'And, finally, this system will greatly 'improve the human organization,' and prove a complete antidote to ill health and sickness; in short, that men will very soon find themselves in the midst of a paradise; where, by means of a little gentle exercise of 'two hours a day,' under the name of work, they will procure 'superior habitations, surrounded by gardens, pleasure-grounds, and scenery far better designed and executed than any yet possessed by the most powerful, wealthy, and extended empires.'—Vide Book of New Moral World; Marriage System of New Moral World; Outline of Rational System, &c.

For that shameless disclosure of the lewdness of his system, of which only a bare hint is given in the foregoing remarks and citations, but with which Mr. Owen has entirely filled one of the pamphlets referred to, it appears that many of his followers were not prepared. With quite enough light to become atheists, he has found them unprepared for that perfection of virtue which requires them to become brutes. Even the New Moral World, Mr. Owen's own periodical, allows that the most rational man on earth 'has used 'strong language;' and Mr. Owen himself has, lately, felt it necessary to stultify all that he had previously uttered on the subject, by the following announcement in what is called a 'manifesto,' forsooth! Robert Owen's manifesto! What next!

'Since the publication of my views upon the old system of marriage by the priesthood, the *form of marriage*, by the New Marriage Act, has been made exactly to meet my ideas and wishes, and all that I now desire is, to see another law enacted, by which *divorce*, under wise arrangements, and on principles of common sense, may be obtained equally for rich and poor..... And this change in the law of *divorce* is all that is now required to enable me legally and immediately to introduce to the world the most splendid practical arrangements, for the emancipation of man from ignorance, poverty, division, and crime, that has ever yet been conceived even in the most fervid imaginations of poets, philosophers, and reformers, of past ages or the present.'

What is meant by the 'wise arrangements' and 'common 'sense principles,' which are to regulate divorce, the reader will learn from the following exposition given by Mr. Owen at a public meeting.

'If two young persons intimate an affection for each other, they are first required to continue single for three months; when, should their purpose remain unchanged, they are united together for a twelvemonth. If, however, at the end of that time, they express a wish to be sepa-

rated and united to others, their desire is granted: provided after the trial of each other for six months longer, they both continue to demand a separation. But should only one of the parties desire it, the trial of another half year is required before the divorce is granted.'—Giles's Second Lecture, second edit. Appendix.

From the above quotation, the reader will perceive that Mr. Owen's marriages are criminal engagements for eighteen months, twenty or thirty of which a person may contract during his life; and during the continuance of which the contracting parties, being taught by 'divine and immutable laws,' that they are 'irresponsible for any thing they may feel or do,' and that they 'must like what is pleasant or produces agreeable sensations,' cannot have the slightest security, or, indeed, wish for the fidelity of each other! In the meantime, to bring about these happy doings, conventicles, called 'Halls of Science,' have been erected; nearly a hundred emissaries, under the name of lecturers and missionaries, have been employed; several hundred thousand tracts and pamphlets have been circulated; a periodical has been established; societies have been formed of subscribers of one shilling per week; a community has been commenced, into which, for the relief of their poverty, men are to pay £50 each, women £40, and children £20 for admittance; and, very, very soon, mankind, released from drudgery, are to be 'turned out to grass' in Elysian fields, over which they will wander till death, as happy as brutes can be. Quod erat demonstrandum.

Should a certain nut-cracking animal appear before you dressed up in the robes of Socrates, and, with a solemn face, begin to play the philosopher, *risum teneatis amici?* So none, whose acquaintance with Mr. Owen's appearance enables them to associate with the unredeemed nonsense of his writings, or the unmeaning drivel of his lips, his airs of philosophical solemnity and boundless self-importance, will ever find it possible to retain their gravity, when they think of him, unless, from their nature, all sense of the ridiculous be eradicated.

When we reflect upon the prodigious amount of wickedness involved in that compound of blasphemy, obscenity, and madness which this unhappy man has mixed together; upon the extreme debasement, both intellectual and moral, which enables thousands to be deceived by it; and the mischief both temporal and eternal that must be the consequence, we feel that in our laughter there is sorrow; that it is a laughter which, like that occasioned by the antics of a maniac, arises from the contemplation of a calamity too deep for tears. In wives ill-treated or deserted by husbands whom this system has taught to regard themselves as irresponsible beings, and to look upon marriage as an insufferable restraint; in wretched young women, seduced, under the name of matrimony,

into temporary engagements, and then abandoned to destitution and shame; in ignorant boys and girls, repairing through mere levity or curiosity to the Socialist dance or lecture, but returning full of blasphemy, lewdness, and self-conceit, to burn their Bibles, insult their superiors, and grow hardened in sin; in numbers of once peaceable men, rendered dissatisfied with their employments, with their wages, with society, with government, and, consequently, ready to join in any outbreak against the public peace; in crowds of pert, pragmatical, and beardless philosophers, who ought to be whipt back by their parents to the anvil or the loom; in numbers already gone to their final account, of whom, some, heartened up by the fiendish counsels of their comrades, to die like men, have died as the fool dieth; while others have laid violent hands upon themselves, or perished amidst indescribable horrors of despair:—in these and other frightful appearances of society, such as a perceptible increase of demoralization in neighbourhoods affected with the pestilence—we see results of the system, which dreadful in themselves, are still more appalling as indications of that larger harvest of crime and wretchedness which is yet to come.

That the success of the Socialists has been half so great as they are in the habit of pretending, or as the fears of the Bishop of Exeter and his friends have led them to suppose, we do not hesitate to deny. For, though in Birmingham and Manchester they muster in considerable strength, in other places it is otherwise; as for example at Leeds, where their attendance, though often the subject of boasting in the New Moral World, is, we are given to understand, but small: the room in which they meet, incapable of seating more than seven hundred persons, being filled only on very particular occasions, and then almost as much by the enemies as by the votaries of the system. Yet, throughout the country, we have no doubt that several thousands, or even myriads, may be numbered by Mr. Owen, amongst his followers; and the success of his system, if it falls very far short of what he is accustomed to boast or to dream of, surpasses, in almost an equal degree, what any person would have been led previously to conjecture from a knowledge of its outrageous stupidity.

This has arisen from a variety of causes; amongst which we may enumerate the extreme ignorance of the working people, of whom large masses are unable to read or write; the serious neglect of Christian ministers, parents, and teachers, to instruct the young in the *evidences of Christianity*; the frightful state of commerce, which, throwing great numbers out of employment and reducing others almost to starvation, has led them to snatch with desperate eagerness at any thing that has promised to improve or even change their condition;—to all which we must add, the robberies, cruelties, and oppressions of the State Church, under

the name of Christianity; the indulgence with which Socialism flatters the senses, its unbounded professions of philanthropy; and last, though not least, the number, activity, impudence, cunning, and perseverance of the lecturers, who, in their irresponsibility, have great advantages over their opponents, since there is no falsehood, however barefaced, no artifice, however mean, and no weapons, however dirty, which they scruple to employ for the advancement of their object. Though, from what we have seen of those greatest in repute amongst them, we should look upon none of them as men of learning or even of moderate education; several of them are fluent and, for men of their class, eloquent speakers. Any thing deserving the name of a thinker or reasoner we have not yet met with; yet, from their constant habits of public discussion, they are able to speak long before they have begun and after they have ceased to think; have become well versed in the slang and technicalities of debate, and, by a plentiful use of the words 'reason,' 'philosophy,' 'education,' 'wherefore,' 'therefore,' 'consequently,' 'because,' 'facts,' 'demonstration,' 'induction of particulars,' &c., contrive to throw over the shallowest sophisms and most impudent assumptions, an argumentative appearance. To all these accomplishments, add a pretty good stock of bastard materialism under the name of phrenology, a plentiful assortment of second-hand blasphemies and sneers from Paine, Gibbon, Shaftesbury, and Voltaire, together with a few tales of horror from the Star-chamber and the Inquisition, and you have before you a lecturer who has often compelled a Socialist audience to regard him as the very incarnation of wisdom; when

> 'Still they gazed, and still the wonder grew,
> That one small head could carry all he knew.'

If unopposed, such prodigious attainments enable him easily to persuade his audience that his argumentative prowess has struck a terror into his enemies, who are silent with fear and trembling; and if not only opposed but utterly defeated, they prove of almost equal importance by enabling him to cover his disgrace by prolonging the appearance of resistance.

> 'For, e'en though vanquished, he can argue still.'

Occasionally upon being called upon for proof of his assertions respecting some point of history or matter of fact, where nothing is to be said but yes or no, he may be brought to a stand, from which he finds it impossible by any manœuvre of words to escape. From this, however, he fears nothing beyond the momentary inconvenience which it occasions, as he invariably has around him

a gang of low short-hand writers, printers, and booksellers, who in the reports they issue, are sure to give him the victory over his shuffling, dishonest, panic-struck opponent, who 'pale and 'trembling like an aspen leaf,' wished himself anywhere in order to escape from the conflict. However awkward and mortifying his position, he consoles himself with the certainty of being crowned with unfading laurels by the editor of the New Moral World.

In what manner a system, which it is contamination to touch, and which is propagated with so much unprincipled and organized cunning, may be best counterworked, it is difficult to say. If, on the one hand, religion sometimes suffers injury from the boasting of the Socialists that ministers of the gospel are afraid to meet them; the practice of public discussion is likely, on the other, to bring many young unfortified minds in contact with its pollutions; while it produces an unhallowed fondness for verbal contention that is by no means friendly to the love of seriousness and truth. The introduction of sacred topics to an audience, assembled principally for merriment and joke, and with whom, therefore, a sneer or a pun goes further than the profoundest reasoning, is often like 'casting pearls before swine,' and confirms them in the habit of trifling with sacred things; while the temporary equality in which it places the champion of Socialism with the advocate of truth, confers honor upon a set of men who are worthy of nothing better than silent contempt.

But whatever it may be wisest to adopt with regard to discussions at public meetings, that it is our duty thoroughly to instruct the young in the evidences of Christianity and to attack the hostile system through the medium of the press, cannot for a moment be questioned. Amongst other efficient publications, we have therefore hailed with much satisfaction those which stand at the head of this article.

The first of these contains what is styled a Debate, between Robert Owen and Alexander Campbell, at Cincinnati, America, but presents to the reader scarcely any sign of debate till he has waded more than half way through the volume. No sooner do the combatants approach each other, than, to the surprize of the reader, who expects to see them rush boldly into the battle, they turn round back to back, and march off in opposite directions, as if most discretely and obstinately resolved to escape from danger. This, however, it is but justice to Mr. Campbell to say, was in the first instance entirely the fault of Mr. Owen; who, profoundly ignorant then, as he has continued ever since, upon the evidences of Christianity (the announced subject of discussion), continued in a dogged determination to have nothing to do with any thing but his 'Facts and Laws of 'Human Nature,' which he stated and expounded eleven times over. Mr. Campbell, on the other hand, having by several months' previous-

study prepared himself for debate on the subject agreed upon, resolved not to quit, for the purpose of following Mr. Owen, the vantage ground on which he found himself standing, and which certainly he had a right to keep. But this determination, however fair, we cannot but regret, as it has given to the speeches on both sides the character of premeditated compositions; and, without securing for the volume before us, the compactness of a treatise, has robbed it of the life and spirit of a debate. That Mr. Campbell should have had the bad taste to introduce into a discussion with an infidel, his peculiar, and as it appears to us most unscriptural views of faith; that on so many occasions he should have also resolved on showing how much he could say rather than simply what ought to be said; and that, in his title-page, he should have represented his volume as containing 'an examination of *all* the systems of Scepticism of *ancient* '*and modern times*,' we yet more deeply regret as likely to diminish very considerably the reputation he might have secured by his efforts. A volume, too, containing five hundred and forty-five pages of dense letter-press on a great variety of topics, is never likely to find extensive circulation without an index or table of contents.

But, notwithstanding these blemishes, Mr. Campbell's part of the work before us possesses much merit. If it does not prove him to be a deep thinker, a very close reasoner, or a profound scholar, it shows plainly that he possesses an extensive amount of general information, a lively fancy, an active, acute, and ready mind; together with very considerable powers of eloquence. Mr. Owen's 'facts,' which were only twelve in number at that time, have since increased to twenty-five; yet the reader will find that in Mr. Campbell's volume most of his absurdities are ably refuted.

The second publication, by Mr. Ewing, of Halifax, contains a series of discourses, which contain much valuable information, sound reasoning, and unaffected piety; nor would it be difficult did our space allow, to lay before our readers several passages distinguished by force and beauty. Mr. Ewing will, however, forgive us if we suggest, for the benefit of his next edition, that such words as *afflatus*, *fiat*, *laud*, &c., &c., ought not to disfigure so respectable a work; nor should a writer, so well educated, suffer to escape his notice such an expression as 'this phenomena' or speak of 'whispers *louder* than ten thousand thunders.' Notwithstanding these minor blemishes, we feel under great obligations for the pleasure and instruction which the work has afforded us, and heartily recommend it to the perusal of our readers.

For reasons which will be readily apprehended by many of his readers, the author of the foregoing article refrained from inserting

the title, or from making any allusion to save by a brief extract, the third publication which now stands at the head of this paper. Justice, however, to his respected contributor, as well as to the subject which he is so preeminently qualified to handle, induces the Editor briefly to supply the omission. In a former number of our Journal * we pronounced a well merited eulogy on Mr. Giles's first lecture, and are now gratified with the opportunity of recording our conviction that his present publication is every way worthy of the acuteness, research, and triumphant logic by which its predecessor was distinguished. Whoever wishes to acquaint himself with the character and genuine workings of Socialism, should immediately possess himself of these lectures; and if he does not rise from their perusal with a strong conviction of the impiety and disgusting licentiousness of the system, we shall marvel. Few men would have subjected themselves to the drudgery through which Mr. Giles has passed, and we are solicitous that his pains-taking should be effectual in arresting the progress of this most loathsome form of atheism. We respectfully suggest that his two lectures should be printed in a cheap form, for extensive distribution in those districts where the agents of Socialism are most active.

Art. VIII. *Glimpses of the Old World, or Excursions on the Continent, and in Great Britain.* By the Rev. John A. Clark, Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, United States. Two vols. 8vo. London: Bagster and Co. 1840.

THE national pride of our countrymen is proverbial, and the manner in which it is sometimes exhibited is sufficiently ludicrous and amusing. Of the many thousands who migrate annually from our shores to foreign countries in search of health or amusement, very few do us much credit. The little airs which they are accustomed to give themselves, the deference they claim, the fopperies they practise, the pseudo-aristocracisms which they attempt to play off, have all tended to spread an unfavorable estimate of English character among our continental neighbours. Every intelligent traveller meets with annoyances and little vexations arising from this source, and has frequently to blush for the folly of those whom he is yet compelled to own as his countrymen. Go where he may, enter into whatever foreign circle he

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* New Series, vol. v. p. 480.

please, and he will soon be conscious that others have been there before him, and that the consequence to himself is a diminution of respect, if not a cold repulsiveness which chills his soul. Nor is it difficult to trace this feature of English character to its source. It arises mainly from the defective education, the partial and one-sided knowledge of our countrymen. Versed but very sparingly in the history of their own country, they are for the most part absolutely ignorant of the condition, literature, and resources of other nations. The bustle and excitement of their every day life have precluded their obtaining more than a few scanty glimpses of the world without them, and these have just sufficed to make them recoil in upon themselves with a self-satisfaction and pride which wear an unamiable aspect towards others. Hence the empty vauntings with which English institutions are lauded, the integrity of her people praised, and the achievements of her statesmen, warriors, and sages set forth. There may be something of truth in all this, a substratum of fact on which the frothy declamation rests, but the whole spirit of the boaster is, for the most part, indicative of an utter estrangement from, and a total want of sympathy with, whatever is noble or praiseworthy in the elements of our national history and character.

This spirit of self adulation, accompanied with an unreasonable and absurd detraction of other nations, is not confined to English travellers. It does not spring up in foreign lands only, but exists, and may frequently be detected in a luxuriant state, at home. Let an intelligent man make the experiment in any social party, composed of persons of average rank and information, and he will not be long in eliciting such an expression of opinion as will convince him, that Englishmen at home—though somewhat restrained by the presence of neighbours and friends—are much the same as Englishmen abroad, idolators of self and despisers of all others. For the correction of this evil we look to the spread of knowledge, and a growing intercourse between ourselves and the inhabitants of other countries. It always gives us pleasure to meet with intelligent and observing foreigners, for there is a freshness, and oftentimes an accuracy in the description of our manners furnished by such, to which it is difficult for a native to attain. Their impressions are more vivid, and there is consequently, up to the measure of their knowledge, a reality in their picture which the English artist can very rarely secure. There is more of minute accuracy and labored finish in the sketches of the latter, but those of the former excel for veritable and life-like delineations.

With these feelings we opened the volumes before us, and we confess we have been somewhat disappointed in their contents. We must not, however, be understood to disparage their worth, but simply to state that they are different from what we had anti-

cipated. They are clearly the productions of an intelligent and well informed man, whose mind is deeply imbued with the religious spirit, and warmly and affectionately sympathetic with whatever is Christian and spiritual amongst us. Several personal sketches, more or less interesting, are supplied; and there is an abundance of natural scenery described; but we have searched in vain for those observant analyses of English character and English society which we chiefly prize in the report of a foreign visitor. The author's visit was but brief, and his acquaintance with the state of religion among us was consequently very limited. He wrote on the spur of the moment, and dilates with greatest amplitude on topics with which all are familiar. It is, therefore, in vain to look to his pages for any thing beyond a surface-view of things, and even this is given without those instructive comments, and attempts at philosophical arrangement, in which an intelligent observer may have been expected to indulge. We have no right to complain on this account, but taking the work as it is we proceed to furnish our readers with some specimens of its style and spirit. Judging from the nature of the information they contain, we deem the volumes more fitted for an American than an English reader, yet they will not fail to impart to the latter, both pleasure and instruction.

Mr. Clark is an Episcopal clergyman of Philadelphia, whose visit to the 'Old World' was mainly induced by an impaired state of health; and the work before us consists chiefly of letters addressed, in the course of his route, to his friends at home. Embarking in the latter part of the year 1837, he proceeded by the way of Gibraltar and Malta to Italy, and the whole of the first volume is taken up with an account of his continental journeyings. One feature of his narrative has strongly impressed our minds, and is well worthy of serious attention. Brought frequently into contact with the opposing forms of Protestantism and Popery, he presents us with a comparative view of the workings of the two systems; or rather, of the spirit and measures of their respective abettors, from which a reflecting mind may derive valuable information. The great strength of Protestantism is in the free play, and vigorous exercise of intellect, to which it summons its disciples. Wherever this is permitted it has gained ground upon its opponent, but when the contrary is practised, whether through the medium of prohibitory laws, or of economical regulations which have dulled the energies, and eradicated the aggressive spirit of the system, *there* popery has held its ground or has been quickened, by the mere presence of its rival, into renovated activity. To establish or endow a sect is the most successful method which human ingenuity can devise to render its members indolent, careless, or worldly. In former ages this tendency was concealed by the outward conformity which the favored sect was

enabled to command, by an unsparing infliction of civil penalties. Of this power, however, it is now happily deprived, and the genuine working of the hierarchical system is in consequence visible to all. Our author's account of the state of things at Gibraltar will explain our meaning, and is the more significant from the obvious inclination of his mind, to look with a favorable eye on every thing connected with English Episcopacy.

'Returning from the Jewish synagogue, I passed the Roman Catholic church, which is open here every night. This structure, I am told, was originally erected by the Moors for a mosque, and afterwards converted by the Spaniards into a Christian sanctuary. When Gibraltar fell into the hands of the English, this edifice underwent some changes, but the Catholics were still permitted to retain it. There is placed over it a vicar, and several Spanish and English priests. As I intend to speak very freely and unreservedly of the various forms of religion that I meet in my tour, I take this opportunity to say, that I shall most cheerfully tell you of every thing that strikes me favorably in the Catholic worship, as well as unsparingly descant upon those corruptions that have made popery almost synonymous with paganism.

'The service that I found in progress on the occasion above adverted to, was conducted in the English language. Some parts of it appeared very solemn and touching. It was the office of the Virgin. Many invocations were addressed to her as 'the Mother of God,' and she was constantly appealed to as a mediator. I cannot tell you how these appeals shocked me! And yet again in other parts of the service, there was such a strain of pious sentiment, and so many petitions offered to Christ, and the Father through him, I could not but hope that this service, burdened as it was with error and superstition, went up with acceptance before the divine throne. There was one sight that affected me deeply. Near the altar, and all along down the church, was a body of soldiers, probably two hundred in number, every one of them kneeling upon the stone pavement, with their books in their hands, and repeating, with a full and distinct voice, the responsive parts of the service!

'This was a daily service held every evening; and when I saw the numbers that regularly attended, to join in prayers, not to listen to preaching, I could not but wish that many Protestants in our own land had the same zeal and readiness to go to the house of prayer. After the service was concluded, I observed several groups of soldiers still lingering on their knees, with their prayer-books in their hands, apparently absorbed in devotion. I inquired what this meant, and was told that they usually continued their devotions about an hour after the evening service closed. I could not but lift up my heart to God, that these might be like the devout soldiers that waited upon Cornelius, and 'pray with the Spirit and the understanding also.' A few evenings after, I again dropped in to witness this service, when I saw a soldier standing in the neighbourhood of the altar, near where I was.

A priest directly came around and asked him to kneel. He declined; when the priest led him back from the midst of the worshippers, and said to him, in my hearing, 'It is not to come here, and gaze, and see what others are doing, that will bring down a blessing upon you. You must join in the worship, and bow down before the Lord, if you desire his blessing.' The soldier was evidently intoxicated, and this sensible exhortation made no impression upon his mind; for he immediately left the church.

'There appeared in this church, among the clergy, an evident effort to do good, especially to the soldiers, large numbers of whom constantly attended upon the services of this sanctuary. Sermons were frequently addressed to them, and that in an animated manner, and in language adapted to their comprehension; while in the English Protestant chapel the sermons, evidently written without any reference to the hundreds of soldiers assembled there, were read off in a cold manner, which left the whole body of them uninterested and unimpressed. There are three services each Sunday in the English church, conducted by the civil and military chaplains. The lower part of the church, which is a large and handsome building, modelled after the Alhambra in Grenada, is occupied by the troops. They are situated so far from the pulpit, that they must have difficulty in hearing. I have not heard a single sermon delivered in this place, since I have been at Gibraltar, that has seemed adapted to their case; neither have I seen, during our beautiful service, one of the attending soldiers on his knees. To what advantage do the Catholics appear in this striking contrast! Here they are not the dominant party, but are rather depressed. Truly religion is most likely to become and to be kept pure, when totally disconnected with temporal power and worldly influence.'

—Vol. i. pp. 42– 44.

Mr. Clark arrived at Rome on the eve of the Carnival, and his letters from the imperial city afford a lively sketch of the unnatural conjunction formed at that period between the idle pastimes and reckless frivolity of the people, and the religious forms of the dominant church. The zest with which the citizens of Rome pursue the fooleries of this season cannot be appreciated by our more sober and less excitable countrymen. Throughout the whole line of the Corso, the finest and most fashionable street in Rome, every window and balcony is hung with crimson damask, and every vacant spot is occupied with chairs and benches. The following is our author's account of the childish sports in which the people so eagerly indulge.

'The amusements usually commence not till afternoon. Then all these windows, doors, balconies, rooms, seats, booths, benches, and chairs, are filled with those who wish to be spectators of the Carnival. The Corso is crowded with an immense throng on foot, and with two long trains of carriages; the one moving up, and the other down, containing a respectable share of the splendor, beauty, and fashion of

Rome. The principal source of amusement seems to consist in the masked appearance of many that throng the streets and crowd these carriages, and in the universal privilege assumed of throwing sugar-plums into the face of every person you meet. These sugar-plums are in fact made of lime, being manufactured for this purpose. Some persons throw away in a single afternoon two or three bushels. Every body who participates in the Carnival, goes supplied with this ammunition. They who occupy the windows and balconies throw them down upon those who pass beneath. They who move along the street, assail not only those whom they meet on foot and in carriages, but those who stand at the windows, and are firing down upon them from above. Just consider all the vast ten thousands that crowd through the Corso, engaged in this work. Every man that wears a dark-coloured coat looks like a miller. Every lady, with her gay costume and waving plumes, looks as though she had just come out of a meal barrel; and every carriage drawn by its richly caparisoned steeds, looks like a lime-cart. The incessant cloud of missiles thus continues to fall like a shower of hail, without the least intermission, till the signal gun is fired.

'Among the maskers, every description of character is personated, except the Romish priest and Roman soldier. The power of the Pope depends too essentially upon the respect the people have for the gown, and the fear they have for the sword, not to make them privileged orders, and to shut out every attempt to weaken their influence.'

—Ib. pp. 267, 268.

These ridiculous sports, beneath which much impurity and many dark crimes lie but half concealed, are closed by an ecclesiastical service which Mr. Clark thus describes.

'To-day being the close of the Carnival, the amusements have appeared more brilliant and intense. I have been this evening to witness, at the church of ——— *Jesus*, what the Romanists call the *Quarant'ore*, or the illumination of the mass for forty hours, to sanctify the Carnival. We went at five o'clock, P.M., and found the vast and magnificent church in which this ceremony took place, crowded with a dense and almost impenetrable mass of human beings. We did, however, succeed in pushing our way through the crowd, till we secured a place very near the high altar. There was something very imposing in the brilliantly illuminated dome that rose majestically above, and the countless throng that sat or stood in breathless silence before us. The great mass of the people assembled on this occasion were evidently of the lower classes in society. A small space from the door, through the whole length of the nave up to the high altar, was left vacant. Hence we instantly concluded that a procession was to move up through this dense mass of human beings to dazzle the eyes of the beholders, and give more effect to the scene. In this impression we were the more confirmed by the entrance of a company of soldiers in full military dress, armed to the very teeth, who silently stationed themselves in two columns from the door to the high altar, leaving just

space enough for the procession to move up through the crowd. The entire sides of the church to the very roof, and also back of and around the high altar, were hung in snow-white damask, dotted at ten thousand points with small jet black tassals, upon which there was poured, from a thousand brilliant lights around the high altar, an intense flood of illumination. The other parts of the church were hung with rich crimson damask. On either side of the high altar were suspended six magnificent chandeliers, pouring forth their countless rays of brightness; and upon the altar were placed, in silver branches, a hundred large waxen candles, that seemed to emulate the very sun in the tide of splendor they poured forth. The intense illumination produced by these brilliant tapers and chandeliers appeared in singular contrast with the dim and shadowy light that pervaded the long extended nave below, where the congregation stood or sat in silent wonder. There was throughout the whole vast building the stillness of the chamber of death. The whole scene appeared uncommonly imposing. The magnificent paintings that decorate this temple, the precious stones that adorn its altars, the exquisite frescoes that adorn its roof, its fine columns of yellow antique, and of *lapis lazuli*, fluted with bronze gilt, shone forth in a lustre so unearthly, as to remind one of that heavenly city described by the beloved disciple.

'Suddenly the organ and the voices of sweet singers struck up, and poured a tide of music through all the vast temple, which lit up every countenance with signs of animation and emotions of delight. Then those sweet sounds died away, and all was again still and noiseless. A long pause ensued. Then eight or ten persons, clad in full ecclesiastical robes, each bearing a large waxen taper, went down the aisle or open space between the two columns of soldiers, and took their station at the door, in imitation, I presume, of the ten virgins who went forth to meet the bridegroom. At length the sound of the drum and of martial music was heard—the church bell sent forth its quick notes—the organ pealed forth its deep rich tones. Some score of men in livery, two by two, came up the aisle bearing immense wax lighted tapers, followed by a cross, a body of priests, and a group in splendid military dress, the last of whom was the Senator of Rome, preceded by the symbols of office. All these found a place near the high altar, the great point of attraction. The whole multitude immediately prostrated themselves upon their knees, and the service of the mass commenced. There was no preaching, no exhortation, no reading of the Scriptures,—nothing to direct the attention of this vast crowd to the things that belonged to their everlasting peace. It was all a dumb show. Of all the fifty priests that were present on this occasion, there was not one to lift up his voice and declare the truth as it is in Jesus. This is the way the Romanists guide their flocks, and prepare them for eternity.'—Ib. pp. 270—273.

On one occasion our author found himself unexpectedly in the presence of the Pope. Entering the church of St. Gregory, his attention was aroused by a group of monks who were in apparent

expectation of some distinguished visitor, which was speedily gratified by the entrance of 'a venerable old man, clothed in scarlet, attended by a large retinue.' Following this train, which they were permitted to do without interruption, Mr. Clark and his companions had an opportunity of observing the ceremonies which were practised. The following extract from his letter is all which our space permits us to transcribe.

'No sooner had he entered the church, than he passed along before one of the altars, and dropped upon his knees upon a crimson velvet cushion, which had previously been placed upon the stone pavement for this purpose. All his attendants, bishops, priests, monks, and clerical *esquires*, instantly placed themselves two and two upon their knees behind him, holding their hats to their faces. They formed quite a long procession, and though their attitude was very devout, most of them were laughing and talking to each other, as though they enjoyed the whole thing very much.

'I now had an opportunity of making some observations upon the individual to whom such marked deference was paid, as I stood only a few feet from the spot where he knelt. His appearance indicated a person who had passed full threescore and ten years. His air was snowy white, though cut rather short, and the crown of his head, like most of the Romish priests, was shaven, and covered, except while in prayer, with a little scull-cap. There was a marked decision and sternness in his countenance; although his face was not destitute of an expression of kindliness. His silent prayer was soon finished, and he then arose, and passing the high altar, before which he reverently bowed, he went to an altar on the other side of the church, corresponding to the one before which he had previously kneeled, where was another crimson cushion upon which he knelt, and passed through a ceremony similar to the one I have already described. He then tripped off with an air of great indifference through a side-door into the vestry, followed by all his attendants. We had become so anxious to find out who this distinguished personage was, that we mingled in his train, and followed on to see the end of the matter. The room into which we entered was very spacious, and surrounded with beautiful paintings. The person who had so much attracted our attention, flung himself very carelessly into a splendid chair or throne placed in the centre of the room, when the whole attending crowd of monks instantly gathered around him, and falling upon their knees, eagerly bent forward to kiss the cross upon the toe of his slipper. The secret was now developed! This was the Pope. The ceremony of kissing the toe being ended, his holiness sprung up, and with great elasticity of step, passed into the sacristy, whither the company, and ourselves with them, followed him. Here he seemed to throw off all restraint—took out his glass and began to look at a picture that hung up by the wall, and freely to discuss its merits. Every tongue at once seemed to be unloosed, and a brisk conversation commenced, in which the whole company participated. Most of the persons in attendance, as we after-

wards learned, were either of the Pope's own immediate household, or monks from the convent attached to the church of St. Gregory. The special object of his visit was to see this painting, which had been recently put up. The Pope originally was a monk of this order, and he is in the habit of visiting this church frequently, to manifest his continued attachment to the order. This, therefore, was intended as a private visit to gratify the fraternity attached to this convent. He remained in the sacristy only some ten or twelve minutes. This, however, was time sufficient to make us feel the awkwardness of our position, as intruders into his presence. No notice, however, was taken of this intrusion, except one of his attendants, perceiving that we were foreigners, very politely asked if we would like to be introduced to his holiness; remarking if we were Catholics, he would introduce us with great pleasure. We thanked him for his kindness, and assured him it would afford us great pleasure to be introduced to the Pope, but at the same time told him that we were Protestants. This was a serious barrier, and we, of course, were not presented to his holiness. As he left the room, he passed directly by where we stood; we bowed as he passed, which mark of respect he very condescendingly returned. We followed on in the train to the door where we first saw him enter. Here he was again invested with his riding dress, which was scarlet even to the hat. As he left the church, the report having already spread of the visit of his holiness, a great crowd had collected, who prostrated themselves before him, as though eager to kiss the ground upon which he trod. An elegant chariot with six horses was in waiting to receive him, surrounded by servants in livery, and a troop of mounted soldiers in full military dress, glittering in rich armour. Behind his chariot stood the carriages of five or six cardinals with their attendants in splendid livery. The Pope did not linger to receive the adoration of the crowd, but springing into his carriage almost by a single bound, and the attending cardinals into theirs, the whole train, preceded by the troop of cavalry, hastily drove off. The whole street for a moment seemed to glitter with arms, and splendor, and gay equipage. The prancing and richly-caparisoned steeds, however, quickly bore away this princely band from our sight, and the splendid pageant vanished like a dream. We now saw nothing around us, where but a moment before all was glitter and gaiety, save a crowd of filthy, ragged beggars! This is just what popery leaves everywhere behind it. Everywhere in papal countries, while a few are elevated to great eminence and splendor, we see the mass of the people in poverty and wretchedness. As this splendid pageant passed away, I could not but think how unlike the meek and lowly Jesus, was this haughty, kingly Roman pontiff—who professes to be the vicegerent of the Son of God.'—Ib. pp. 334—337.

Passing over the other portions of the first volume, we hasten to the second, which is devoted exclusively to our own country. Mr. Clark arrived in London early in May, 1838, and was enabled to attend many of the anniversary meetings which are held in our metropolis at that season of the year. Like most foreigners, he

was much struck with one practice which is unhappily prevalent among us at such meetings, and for whose correction we now begin to despair. We transcribe his remarks, and should have been well pleased had they been more decidedly condemnatory.

'I have not yet become quite accustomed to this English method of expressing approbation. The speaker never can be at a loss whether he interests his audience or not. If his sentiments are approved, and communicated with thrilling effect, there is such a burst of loud applause, such clapping of hands, swinging of hats, stamping of feet, and cheering of voices, that he is obliged to stop till the deafening roar calms down. There is something animating in all this, and although I do not exactly like it, I confess that so infectious was the example, that before the meeting broke up I felt strongly inclined to join in this mode of expressing applause. Never have I seen such indication of a wave of intense emotion rolling over a mass of human beings, as during one of these out-burstings of applause. It presents before you the view of thousands of faces lit up at the same instant with intense, fervid, sympathetic emotion. But, upon the whole, I should be sorry to have this custom introduced into our country.'—Vol. i. pp. 37, 38.

Mr. Clark being himself an Episcopalian, most of his associations in this country were with the members of the Established Church, and his account of the state of things among them affords an insight into the views and feelings of the evangelical clergy which it is difficult for us Nonconformists to obtain. His first Sabbath in London was spent at St. John's Chapel, and in the sketch he gives of Mr. Noel's sermon, occurs the following reference to the Oxford theology now so zealously propagated within the Establishment. It would be well for the Church if the evangelical clergy generally were like-minded with Mr. Noel on this subject.

'Mr. Noel, in adverting to this topic (popery) again near the close of his discourse, remarked that he had been induced to dwell more at length upon it, from the fact that there were springing up within the bounds of their own communion, a spirit and a class of men, that if allowed to prevail, would bring back some of the worst errors of popery —men who were the avowed apologists of the Romish Church, and who spoke of that corrupt body as '*our venerable sister*,'—as '*Christ's most holy fold*.' '*What!*' said he, 'is that our venerable sister, and Christ's most holy fold, which God himself has denominated 'Babylon, the habitation of devils—the hold of every foul spirit—a cage of every unclean and hateful bird;' and in reference to whom God says, '*Come out of her*, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues?' Is that our most venerable sister, and Christ's most holy fold, which God denominates 'Antichrist'—'the mother of harlots and abomination of the earth?' '

'I never saw so much severity and faithfulness, mingled with so

much softness and kindness. Mr. Noel cannot be harsh, though he brandishes at times a very keen and sharp-edged sword. He preaches entirely without notes, and seldom hesitates for a word. His thoughts are expressed with great perspicuity, and often illustrated with great force and beauty. His style is chaste, elegant, and classical. His usual manner is rather persuasive than impassioned or energetic. But he never fails to win and retain the attention of his audience.

'In relation to the class of men to whom Mr. Noel referred, as endeavoring to revive many of the errors of popery in the English Church, I, of course, can say nothing as yet from personal acquaintance, or from an actual examination of their writings. Previous to my coming to England, I had heard something of them from Bishop Carr, of Bombay, and also from the Rev. Mr. Cleugh, of Malta. But since I have been in England I have learned from several of the clergy, and especially from a venerable son of the Church, who has stood on the walls of Zion these fifty years, and borne faithful testimony of the truth, much more about them. The substance of these communications are, that this class of men profess to desire to revive the Church, or Christianity, as it was in the first three centuries, or as it was in Britain previous to its coming under the Papal see. They say, We must go back, not to *the reformation*, but to a period anterior to the establishment of Romanism in England. The *reformation* some of them speak of as a prodigious evil; and they scout Cranmer and Ridley, and those other English reformers who shed their blood for the truth, as innovators who are not to be listened to.

'They are reported to teach, among other things, that all spiritual grace is conveyed through the sacraments; that the recipient is regenerated and justified in baptism; that whoever receives the Lord's Supper partakes of the real body and blood of Christ. In explaining themselves on this point, they do not profess to go to the full extent of *transubstantiation*, but to stop at *consubstantiation*. The Lord's Supper they regard as a sacrifice, and the table as an *altar*. They profess to be very much horrified at the common practice of calling this the communion, or Lord's table. They wish to have the reading desk removed, and to read prayers at the altar with their backs to the people, and some of them actually do this. I hardly need tell you that these views sprung up at Oxford, and claim paternity from Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman, and their associates, who, as you know, have been enlightening the world with what are called 'Tracts for the Times.'"

—Ib. pp. 48—50.

In a subsequent portion of the volume our author gives an account of his visit to Oxford, in the course of which he informs us,

'In the afternoon I again attended St. Mary's, and heard a sermon from Mr. Newman. He is a thin, sallow-looking man, and appears as cold in the pulpit as an icicle. In the service, which he himself read, when he came to the creed, as the desk faces the west, he turned

square around with his back to the congregation, while reciting the confession of his faith. It is customary with many congregations to turn their face to the east when they repeat the creed. Mr. Newman did not in his sermon exhibit any of his particular views. The discourse upon the whole was exceedingly dull and uninteresting. From all that I have learned since I have been here, after very free conversations with some holding the new divinity and others who reject it, I am constrained to think that Messrs. Pusey, Newman, and Keble have started a system which, when brought out in full developement, will be found to contain all the elements of Popery.'

—Ib. pp. 205, 206.

We have already intimated that our author looks with a favorable eye on every thing pertaining to English Episcopacy. We are not surprised at this, and if his statements are sometimes wanting in discrimination, and display the obvious leaning of ecclesiastical partizanship, we can readily trace the fact to a cause not wholly discreditable. There are passages, however, in the course of his letters which have somewhat staggered us,—their false reasoning and precipitate conclusions being indicative of a lurking sympathy with the 'proud prelacy' of our land. Speaking of the bishops he remarks.

'If there has been among them a persecuting Laud, there have also been a Cranmer, a Latimer, and a Ridley, to burn at the stake rather than recede one iota from the truth. If there have been among them time-serving men, and those who stripped the gospel of its divine power, there have also been among them a cloud of most uncompromising witnesses for the truth, who have set forth the gospel in all its simplicity, freeness, and fulness. It is not my object, however, to write an eulogium upon the English bishops, but simply to relate what I saw and heard. I cannot, however, here suppress the expression of the conviction made upon my own mind, from what I saw in England, that the current idea that the English bishops enjoy enormous and overgrown salaries, and live in ease, idleness, and luxury, is, in the great majority of instances, utterly erroneous. As far as my own observation has extended, these reverend prelates appear to be a very laborious and self-denying set of men ; and though the salaries of many of them are nominally large, the pecuniary demands upon them for ten thousand nameless charities are equally large. I believe the instances are exceedingly rare, where any of these prelates have amassed fortunes, or in any way enriched or aggrandised their own families. Their income is larger than that of the inferior clergy, on precisely the same principle that the clergy in the city have larger salaries than those in the country,—because their expenses are greater.'

—Ib. pp. 77, 78.

We cannot, of course, pretend to know much of the 'pecuniary 'demands' which are made upon our bishops 'for ten thousand

'nameless charities;' but they are wofully maligned if, as a class, they have not been distinguished by a more than creditable regard to the worldly interests of themselves and their families. As to the comparison instituted by our author in vindication of their princely revenues, nothing can be more unsound or flimsy. A city residence it is well known is more expensive than a rural one. This cannot be avoided. It is the inevitable result of the circumstances which characterize the two localities, and ought, therefore, in common justice, to be taken into account in arranging the incomes of religious teachers in such different spheres. But is this any justification? nay, does it afford even the shadow of a reason, why a class of spiritual barons should be created, and the artificial wants thus engendered be supplied, at the cost of the public, by some thousands a year being paid to each? First we create an artificial class, a class unknown to the primitive church, and unsanctioned by the written word; and then their worldly pomp, their unholy confederacy with state politics, is pleaded in defence of their enormous salaries. And yet we are to believe that the Archbishop of Canterbury receives annually £17,000, while hundreds of curates are half starved on £50, 'on precisely 'the same principle that the clergy in the city have larger 'salaries than those in the country.' Credat Judæus!

In perfect keeping with such logic, and in equal ignorance of the facts of the case, Mr. Clark proceeds to observe, in his account of the anniversary of the 'Church Pastoral Aid Society,' 'that the destruction of the Establishment in this country would 'be an immense, an immeasurable evil. It is a thing,' he says, 'to which men's minds have become so accustomed, and with 'which their feelings and views have become so interwoven, that 'to them it seems essential to their national existence. It would 'require more than a century to change this whole current of 'national feeling, and, in the meantime, while the change was 'going on, infidelity and error would everywhere abound' (p. 79). Now we take leave to remark—and our knowledge of the state of feeling in this country is certainly equal to that of our author—that in our judgment, the very reverse of all this would follow from the separation of the Church from the State. The alliance at present existing between the two is by far the greatest hindrance to the spread of pure biblical religion which exists among us. It is doing more than infidelity has ever done to undermine the influence of Christianity, and to render inoperative, a mere dead letter, the written revelations of the Divine Mind. Whatever local benefits may follow the ministrations of individual clergymen, the general result of the system is fatally ruinous to the souls of men. It has spread a spiritual lethargy throughout the country, has steeped the national conscience and heart in the worst spirit of pharisaical formalism, and would, ere this, have succeeded in ex-

tinguishing religion itself, if the energies of voluntaryism had not been put forth. If any doubt our statement let them analyze the religion of our countrymen, whether nobles or peasants,—a religion, be it remembered, which has been derived, not from the word of God, but from state priests and the antichristian system of which they are the functionaries. It is enough to make the heart of a Christian man weep to see how the people are deluded to their souls' utter ruin, by the great mass of their teachers. Is it not acknowledged by the evangelicals themselves, that a large majority of the clergy preach another gospel than that which the apostles preached, and how then can it be otherwise than that their hearers should be awfully misled? 'If the blind lead the blind, 'both shall fall into the ditch.' Nor is this an accident of the system. It is the natural and has been the invariable tendency of state churches, as the history of all times and of all nations proves.

The overthrow of a system which thus poisons the spring-head of a people's religion, would be the greatest blessing which could happen to our country. It would be a millennium to the land, a prelude to the last and most signal triumphs of Christianity, an 'outward and visible sign' of the speedy coming of the Prince of Peace, who alone is King in Zion.

Nor is the public mind wholly unprepared for such an event. A majority of those who attend public worship are found within the walls of the meeting-house, and are in consequence, independent of state patronage, and would carry on their ministrations, and that too with increased efficiency, if the Establishment were overthrown to-day. But this is not all, nor even the most cheering sign of the times. Our opponents are indoctrinating the public mind with the voluntary principle, whatever they may pretend. They may decry voluntaryism as they please, but no sane man who coolly reflects on the matter, can fail to perceive that they are accumulating a mass of facts, which will tell with mighty force on the future discussion of this great question. Our author refers to this in immediate connexion with the passage we have just quoted, and his remark is pregnant with meaning. 'They 'cannot do here,' he says, 'without the voluntary principle. And 'although it is the fashion to decry voluntaryism, yet, to evange-'lize the world—to carry on the great plans of Christian benevo-'lence—and to supply even England with *the ministrations of the* '*Established Church, the voluntary principle has to be appealed* '*to in Exeter Hall from the beginning to the end of May.*' The bearing and tendency of all this will soon be made visible. We shall draw from the store-house of our opponents a practical confirmation of our views which will remove the fears, and satisfy the common sense of our countrymen. To anticipate injury to religion—the religion not of forms but of prin-

ciples,—from the withdrawment of state patronage, is to regard Christianity as an enfeebled and drivelling system,—a thing so weak and fragile as to be unworthy of confidence and incapable of self preservation. The indignant rebuke of Milton may well silence such insulters of our holy faith. 'Most of all,' he remarks, 'they 'are to be reviled and shamed, who cry out with the distinct voice 'of notorious hirelings, that if ye settle not our maintenance by 'law, farewell the gospel; than which nothing can be uttered 'more false, more ignominious, and I may say, more blasphemous 'against our Saviour; who hath promised without this condition, 'both his Holy Spirit, and his own presence with his church to 'the world's end; nothing more false, by the experience of 300 'years after Christ, and the churches at this day in France, 'Austria, Polonia, and other places witnessing the contrary under 'an adverse magistracy, not a favorable; nothing more ignomini-'ous, levelling, or rather undervaluing Christ beneath Mahomet. 'For if it must be thus, how can any Christian object it to a Turk, 'that his religion stands by force only; and not justly fear from 'him this reply, Yours both by force and money, in the judgment 'of your own preachers?'*

Were the Church, to be separated from the State to-morrow, religion would suffer no injury, her progress would not be retarded for a single hour. She would still possess the confidence and affection of her disciples, the faithful among the clergy would yet labor in her service, and many who had trusted to an arm of flesh would begin to reflect on their own responsibilities, and the claims of their uninstructed and perishing neighbours. Her only loss, if loss it can be termed, would be the retirement of a large portion of the present clergy,—men of unholy temper, some of them of ungodly lives, whose presence has only served to pollute her altars and to impair the efficiency of her services. The result of such a purification would soon be visible in the growing confidence of the public mind in the ministrations of the house of God, and the increasing zeal and singleness of purpose with which his servants of all denominations and grades would address themselves to the duties of their high vocation. 'Much rather,' says Milton, 'might the heavenly ministry of the Evangel bind herself about 'with far more piercing beams of majesty and awe, by wanting 'the beggarly help of halings and amercements in the use of her 'powerful keys. For when the church without temporal support 'is able to do her great works upon the unforced obedience of 'men, it argues a divinity about her. But when she thinks to 'credit and better her spiritual efficacy, and to win herself respect 'and dread by strutting in the false vizard of worldly authority, it

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* The Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings, &c.

'is evident that God is not there, but that her apostolic virtue is 'departed from her, and hath left her key cold; which she per-'ceiving as in a decayed nature, seeks to the outward fomenta-'tions and chafings of worldly help, and external flourishes, to 'fetch, if it be possible, some motion into her extreme parts, or to 'hatch a counterfeit life with the crafty and artificial heat of juris-'diction.'*

Mr. Clark attended some of Dr. Chalmers's lectures at the Hanover Square Rooms, of which he gives an account in the eighth chapter of his second volume. The following remark on the views of some of the lecturer's episcopalian auditors sufficiently bespeaks the political complexion of their religion. Let such reasoning be followed out to its legitimate issue, and what is to prevent the profession of Socinianism at Geneva, or of Mohammedanism at Constantinople.

'I imagine that one clause in these last remarks, relating to the Church of England's 'quitting the plea of her exclusive apostolical derivation,' was not very palatable to some of his audience, although the majority continued to clap the speaker throughout the whole lecture. I have, however, been astonished to hear some very high Churchmen say, that had they been born in Scotland, they should be just as thorough-going and high-toned Presbyterians, as they now are Churchmen. This may be very well; but it appears to me that we ought to have some other besides state or political reasons for our connexion with any Church.'—Ib. pp. 107, 108.

Our remarks have extended so far beyond our intention, that waving all further comment, we must limit ourselves to two or three of our author's personal sketches. The following is his description of the minister of Camden Chapel, Camberwell.

'Some persons accuse Mr. Melvill of being a copyist of Dr. Chalmers. But this, in my view, is quite absurd. There are certainly points of resemblance in the intellectual character and pulpit ministrations of these two individuals. They pour forth their thoughts, when roused by the contemplation of some great subject, like a mountain torrent or a mighty avalanche. But it appeared to me that there were quite as many points of originality about Melvill as Chalmers.

'The first time I heard Mr. Melvill was at St. Andrew's Church, Holborn. The sermon was delivered with a view of taking up a collection in aid of the Newfoundland schools. In consequence of a previous engagement, it was impossible for me to reach the church till after the service had begun; and then it was next to impossible for me to press my way through the vast crowd so as to get even into the vestibule.

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* The Reason of Church Government.

This church is very capacious, and I should think would contain between two and three thousand people. On the present occasion, not only was every pew and aisle, and corner and nook upon which human feet could tread, entirely filled, but the entrance to the church was completely choked up with a mass of living beings. It was not till after long wedging and pushing, that I was enabled to force my way through the dense mass to a point just beyond the threshold in the middle aisle. I could there see the speaker; and so profound was the silence through the vast crowd that I did not lose a word. There is nothing remarkable in the first appearance of Mr. Melvill. His countenance, before he begins to speak, bears a mild, benignant look. He is only of middling stature, and rather slender in form. But the moment he begins to speak, you feel that you are in the presence of a master spirit, who has magic power over the sympathies and feelings of the heart. He arrests the attention of his audience at once; and carries them with him, willing captives, to the close of his discourse. And yet I felt greatly disappointed and almost displeased at his manner, it was so peculiar and—I had almost said—disagreeable. The moment he commences speaking, every muscle and fibre in his body seems put in motion. And in the more eloquent and thrilling parts of his discourse, he has a habit of gesticulating or nodding with his head, which struck me at first as exceedingly unpleasant. But no one can long hear Mr. Melvill without losing sight of, or even loving, every peculiarity of his manner. He carries you along in spite of yourself, to the neglect and oblivion of every thing else but the contemplation of the bright creations of his own mind, or rather the luminous transparencies of divine truth which he holds up in attractive forms before you.'—Ib. pp. 108—110.

Were all names omitted from the following extract, many of our readers would instantly recognize the estimable man described,—a man whose catholic spirit and unwearied labors have secured him the esteem of good men of all parties. Mr. Clark is speaking of the anniversary of the London Missionary Society.

'Among those upon the platform, who on this occasion addressed the meeting, were a number of individuals, the annunciation of whose names sent a thrill through my soul. Of that number was the Rev. John Angel James, whose 'Anxious Inquirer,' and 'Christian Professor,' have been the means, under God, of guiding hundreds, not only in England, but in our own land, to the cross of Christ, and to enlarged experience in the divine life. Although I had previously had with this gentleman some epistolary, I had had no personal acquaintance. When, therefore, he rose upon the stand, my intensest curiosity was awakened to observe his appearance. I was never more disappointed. I had formed to myself the idea of a small emaciated man, with a dark keen eye, and an aspect solemn as the grave. But there now stood before us a fine portly form, with a countenance lit up with the brightest sunshine of cheerfulness, and an eye

that seemed to laugh in every glance it cast upon the objects around it. I should think that Mr. James possessed a great deal of native humour, and that nothing would drop so naturally from his lips as words full of sparkling wit. The remarks with which he introduced his address were certainly calculated to confirm this impression. One of the preceding speakers had entertained us with a long, and labored, and highly polished address, which had evidently been prepared and memorised. The whole thing seemed designed to show off the man, rather than to recommend the cause he advocated. Mr. James adverted to this address in a way so humorous, and yet so delicate, that while he seemed to compliment the speaker, he, in fact, expressed just the opinion of the performance which, I presume, nine-tenths of the audience entertained—that it was a mere flourish of trumpets for self-glorification.

'Mr. James alluded to Mr. Williams, the author of the 'Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands,' and who, about a month before, had sailed in the missionary ship, with a band of fellow-laborers, to revisit the scene of his former labors, and to spend the rest of his life among those islanders, whom he had been instrumental in turning to the living God. Referring to that mission ship, and the precious freight it bore, he said that the emotions of his heart, in contemplating that band of missionaries, still on the wide waters, steering their course to those distant islands, to publish there 'the unsearchable riches of Christ,' he could in no way so well express as in the language of a sweet poet. He then commenced repeating some lines of exquisite poetry, which, in the rich and mellow tones of his fine voice thrilled the whole assembly. And now, when he had repeated about a stanza and a half, and the whole of the vast audience that crowded the extended area of Exeter Hall, were listening in mute and breathless attention to catch every sound,—he abruptly stopped—pausing thoughtfully, as though he could not recall the remaining lines. For a moment there was the most profound silence. * * * Then, with a pleasant smile, and without the slightest appearance of embarrassment, he said: 'Ah, memory fails me, and I cannot proceed.' This was all done with so much ease, and grace, and humorous playfulness, that a universal burst and roar of laughter rung through the whole hall; and while this was expending itself, he found the mystic thread in his memory, for which, a few moments before, he had vainly sought, and his voice again rose in lofty poetic strains, till every breath was again hushed, and all were listening in delighted admiration, as they seemed to behold the distant ship, bounding over the dark blue waves, when, as suddenly as before, he again stopped; and with the same graceful happy turn, and in perfect self-possession, playfully remarked, 'Ah, it is gone again!' A second burst of laughter followed, and loud applause, when instantly his memory rallied, and he finished the passage, which, perhaps, produced more effect from these very interruptions. I have seldom heard one speak in a more easy and unstudied manner, than did Mr. James on this occasion. It was evident that he made no effort to set himself off. Occasionally, however, bright thoughts would flash forth, and the view of some glorious truth would

kindle up an ardour indicated by the altered intonations of his voice. It was evident that the man who was speaking could put forth colossal strength if he chose; that his mind was characterized with high intellectual power, and imbued with a deep spirit of evangelical piety.'
—Ib. pp. 113—116.

We can make room only for one more extract, which, for brevity's sake, we take from our author's account of Mr. Harris's Missionary Sermon. After describing the introductory prayer 'as exceedingly discursive and very protracted,' Mr. Clark proceeds,

'At length Mr. Harris appeared in the pulpit attired in full robes. I scarcely know how to describe the impression he made upon my mind. Standing in the pulpit, and over the ashes of Rowland Hill, pale and delicate in appearance, and pouring forth a tide of thought, new and striking, and accompanied with a heavenly unction and a deep strain of piety, he seemed almost like an unearthly being that had come to deliver his message to that breathless audience that sat listening before him, and then to fly back to his native skies.

'In stature, Mr. Harris is about the middle size, with gray eyes, a broad forehead, delicate features, and a look of that meek, chastened, seraphic, and unearthly stamp, which those men are wont to possess, who spend much of their time in the study and contemplation of divine truth, and in communion with God. I should not think that he was more than thirty-three years old; but in this impression I may be mistaken.

'I have seldom listened to a more masterly development of principle, or a more eloquent or interesting strain of argumentation, than he poured forth on this occasion. There were no attempts to arrest the attention of his audience by a flourish of trumpets, or any arts of the rhetorician. The whole effect was produced by the simple exhibition of powerful truth. Among all Mr. Harris's published writings I have seen nothing at all comparable with this discourse. It may be, however, that the appearance of the man, the solemn intonations of his voice, and the excitement of the whole scene, lent a charm and power to the sermon, which in the reading it would not be found to possess. He preached nearly two hours and a half, and during all that time there was perfect silence through the vast assembly, and no indications of weariness. His text was, 'No one liveth to himself.' Rom. xiv. 7. Were I to attempt an abstract of the sermon, I could indicate only here and there a glimpse of that bright stream of consecutive thought which he poured forth.'—Ib. pp. 124, 125.

Art. IX. *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society; with a Brief Sketch of Methodism, and Historical Notices of the several Protestant Missions from* 1556 *to* 1839. By John Morison, D.D. London: Fisher. 2 vols. 8vo.

FEW, if any, persons can enter into an apartment hung round with portraits of the departed, without being conscious of strong and peculiar emotions. They are so many labels on the great volumes of the world's history, indicating the events of different periods, with which the names of the shadowy personages in the exhibition are connected, and enabling us to pursue with advantage the track of knowledge and improvement. What, we ask, did these individuals do or attempt in their day? Did they live for good or for evil? Are we, their successors, benefited or injured by their achievements? What excellencies may we imitate, or what faults avoid? The disappearance of what is good and great, or of what is base and injurious, must affect deeply every thoughtful mind, though in different ways; and surely to study well the chequered page of providence is both interesting and instructive.

The selfishness of human nature tends to restrict its pursuits and purposes to the narrow limits of individual existence. It moves only in one small circle, and concentrates, so far as intention is concerned, on one point. Personal pleasure or personal aggrandisement is all, and till the high and holy principles of an inwrought Christianity give expansion to the soul, every purpose and feeling terminates in the present. But in point of fact, no man *can* wholly live for himself. There is an inevitable, though often untraceable, connexion between the living beings of any one period and the whole of futurity; and as we have received a thousand impressions and impulses from those who have preceded us, so by the very necessity of existence, we communicate and transmit them to posterity. The present is, in this aspect, the *receiving medium* between the past and the future; but it is also the *coloring medium;* and upon the spirit and efforts of any existing generation will depend much of the character of after ages.

The picture gallery of Biography presents us with portraitures in classes; and the two great divisions are political and ecclesiastical. The former consists of those who have influenced the temporal destinies of nations; the latter of those who have been intermingled with the affairs of the church. To the former we are in general the soonest introduced from the course of reading to which we are most familiarized in the education of early years, and long does it prove most captivating to the juvenile imagination; but to the latter we come with a better judgment, at the

age of more sober inquiry and thoughtfulness, and when the moral history of mankind is begun to be appreciated as the most directly profitable and most really important. Ecclesiastical biography has a more immediate bearing upon the highest interests of our race; for by it we trace the progress of those transactions which relate to the empire of mind and the establishment of truth in a world of error. The efforts and sufferings of men of this class, engaged in this noblest enterprise, have the stamp of eternity upon them; and whatever their relation to the everlasting future, must necessarily, in every well ordered judgment, claim superiority to all, even the most agitating and extensive movements, of a merely secular and political character. What are the conquests of a Nimrod, an Alexander, or a Cæsar to the moral victories of saints, reformers, and martyrs—the heroes of the faith, and the sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty! Let the portrait of a military warrior be placed before you on the canvass or on the written page; and it may be that the passions are deeply engaged, the patriotic feelings powerfully excited, and other concomitant emotions roused into activity; but let another or a series of a different kind be brought into view—let a Luther, a Bunyan, or a Whitfield be contemplated, and profounder and holier thoughts spring up—you behold the representatives of religion, the reflected images of still greater men, who, as agents of the Saviour of the world, and distinguished by a primitive and apostolic eminence, have lived, and labored, and died in the greatest of all causes, and with the greatest of all results.

Next, perhaps, and only next in moral rank to reformers and martyrs, are to be placed the men who have originated missionary societies, or themselves undertaken missionary services. Little comparatively, till of late, as such individuals and the labors to which they devoted their energies, have been appreciated, it is now admitted by all and even more than all the *Christian* world, that they are amongst the most worthy of mankind to be had in everlasting remembrance. Separate and extensive elucidations of enterprise of this nature in the shape of memoirs, have been given to the Christian church; but we confess that notwithstanding their ever multiplying number, we are by no means satiated; on the contrary, in every fresh memorial we perceive much to awaken gratitude, inspire renewed activity, and promote spiritual knowledge and improvement. Nor is it amongst the least favorable signs of the times, that such productions are welcomed and perused with avidity. Their influence is great, and we have no doubt will continually increase as an improved moral feeling and character distinguishes a rising generation, to which indeed they are naturally contributing.

We have said enough to show that the work of Dr. Morison

now lying before us, is one which in its general design and plan is very congenial to our taste. We are not only gratified to read the lives of ministers, of the founders of benevolent institutions formed for the salvation of the heathen, but especially of men with many of whom, we may claim the honor and happiness of having had some acquaintance, and whose history, therefore, is additionally interesting from its recency and relation to our own age. They were beginning to wane as we rose into life, and they seem to us, in the hours of sweet musing and retrospection, to stand upon the sunny fields of our youth like so many angel visitants who have left a track of light behind them to guide and inspirit our exertions. We thank our reverend friend, therefore, for refixing their image in our minds, and industriously bringing together so many traits of character and labors of love, which might to a considerable extent, if not so preserved, have been lost amidst the mouldering records of a bygone generation.

It is true, indeed, that the compiler of these memoirs has had to contend with disadvantages which are necessarily incident to a work of this description; namely, the want of novelty in respect to the principle characters, who have already appeared before the public in more extended biographies; and the scantiness of the materials, which is so tantalizing to the desire we naturally cherish to become intimately acquainted with distinguished men. But on the other hand he possesses the opportunity of condensation and combination. The too great detail of common biography is here, by a kind of necessity, avoided; and individuals whose single memoirs would be of little value in themselves, fill up a niche, and afford, in such an enlarged design, an agreeable variety. Compilations of this kind, moreover, furnish a fine opportunity for philosophical analysis, of which we cannot help regretting the author has not adequately availed himself. It is important to trace the discriminations of character, to fathom their causes, and to point out the peculiar adaptations of individual minds all bearing upon one point, to advance to the consummation, each in its particular way. This besides not only elucidates character, but develops providence. It points out the great moral economy by which the world is governed, and by analogy and inductive laws, leads to those generalizations by which the laws of the Infinite Disposer are ascertained. We learn thus to contemplate men and things, especially in their connexion with religion, not, as we may say, in their solitary and detached position or attributes, but as the component parts of a mighty whole, each by his own proper powers, purposes, and sympathies, subserving the designs of Him who controls and orders all for his own glory. It might have been useful to have followed out some such track of thought as this, and to have finished the general

design by illustrations taken from the differences or similarities of intellectual vigor or spiritual character which the portraits of these volumes exhibit.

It is gratifying to find that several laymen primarily engaged in the missionary cause, are worthy of a memorial in its records. Much has been said of late on lay agency in the dissemination of the gospel, and this is a sphere in which it was early, and may ever be advantageously employed. It is cheering to see the skill of mercantile habits, the profits of mercantile speculation, and the general influence which mercantile men exert in society, all laid at the feet of the Redeemer, and consecrated to his cause. This spirit has grown up in our times, and if we mistake not, has very much arisen out of the missionary enterprise. We feel peculiar pleasure in referring to some of these instances as given by our author. It is remarked of Mr. *Hardcastle*, that throughout his whole commercial career he maintained a character for spotless integrity; and that to him, from the very outset, belonged the reputation of the English merchant of the old school. Years only augmented his weight of character on the Exchange, as well as in the Missionary and other religious societies.

'In his office of Treasurer of the Missionary Society, his duties were by no means exclusively, or even chiefly confined to matters of finance. He was generally chairman at the meetings of the directors, and the individual whose office, as well as his many rare and valuable qualifications, combined to render him a leader among those distinguished men with whom he was associated.

'When called to this arduous post, he begged that an esteemed friend of his might be preferred—a man well known to the world, both as an eminent banker and a senator, who also was a member of the Establishment. Although the first nomination was stedfastly adhered to, the fact is worthy of record, more especially because it indicates the liberal spirit of Mr. Hardcastle, and the harmony of Christian co-operation, which then so happily prevailed between pious Churchmen and Dissenters. How well the treasurer of the new society was fitted for this important station, is disclosed by the united testimony of its members during a period of more than twenty years. His best energies were devoted to the objects of the institution. He consulted for its welfare, watched over its every step, and labored by every means to give a right direction to all its exertions.

'Many of the early documents of the society, such as its instructions to missionaries, its annual reports, its occasional addresses to the public, its letters to colonial governors, and other dispatches, came from the pen of Mr. Hardcastle. Besides these more important writings, he maintained a constant and extensive correspondence, not only with the missionaries, but with the friends of missions in England, Scotland, Ireland, the Continent, and America. The ability displayed

in those papers which remain would be sufficient to evince the comprehensive mind and vigorous intellect of the writer, while the spirit which they breathe declare the purity of his motives, the singleness of his heart, and the spirituality of his devotion.

'But it was not merely by his wisdom in council, or his talent as a writer, that Mr. Hardcastle justified the distinction conferred on him by the Society. His mild and conciliatory disposition, combined as it was with dignity and firmness, prevented the ill consequences of those differences of opinion, which must sometimes inevitably arise in the deliberations of a numerous body, even when actuated by the most conscientious feeling, and the most upright intentions. His very look was calculated to disarm hostility, and, beaming with the affection he so strongly cherished towards his brethren, reflected and communicated the tranquillity which reigned in his own breast. If differences did arise, he immediately set himself to accommodate matters between the parties, so as to eradicate any 'root of bitterness' which might spring up, to mar the great object they all labored to advance. So far as he himself was concerned, the testimony delivered in his funeral sermon by Dr. Bogue, is corroborated by all who knew him. 'On one occasion,' says Dr. Bogue, 'being charged rather uncourteously as well as unjustly, with finesse, he replied, 'On entering the Missionary Society, I made *this* resolution in the strength of the Lord—*never to be offended,* and I have, by the grace of God, endeavored to maintain it; I shall, therefore, take no notice of the remarks just made, but proceed to the business before us.' Such was his care over his own spirit, and in regard to others, he was the umpire, to whose unbiassed judgment the wisest and the best agreed to yield the point in dispute. If, at any time, on subjects of moment and difficulty, debate ran high between good men, each accustomed to take the lead in his own sphere, it was his blessed work as peace-maker to heal or prevent dissensions, like that which divided the labors of Barnabas and Paul.'

—Vol. i. pp. 322—324.

One of the many important duties inculcated by the Christian religion is hospitality. The apostles speak of being 'given to 'hospitality,' and of 'using hospitality one towards another with-'out grudging.' The exercise of this virtue, however, is often too restricted among Christians, and there are many cases in which, instead of manifesting an enlarged and liberal feeling, it is so restricted as almost to assume the character of a sectarian spirit, and is made to subserve the purposes of a party. We were, therefore, much gratified at a statement which is worthy the consideration of all good men of influence and property. We are happy also to know that so excellent an example has been imitated with great advantage to all parties in other instances.

'Among other means adopted by Mr. Hardcastle to bring together and associate in fraternal intercourse good men of all denominations, it was his custom to invite a large party of missionary friends to dine and

pass the day at Hatcham on the Saturday of the missionary week. In this social meeting were generally found the four preachers, including a clergyman of the Church of England, another of the Church of Scotland, besides the secretary, some of the older directors, and other friends, especially those who came from a distance. 'I have known,' says Mr. Townsend, 'this interesting group consist of the established clergy of England, Ireland, and Scotland, of all the various denominations of seceders, of Calvinistic and Wesleyan Methodists, of Independents, Baptists, Moravians, &c. Nor did the variety of country or of denomination in the least diminish the harmony or pleasure of the meeting; for they had all come there in one character—that of friends to the poor heathen. The intellectual pleasure which this meeting afforded, exceeded what I ever enjoyed in a social meeting elsewhere. The subjects which generally engaged attention were so important in their own nature, and discussed with so much freedom and animation, that I always anticipated the day as a high festival, and returned from the meeting with great regret. I am not sure that the missionary flame, which now burns so bright and strong among the evangelical clergy, if it had not its first spark from the circle at Hatcham House, was not fanned and strengthened there.'

'In thus acting, Mr. Hardcastle exhibited the true spirit of Christian hospitality, alike devoid of ostentation, and unembarrassed by formality. His unaffected kindness and courteous urbanity, while they added grace and dignity to his own character as a gentleman, also greatly contributed to the gratification and happiness of his guests. The recollection of these meetings, and of the social intercourse enjoyed in the groves and pleasure grounds of Hatcham, has always been cherished by those who were present, with feelings of hallowed delight; and their influence, in drawing closer the bonds of sacred union was acknowledged by men of all denominations. Nor was this hospitality restricted to a particular occasion; for Mr. Hardcastle ever delighted in the society of good men, and was especially mindful of the apostolic injunction not to forget to 'entertain strangers.' '—Ib. pp. 336, 337.

Another very distinguished layman, whose name is not only identified with the London Missionary Society, but with many other institutions which have sprung up recently, was *William Shrubsole, Esq.* The brief narrative of his life given by his surviving daughter is highly interesting, and was very properly adopted by our author. Mr. Shrubsole was the son of a master mastmaker in Sheerness Dockyard, who was also for many years the respectable and much respected minister of a chapel in that town. Mr. S. first wrought as a shipwright in the Dockyard, and afterwards obtained the situation of clerk to one of the superior officers. In 1785 he went up to London, under the expectation of being admitted into the establishment of the Bank of England, and was settled as a clerk in the accountants' division. His deportment in the family where he resided was highly exemplary, and his religious feelings

gradually became decided and manifest, till in 1787 he united with his father's church at the Lord's Supper. During this visit his devotional talents were first socially exercised, and of this service his father wrote with 'admiration and thankfulness.' In 1791 he married—became an almost constant attendant at the Tabernacle—and associated his efforts with the Missionary Society. His communion, however, was maintained monthly with the church under the clerical and evangelical superintendence of Mr. Goode, in Blackfriars. His views were catholic, but at that time leaning to the Established Church. 'In reference to this 'apparent indecision,' says his daughter, 'I have heard him speak 'of the circumstance of his being elected on the first Committee 'of the Bible Society, when it was the plan to select a certain 'number from different denominations of Christians, he looked 'with some curiosity to see which party would appropriate *him*, 'and found his name enrolled among the members of the Church 'of England.' He at length associated, however, more exclusively with Dissenters at the Hoxton Academy Chapel, was early chosen as a lay secretary to the London Missionary Society, and served its interests most efficiently and indefatigably.

'The choice of the directors,' observes Dr. M., 'in fixing, at the commencement of their proceedings, upon a lay secretary, so eminently distinguished by the soundness of his judgment and the warmth and kindliness of his nature, was one of the many providential lights which fell upon their heaven-directed path. The wisdom and mental energy which Mr. Shrubsole brought to bear upon the discharge of his official duties, whether in his place upon the Board of Directors, or in his written documents, or in his intercourse with influential friends of the cause, rendered him an invaluable acquisition to the Society. He was firm, without a particle of severity, and prudent, without any thing like chilling reserve. It was his happiness, while he held office in the Society, to carry along with him the approbation of the directors, the confidence of the public, and the affection of the missionaries. He was remarkable for his strong attachment to the agents of the Society; with many of whom he maintained a pleasing and profitable correspondence long after he resigned his office as one of the secretaries of the institution.'—Ib. p. 446.

We must here subjoin the very just and applicable remark of our author at the close of the brief account of Mr. S.

'In the case of Mr. Shrubsole, as in that of Mr. Hardcastle, with whom he often intermingled in the delightful circles at Hatcham House, we have a striking example of the powerful and hallowed influence which pious laymen may exert upon the public mind of their country, when their powers are duly cultivated, their views rightly

directed, and their hearts filled with love to God and man. Yet were these servants of God, who have now met in heaven, delightful illustrations of the practicability of combining a public spirit in the cause of God, with all that is modest and retiring in personal demeanor, and all that is lovely and consistent in domestic life.'—Ib. p. 456.

In the second volume we have upwards of thirty sketches; some of distinguished individuals, as Dr. Waugh, Dr. Haweis, Rowland Hill, Matthew Wilks, Samuel Greathead and others, besides many of inferior note. There occur only the names of three or four laymen. In the short account of *Robert Steven* we meet with the following statement.

'As a husband, a father, a friend, and a master, he was most exemplary. Several of his servants, on joining a Christian church, dated their first serious impressions to his expositions at family prayer, or to his personal conversations with them on the subject of their eternal interests.'

As he was a native of Scotland, we conclude that his practice of expounding at family prayer and conversing with his servants, may have been partly the result of early associations; but we have introduced the citation, to remark on the expediency of paying greater attention to domestic worship than is usually done among the general class of professors in England. The political convulsions of more modern days, together with the habits of unremitting business, have generated some distaste to the exercises of private religion, and we fear have refrigerated the closet as well as the family altar. In addition to this there is an evil incidental in this respect to our best labors, against which the pious part of the community need to be guarded: it is that of suffering the sacred exercises in question to be regarded as of minor importance, and to be in consequence unduly restricted in time, and paralysed in vigor. The consequence is, a very circumscribed utility; and probably, while the pulpit is regarded as not only the spring of activity, but almost the exclusive medium of usefulness, few efforts are made and fewer hopes entertained of the effects of lay devotion and instruction. In point of fact, is there among us any extensively cherished expectation of benefit to our domestics or others, by means of family devotion? Is it not commonly regarded more in the light of a mere duty or ceremony, than in that of an instrument of good collaterally, and a means of important intercourse with heaven directly, on the right discharge of which the bestowment of many spiritual blessings may be suspended? What a source of rich felicity must it have been to the excellent Robert Steven to know, that his servants were con-

verted by his private influence, and that the churches of Christ were replenished by his instrumentality! Let it stimulate the endeavors of others, who are in error if they suppose that extraordinary talents or stations of distinguished influence, are requisite to enable persons to subserve the interests of truth and piety. In a day of so much general activity as the present, let Christians beware lest the power of an inward and personal religion be deteriorated, and lest they be tempted to plead with their own consciences their public claims as an extenuation of their private negligences.

It is time, however, to close this article, and we shall not suffer ourselves to be tempted into any further general observations. We have particularly noticed the laymen mentioned in this work on two accounts, the first because their example appeals in a more direct manner to those of their own class who compose the bulk of our churches; and, secondly, because the lives, actions, and sayings of divines, especially those of more recent date and marked celebrity, are so much better known and appreciated. Laymen who devote themselves to great causes do not, however, abound so much at this crisis as could be desired or as perhaps might have been expected. We trust, however, that instances of lay devotedness will multiply, and that an enlarged agency both at home and abroad will hasten forward the triumphs of Christianity.

To the particular Society for which these volumes were written it must prove valuable; and to all who feel concerned about the early history and progress of missionary proceedings, or the character of missionary committee-men, interesting and satisfactory.

Brief Notices.

The Whole Sermons of Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down and Connor. And the Rule and Exercises of Holy Living and Holy Dying. With a Biographical Memoir. Imp. 8vo. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black.

Though no admirers of the theology of Bishop Taylor, we cordially join in the eulogy pronounced on his writings by his most intelligent and discriminating biographers. Of his sermons in particular—regarding them, not in the light of popular addresses, but as *essays* adapted to a highly cultivated and erudite audience,—it is impossible to speak in terms of too high praise. 'Few compositions can be named,' remarks Bishop Heber, 'so eminently distinguished by fancy,

by judgment, by learning, and by powers of reasoning; few, where the mind is so irresistibly allured, if not to agree with the author, at least to think well of him; or where so much luxuriance of imagination, and so much mellowness of style, are made the vehicles of divinity so sound, and holiness so practical.'* A collection of such sermons, printed in an elegant and accessible form, cannot fail to be welcomed by a large class of readers. Such is the volume before us, which is further enriched by the author's treatise on Holy Living and Dying.

The short biographical Memoir prefixed by the editor, is drawn up with judgment and candor, and will be read with interest by all candid men. The writer is mistaken in representing the 'Liberty of Prophesying,' as 'being the *first* exposition of the true principles of toleration and Christian liberality in matters of religious opinion.' This treatise had been preceded, as early as 1615, by a work entitled 'Persecution for Religion Judged and Condemned,' in which catholic principles were laid down and *reasoned out*, much more completely and with greater consistency than in Taylor's volume. But in this matter, we apprehend the writer of the sketch has been misled by Heber. In page xi. of the memoir there is an error of date which should be corrected in a subsequent edition. The twenty-seven sermons, &c., are said to have been printed between 1639 and 1643; it should have been 1649—1653.

Ward's Library of Standard Divinity. No. XII. History of the Hebrew Commonwealth, translated from the German of John Jahn, D.D. By Calvin E. Stowe, A.M., of the Theological Seminary, Andover.

No XIV. Biblical Antiquities. By John Jahn, D.D. Translated from the Latin by Thomas C. Upham.

It is unnecessary for us to say a word on the merits of these works. They have been long prized in Germany, and are well known, by translations, to the theologians both of America and England. They were, however, somewhat beyond the reach of the generality of students' purses, till this very creditable edition of them appeared. We question whether a more acceptable present could have been offered to students in divinity than these handsome, well printed and yet cheap volumes; and we sincerely trust that they will be followed by many other works of a similar kind. It is proper to add, that the 'History of the Hebrew Commonwealth' has the Appendix of the American edition containing the 'history of the Jews down to the reign of Adrian,' translated from Basnage's 'Historie des Juifs.'

The 'Biblical Antiquities' are illustrated by a map and three engravings, and the two works may be had, either separately, or bound together in one handsome volume.

In Moses Stuart's preface to the 'History of the Hebrew Commonwealth' (reprinted in this edition), we observe the works of Shuckford

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* Life of Jeremy Taylor, p. 172.

and Prideaux are referred to, but not, as it appears to us, with so much honor as is fairly due to them. We know not what is the present market-price of these works, but if scarce, and, therefore, *dear*, we should think it might be a question whether it might not answer the purpose to give them a place in this Library.

Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders; with Notes corroborative of their Habits, Usages, &c., and Remarks to Intending Emigrants. With numerous Cuts drawn on Wood. By J. S. Polack, Esq. 2 vols. London: Madden and Co.

The extended notice which we took in a former volume of Mr. Polack's 'Travels and Adventures in New Zealand,' supersedes the necessity of doing much more than simply announce the fact of the publication of the work now before us. It is strictly a supplement to its predecessor, being designed to present 'a more systematic description of the manners, customs, habits, and usages' of this singularly interesting people. The increasing commercial connexion into which we are brought with the New Zealanders, and the disposition of large masses of our countrymen to colonize on their territories, render it in the highest degree important that correct information should be obtained, and we thank our author for the good service he has rendered in this matter. We regret to find that he is a firm believer in 'the moral impossibility to wean an adult savage from the errors of superstition,' and trusts to colonization alone as the means of working 'their moral and religious emancipation from the barbarisms and thraldom of savage life.' We receive the information he has furnished, with thankfulness, but with the Bible in our hands, and the history of the world open to our view, we must be permitted to dissent from the secular and unchristian dogma he thus propounds. Our holy faith has never yet met with a tribe of men too low and debased to inherit its blessings and walk in the light of its truth.

Gray's Elegy written in a Country Church-yard, with Versions in the Greek, Latin, German, Italian, and French Languages. Illustrated with Wood-engravings. London: John Van Voorst.

This is a very elegant edition of one of the most beautiful poems in our language. Every stanza is illustrated by a wood engraving; there are, therefore, thirty-two in all, many of them executed in the first style of art. The artists, whether painters or engravers, number amongst them almost all the most distinguished names of the age. The typography of the work is as beautiful as the engravings. The stanza which it is the design of each engraving to illustrate, is printed in fair type on the same page, while the opposite page is dedicated to those versions in the ancient and modern languages enumerated in the title. Of these the German translation, as might be expected from the poetical capabilities of the language and its many striking analo-

gies with our own, is best fitted to give the spirit of the original poem. Of translations into Greek and Latin there are many, 'principally by Etonians,' says the editor, 'with whom Gray stands so deservedly high.' Those selected for this edition are both very creditable. The French, as might be expected, comes last in merit, and affords another striking proof, if more were needed, how hopeless it is to attempt to transfuse the beauties of our poetry into that most unpoetical of all languages. We are tempted to give one or two stanzas, as a specimen of the manner in which the spirit of the original is diluted, and the force of the most poetic terms and images lost in this translation. The English of the II. and III. stanzas is as follows—

'Now fades the glimmering landscape on the sight
And all the air a solemn stillness holds,
Save where the beetle wheels his droning flight,
And drowsy tinklings lull the distant folds:

'Save that from yonder ivy-mantled tower,
The moping owl does to the moon complain,
Of such as wandering near her secret bower,
Molest her ancient solitary reign.'

Now for the French of these exquisite lines.

'Du soleil expirant la tremblante lumière
Délaisse par degrés les monts silencieux;
Un calme solennel enveloppe les cieux.

'Et sur un vieux donjon que le lierre environne
Les sinistres oiseaux par un cri monotone,
Grondent le voyageur, dans sa route égaré
Qui vient troubler l'empire à la nuit consacré.'

This we apprehend our readers will think enough. Who can wonder that the French think little of Shakespeare—for what can they possibly *know* of him?

Dr. Goldsmith's Abridgement of the History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Death of George II. With a Continuation to the Accession of Queen Victoria; to which is added An Outline of the British Constitution. With Questions for Examination at the end of each Section for the Use of Schools and of Private Students. By Robert Simpson. Thirteenth Edition. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

The History of Scotland, from the Earliest Period to the Accession of Queen Victoria. To which is added an Outline of the British Constitution, &c. By Robert Simpson. Twenty-third Edition. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

The numerous editions through which these volumes have passed, sufficiently attest their popularity and supersede the necessity for criticism. They are published in a neat form in plain binding at three shillings and sixpence each.

General History, briefly Sketched upon Scriptural Principles. By the Rev. C. Barth, D.D. Translated by the Rev. R. F. Walker, A.M. London: Religious Tract Society.

This work is a brief Universal History, composed upon principles very different from those which have usually regulated the preparation of such works. The translator has revised and abridged some parts of the original, and has judiciously omitted a few of the opinions expressed by Dr. Barth on passing events.

The History of the Moravian Mission among the Indians in North America, from its Commencement to the Present Time. With a Preliminary Account of the Indians. From the most Authentic Sources. By a Member of the Brethren's Church. London: L. and G. Seeley.

The Moravian Missions among the North American Indians furnish some of the most remarkable records of Christian devotedness in the whole history of the church. The vicissitudes experienced and the sufferings undergone, impart a thrilling interest to this department of missionary labor, and render it fruitful of instruction. A history of the brethren's proceedings was published in 1787 by Bishop Loskiel, which was subsequently translated into English by the Rev. C. J. La Trobe. This work is the basis of the present small volume, which will be an acceptable present to all who are interested in the labors of this most unpretending and indefatigible section of the universal church.

The Discovery of America by the Northmen in the Tenth Century. By Joshua Toulmin Smith. With Maps and Plates. London: Charles Tilt.

The design of this volume is twofold, first 'to present the English reader with accurate accounts of the discovery of, and early voyages to, and settlements in, the Western Hemisphere, and continent of North America, by Europeans. Secondly, to prove that those accounts are authentic.' Both these objects are effected in a manner highly creditable to the research and talent of the author, so that we have rarely met with a volume comprising such a mass of antiquarian lore and yet capable of interesting so deeply every intelligent reader. We recommend it most cordially to our friends and the public at large.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Memoirs of a Prisoner of State in the Fortress of Spielberg; by Alexander Andryane, fellow-captive of Count Confalonieri; with an Appendix by Maroncelli, the companion of Silvio Pellico. Translated by Fortunato Prandi. Two vols.

Apostolic Instruction Exemplified in the First Epistle General of St. John.

A Memoir of the Rev. Daniel Rowlands, late of Llangeitho, Cardiganshire. With an Introduction containing a brief account of the Chief Supporters of Religion in South Wales from the Reformation. By the Rev. John Owen.

Memorials of South Africa. By Barnabas Shaw. Wesleyan Missionary.

Biblical Topography; Lectures on the Position and Character of the Places mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. With Maps. By Samuel Ransom. With a Preface by John Harris, D.D.

The Year-book of Facts in Science and Art, &c. By the Editor of 'The Arcana of Science.'

The Divine Origin of the Holy Scriptures enforced from their adaptations to the Circumstances of Human Nature, An Essay which obtained the Norisian Medal for 1839. By Daniel Moore, B.A.

A Pilgrimage to Palestine, Egypt, and Syria. By Marie-Joseph De Geramb, Monk of La Trappe. 2 vols.

The Former and the Latter Rain. By Mrs. Sherwood.

Indian Orphans, a Narrative of Facts; including many Notices of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B.D., and of the Right Rev. Daniel Corrie. By Mrs. Sherwood.

Essays, Addresses, and Reviews. By Rev. Robert Nesbit.

Facts and Evidence relating to the Opium Trade with China. By William Storrs Fry.

The Eglinton Tournament, and Gentlemen Unmasked; in a Conversation between the Shade of James V. of Scotland, and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. By Peter Buchan.

Lectures on the 14th, 15th, and 16th Chapters of St. John's Gospel. By the late Rev. John B. Patterson, A.M.

The Connexion of the East India Company with the Superstitions and Idolatrous Customs and Rites of the Natives of India. The Present State of the Nation. By J. M. Strachan, Esq.

Sermons on the 'First Principles of the Oracles of God.' By Henry Erskine Head, M.A.

An Historical Sketch of the Progress and Present State of Anglo-Saxon Literature in England. By John Petheram.

The Voice of Conscience: a Narrative founded on Fact. By Mrs. Quintin Kennedy.

Erotophuseos, or the Love of Nature. A Serio-comic Poem. By Timotheus Pikromel, Esq.

Israel's Return; or Palestine Regained. By J. Elisha Freeman.

Pulpit Politics. The Correspondence of the Rev. W. M. Bunting, 'An Old Wesleyan Preacher;' Mr. Holland Hoole, and Mr. T. H. Williams. With Additions.

The Chairman and Speaker's Guide, being a brief Digest of the Rules required for the Efficient and Orderly Conduct of a Debate, &c., &c. Second edition, revised and improved. By Thomas Smith.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JUNE, 1840.

Art. I. 1. *Sir Henry Vane the Younger.* By JOHN FORSTER, Esq., of the Inner Temple. London: Longman and Co.

2. *Life of Sir Henry Vane.* By CHARLES WENTWORTH UPHAM. Boston and London.

IN the latter of these productions, of which indeed the former is very little more than a mere copy, we have pourtrayed before our eyes one of the noblest amongst Christian patriots. We entirely agree with its eloquent author, that 'every day serves to 'strengthen the convictions of reflecting men, that liberty can 'only be maintained by the diffusion of religion and truth in the 'hearts of the people.' Sudden emergencies may produce temporary changes: but the cross of the Redeemer, nationally apprehended by a living faith, will prove at once both the fountain of atonement, and the source of political, as well as spiritual regeneration. Those gigantic minds, which astonished the seventeenth century, derived their stature and varied powers, through being so continually conversant with eternal verities. They were fond of dwelling in profoundest meditation on matters and things unseen, and uncared for by carnal eyes. Hence their anchors of hope sunk below the stormy surface on which they floated; and that so deeply, that secular statesmen could never fathom the realities of the case, nor know by felicitous experience, the hold maintained by such as Sir Henry Vane upon the Rock of everlasting ages! Nor were the soarings of their imaginations into the firmament above them a whit less sublime in their character. Where others indulged in possible anticipations, the pious Calvinists and Puritans expatiated in assurances. The new heavens and new earth, to which they looked forward, cast

down many a bright reflection upon the world beneath and around them. The great genius, now before us, wanted all men to be free as air;—free from the fetters forged by their own passions, —free from the slavery of sin,—free from any interference with the sacred rights of conscience,—free in fact from every vestige of social or political bondage. Yet none could be greater lovers of order than himself; inasmuch as he knew it to be the appointment of God, fixed by an almighty fiat as the grand foundation upon which alone liberty can be expected to last. In one word, he was a magnanimous and a religious politician; holding fast the principle 'of the greatest happiness to be enjoyed by the 'greatest number,' upon its only righteous grounds; and with a mind, like the warrior-spirits of Milton, enshrined in the glorious armour of an impenetrable cloudless diamond! Mr. Upham has declared no more than the literal truth, in avowing that from his early youth, Henry Vane's whole heart was devoted to piety; that his sincerity and zeal were seen and acknowledged by all; that they shone with a steady and serene radiance through his whole life; that they concentrated themselves on the scene of his death, so as to extort the admiration even of his bitterest enemies; that his chosen pursuit was the acquisition of divine and moral holiness; that his most earnest and powerful efforts were devoted to its diffusion; that his soul was the constant abode of the spirit of prayer; and that his intellect was kept clear and lustrous by the rays of the Sun of Righteousness. His very youth seemed a realization of the poetical Rinaldo:

> 'Dolcemente feroce alzar vedresti
> La regal fronte, e in lui mirar sol tutti:
> L'eta precorse e la speranza; e presti
> Pareano i fior, quando n'usciro i frutti.'

We intend sketching, as briefly as possible, his life,—his opinions as developed in several invaluable compositions,—and the final catastrophe, which rendered him far more entitled to the honors of martyrdom than the royal Stuart against whom he waged a never-dying, yet most conscientious warfare!

He was descended from one of the noblest of our aristocratical families, and stands himself in the genealogies of Raby Castle, as the lineal ancestor of the present Duke of Cleveland; it being not a little remarkable, that the highest grade in our peerage should have been conferred in 1832 upon a descendant, for principles not dissimilar from those which in 1662 brought Sir Henry Vane to the scaffold! Heraldic decorations, enormous wealth, and considerable mental endowments, illustrated his entrance upon public life. At Westminster, he had figured as a lad of high birth and fortune, full of health and spirits: yet before he went

to Magdalen College, Oxford, that change took place in his heart and views, which may best be described in his own words delivered from the block on Tower Hill: 'About the fourteenth or fifteenth 'year of my age, which was thirty-four or five years since, God 'was pleased to lay the foundation or groundwork of repentance 'in me, for the bringing me home to himself, by his wonderful 'rich and free grace, revealing his Son in me, that by the know-'ledge of the only true God and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent, 'I might even whilst here in the body, be made partaker of 'eternal life, in the first fruits of it.' Vane had now to encounter precisely that opposition and persecution, which the world and Satan generally excite against vital godliness. His father was a vain, vacillating, temporizing courtier, having held the highest civil and military situations; wrapt in the purple and fine linen of honors and affluence; or if making any religious profession at all, contriving to retain it *in commendam* with the most hearty adoration of things visible and temporal. He had entertained Charles the First at Raby Castle, was a member of the Privy Council, had risen to be Treasurer of the Household, and soon became principal Secretary of State! His more magnanimous son had weighed such things, and found them wanting. The parent insisting on matriculation at the University, the young man conceived it impossible to reconcile with his conscience that wicked oath to observe obsolete statutes, which the denunciations of public opinion have but just obliterated at Oxford. Further investigation only augmented his difficulties, nor would he swear either as to allegiance or supremacy. Friends frowned and whispered: Laud, then bishop of London, undertook to tame the recusant, and of course failed: Pym had touched his understanding with something like Promethean fire: the profligate court of his sovereign extended its arms for once without success: and the son of the Prime Minister, after visiting Holland, France, and Geneva, resolved to seek a final asylum amongst the exiles in America! 'Nothing,' he afterwards observes, 'seemed difficult 'to me, so that I might preserve faith and a good conscience, 'which I prefer before all things.' For this he felt willing to forfeit all that time has to give,—to secure that which eternity itself can never take away.

He reached Boston early in 1635; was admitted to the freedom of that colony on the 3rd of March; and became governor of Massachusetts the following year. His administration brought out a fine groundwork for the brilliant points and features of his future character. Its apparent failure at the time arose from no fault of his own. For a brief period he had imagined that Religious Liberty had built her nest beyond the waves of the Atlantic: a halcyon dream, which it required at least a century and a half to realize. We have neither space nor inclination to plunge into

the famous Antinomian controversy which perplexed and brought to a close his term of office. He learnt by heart all the lessons which Providence had to teach him there; and then happily left America for ever. There was a nobler career to open before him in his native land; whither the pillar and cloud speedily conducted him. An interval of retirement followed upon his return, during which he married Frances Wray, of Ashby, in Lincolnshire. Then came the first parliament of 1640; followed by the Long Parliament of that celebrated year: to each of which he was returned member for Kingston upon Hull. He had also been knighted, and made joint Treasurer of the Navy. Both his senatorial and official duties were performed, as under the fullest impression of his being responsible to God and man. 'During 'the Long Parliament, he was usually so engaged for the public, 'in the House and several committees, from early in the morning 'until very late at night, that he had scarce any leisure to eat his 'bread, converse with his nearest relations, or mind his family 'affairs.' His American biographer has given the clearest account we have ever seen of his conduct with regard to Lord Strafford, who died undoubtedly upon the evidence furnished through Sir Henry Vane the younger. The whole is far too long to extract, and yet is too well drawn up not to suffer by curtailment. The ensuing words are those of the patriot himself, extracted from his address before the House of Commons:

'My father, being in the north with the king, the summer before, sent up his keys to his private secretary then at Whitehall, and wrote to me, that I should take them from the secretary, and open the boxes, where the evidences of his lands were, to the end that I might cause an assurance to be perfected, which concerned my wife: and having perused those evidences, and dispatched what depended thereupon, I had the curiosity to desire to see what was in a red velvet cabinet, which stood with the other boxes. I thereupon required the key of that cabinet from the secretary, *as if I still wanted somewhat* towards the business my father had directed. Having gotten the key, I found amongst other papers, that mentioned by Mr. Pym, which made that impression on me, that I thought myself bound in conscience to communicate it to some person of better judgment than myself, who might be more able to prevent the mischiefs threatened therein; and so I showed it to Mr. Pym, and being confirmed by him, that the seasonable discovery thereof might do no less than preserve the kingdom, consented that he should take a copy thereof; which to my knowledge he did faithfully: and thereupon I laid the original in the proper place again in the red velvet cabinet.'—Upham, pp. 191, 192.

It must be admitted, we think, that opening this red velvet cabinet, with the magic key so cunningly borrowed from the secretary, was something like looking into the terrible chamber

of Bluebeard! We have never been able to satisfy our own minds about the matter. His primary motive seems to have been nothing more than mere curiosity. A secret consciousness that he was treading upon the outer edge of the line of rectitude, in seeking to gratify his desire, prompted him to invent an excuse for covering it, not strictly coming up by its very nature to that exalted standard of honor which the gospel requires. Whilst in allowing a third person to copy a secret paper, belonging to his father under the seal and sanction of a Privy Counsellor's oath, we could have wished that any one else had done it, than Sir Henry Vane the younger. Much, we well know, must be allowed to the excited state of mind in which even the wisest men then were. Strafford had made himself obnoxious, past all forgetfulness if not forgiveness, to the Vanes of Raby Castle, in usurping his first title from their native barony. The inherent folly of aristocracy will never altogether be burnt out even from the purest or most patriotic subjects, which have ever come under its influences. The paper in question decided the fate of Strafford, proved as it has been perfectly genuine, and containing as it did the notes of a traiterous assertion on the part of Wentworth, that the king was absolved from the rules of government; and that he had an army ready in Ireland, wherewith he might render himself absolute in his other kingdoms. The House passed a formal vote justifying the conduct of the younger Vane, and expressing its opinion that he ought not to incur the displeasure of his father. But the feelings of the latter were not to be assuaged by votes; and a considerable period passed away before a reconciliation was effected with his son. That son, however, now rose like a star, into the political firmament. It was a religious, as well as an excited age. The late governor of Massachusetts, young as he appeared, excelled all his associates in theological acquirements. In the gifts of prayer and discussion, few could perhaps approach him. It is doubtful whether, strictly speaking, he ought to be classed either as an Independent or a Calvinist. There was a certain sense, in which he soared above both sects and ordinances, although with regard to the last, this remark has been frequently made with a sneer. His mind was so enlarged, that while he held his own views in a high and spiritual sense, he sought to imbibe fresh supplies of truth from every system of faith, and every form of religion. His noble genius, exuberant imagination, and hallowed affections, gave to every doctrine an illustration of its personal efficacy; whilst it gathered from it in return a life-giving spirit of fervor, love, and energy. Throughout the Civil War he moved subordinate characters by the mere force of his gifts and virtues. Some were only half-hearted in the good cause: he had staked body, soul, and estate, on the tremendous issue. The duties of the Navy-Treasuryship, which

he had before administered jointly with Sir William Russell, were now committed to him alone. Its fees, which it must be remembered, he held under patent, and which varied from £20,000 to £30,000 per annum, he poured at once into the public coffers of parliament, with as much fidelity and punctuality as the present Lord Camden displays with regard to his Tellership in the Exchequer: nor should it be forgotten, that whilst Sir Henry Vane's annual sacrifice was many times the amount of Lord Camden's, it was connected with an office so far from being a sinecure, that it devoured his time, and absorbed his physical powers from morning to night. Truly he was a man not 'slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.' Heaven was the home he looked to: whilst he would fain have made even the present world as much like the 'only city which hath founda-'tions' as possible.

With a soul inaccessible to fear, as it was above reproach, he set out in 1643 for Edinburgh, as one of four commissioners to conclude the Solemn League and Covenant; an alliance which, with all its inconveniences, laid the foundation for future parliamentary triumphs. 'There need be no more said of his abilities,' observes Lord Clarendon, 'than that Sir Henry Vane was chosen to cozen 'and deceive a whole nation, which excelled in craft and cunning, '—the which he succeeded in, with notable pregnancy and dex-'terity.' After his return home, he continued his active and energetic occupations, in public and private, on the floor of the House of Commons, and in committees, in council and in camp, labouring incessantly to promote the cause of justice and his country. 'He resisted all attempts to make any compromise 'with the king, except upon a basis, which would render it out 'of the question for the executive ever again to encroach upon 'the rights of the people.' Had his views prevailed, the nation might have been spared the disgraces of the Restoration, with the subsequent abortion of Whiggery, which its admirers have chosen to style the Glorious Revolution. Sir Henry Vane demonstrated himself to be one of those lofty intellects, which catch the rising sunbeams of truth, long before they have reached such an altitude in the sky as enables them to illuminate the plains and vallies. The storm of party passions raged far below him. Cromwell himself felt the awfulness of his virtue. When on the fifth of December, 1648, a majority passed their resolution in the House, that the offers of Charles ought to be accepted, Sir Henry, who had opposed the vote with his utmost efforts, gave way nevertheless, to what he justly considered a constitutional decision of the matter. Cromwell, on the other hand, hastened next day to London, and administered the celebrated Purge of Colonel Pride: a transaction which Sir Henry Vane neither countenanced nor tolerated, 'although it removed his opponents from the House,

'and secured to his own views and principles an undisputed 'sway. He alone of all the republicans refused to partake of a 'triumph thus obtained. He retired from that hour to private 'life, both disgusted and shocked: and for the violence and blood-'shed, which afterwards occurred, he is not in any degree respon-'sible.' The American biographer, however, has overstated the fact with regard to his withdrawal being any thing more than temporary. He protested against the political quackery of the future Protector, who had thus shown himself ready to do evil that good might come. His brief secession kept him clear from all agency in the trial and execution of Charles Stuart: but, on the 17th of February, 1649, when a Council of State was installed into whose hands the government was committed, Sir Henry Vane became afterwards not merely a member, but for some time President of it. As Treasurer and Commissioner for the Navy, he exclusively directed that branch of the public service. For nearly four years, from 1649 to 1653, he may be said to have ruled England: quite as much, we mean, as the executive of the United States directs the helm of affairs at Washington. The foreign relations fell entirely under his management. His vast talents commenced the proud fabric of our maritime supremacy erected upon the humiliation of that of Holland. He planned and conducted a war with this then potent republic, in which the heroic courage of Admiral Blake gathered his hard earned laurels. Popham and Dean were commanders scarcely less illustrious. Vane encouraged and supported talent wherever it was to be discovered. The Dutch had hitherto entitled themselves lords of the ocean. When the contest began, they exulted in the full vigor of their prowess, having never yet at sea felt the breath of calamity. Their ships domineered in every port, and on every coast: those of Great Britain appeared comparatively insignificant. In November, 1652, Van Tromp, with eighty sail, had driven Blake into harbor with the loss of two vessels, after a fight of five hours; although the latter had not thirty-seven perfectly equipt ships under his command. The victorious Hollander paraded his fleet up and down the English Channel, ostentatiously exhibiting a broom at his masthead, as if he had swept his antagonists from their own waters. The nation unreasonably murmured. But within a few days Sir Henry Vane boldly presented his estimates before the Commons, and procured a resolution that £40,000 per month should be appropriated to the arsenals and navy-yards. Then arose the question, as to how such an expenditure could be supported? Yet the patriot was fully prepared even for the most extreme emergencies. 'He brought 'in a bill, and had it read at once a first time and second, to sell 'Windsor Park, Hampton Court, Hyde Park, Greenwich Park, 'Enfield Castle, and Somerset House, of all which the proceeds

'were to be applied for the maintenance of his purpose.' In the early weeks of February Sir Henry had set Blake afloat with no less than fourscore ships of war. An engagement off Portland ensued on the 18th, protracted during three whole days; when at length, as is well known, the victory was awarded by Providence to our flag. Van Tromp lost eleven sail of the line and thirty merchantmen, or according to another account, seventeen or eighteen of the former and seventy of the latter; whilst 3500 of his mariners were either slain or captured. We repeat it, that the younger Vane, as an energetic minister, proved the instrument under God, of transferring the trident from Rotterdam and the Zuyder Zee, to the river Thames, which it has now adorned for a period of almost two centuries.

Nor was the genius of Sir Henry Vane confined to matters of foreign warfare: for his was a mind ever sighing for that day when men shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, nor enter into conflict more. He well knew that among the means to such an end, none were so likely to be successful at home as a fair and comprehensive platform of representative freedom. Righteous liberty is the fairest handmaid to vital godliness: it opens the multifarious channels for those waters of life to flow forward in, which proceed from the Spirit of Jehovah. Their blessed source he admitted to exist alone in the throne of God: their influences he expected to see more and more widely diffused, just in proportion as every obstacle, arising from civil despotism, or ecclesiastical exclusiveness, should be removed out of the way. The essence of modern British liberty he considered to be involved in Parliamentary Reform. Together with Ireton and Algernon Sydney he had drawn up and reported an excellent bill for the purpose. Its outline was, that the lower house should consist of four hundred members, that the small boroughs should be disfranchised, that the franchise should be secured equally to all religious persuasions, and that it should be most carefully guarded both against corruption and oppression. Ludlow informs us that with the exception of a few of the largest cities, which were to be allowed to send special representatives, the members were to be chosen in counties, apportioned as nearly as possible to the sums charged upon them for the service of the state; whilst every man possessing £200 in lands, leases, or goods, was to be an elector. Had this scheme been then realized, although the qualification may seem high, the masses of our population would not be, what they appear to some timid politicians now, mere unenlightened numbers, not worthy to be trusted with even the household suffrage. None knew better than Vane did, the innate depravity and deceitfulness of the human heart; yet few were ever more ready than he to entrust his fellow-creatures with political rights,

which rank amongst the most important elements of discipline in our social probationary state. On the 20th of April, 1653, the House having concluded all preliminary measures respecting the Bill, nothing remained necessary to render it a law of the land except the third reading: when, alas! another sort of scene was at hand.

'Cromwell at last, and evidently against the most powerful struggles of his conscience, roused himself for the occasion, and repaired to the House. He was drest in a suit of plain black, with gray worsted stockings. He took his seat, and appeared to be listening to the debate. As the Speaker was about to rise to put the question, Cromwell whispered to Harrison, 'Now is the time; I must do it.' As he rose, his countenance became flushed and blackened by the terrific passions which the crisis awakened. With the most reckless violence of manner and language, he abused and aspersed the character of the House: and after the first burst of his denunciations had passed, suddenly changing his tone, he exclaimed, 'You think, perhaps, that this is not parliamentary language; I know it; nor are you to expect such from me.' He then advanced out into the middle of the hall, and walked to and fro, like a man beside himself. In a few moments he stamped upon the floor,—the doors flew open, and a file of musketeers entered. As they advanced, Cromwell exclaimed, looking over the House, 'You are no parliament; I say you are no parliament; begone,—and give place to honester men.' He then ordered the Speaker to leave the chair; and when his eye fell upon the mace, he shouted out,—'What have we to do with that fool's bauble?—Take it away!'

'While this extraordinary scene was transacting, the members, hardly believing their own ears and eyes, sat in mute amazement, horror, and pity of the maniac traitor, who was storming and raving before them. At length Vane rose to remonstrate, and call him to his senses; but Cromwell, instead of listening to him, drowned his voice, repeating with great vehemence, and as though drunk with the desperate excitement of the moment—'Sir Harry Vane,—Sir Harry Vane,—Good Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!' He then seized the records, snatched the bill from the hands of the clerk, drove the members out at the point of the bayonet, locked the doors, put the key in his pocket, and returned to Whitehall. On reaching his palace, he observed in relating the exploit, 'When I went to the House, I did not think to have done this: but perceiving the spirit of God so strong upon me, I would no longer confer with flesh and blood!'

—Upham, pp. 241—243.

Thus terminated the memorable Long Parliament, in the very act of attempting to bequeath a series of successors to posterity, which would have added to the immortality of its name. It may startle some of our readers to peruse our next statement: yet most certain it is, that the military violence which ejected Vane and his compatriots on this occasion, was neither more nor less

than a peculiar form of Conservatism, resolved to govern the many for the exclusive benefit of the one, or the few. Oliver Cromwell had here the audacity to throw aside that flimsy veil, which our anti-reformers drew so closely to their faces, during a resistance offered some few years since to the overthrow of an irresponsible oligarchy. It remains, however, to be seen, whether Lord Grey and his followers have really achieved a victory so far superior to Sir Henry Vane, as might at first appear. The *nominis umbra* of triumph has been, indeed, won: but if the Commons are still to succumb to the Lords;—if the staff of life is still to continue a crutch of foul revenue to the tottering luxury of a rotten aristocracy;—if the coronet of Toryism is still to dictate to the crown on the one hand, whilst it corrupts the people on the other;—if the Peerage is still to continue an Old Man of the Sea with his fingers on the neck of the nation;—then we repeat it, no small doubt arises, whether it might not have been better in the long run, for some military hero of 1832, to have acted the part of the conqueror of three kingdoms one hundred and seventy-nine years before. Sir Henry Vane impersonated the liberalism of his age,—an age more full of vehemence and vigor than remarkable for wisdom in connexion with moderation. Yet he quietly withdrew to his retirement at Raby Castle, to bury himself in domestic endearments, or in religious, learned, and philosophical occupations.

We may now, therefore, indulge ourselves with a glance at his opinions, as developed in a variety of important publications. These all rested upon a solid foundation of principles, such as were included by the Roman orator in the term *lex nata*,—large, fundamental truths, hewn, elaborated, and laid together, through the labor of diligent research and attention. The laboratory of his understanding formed the centre of a vast palace, where all the sages of antiquity might behold their works undergoing the process of analysis: whatever could bear the crucible turned immediately to account; whilst its author would at the same time be recognized, lodged, and entertained, after a fashion suitable to his claims. Yet there was an inner sanctuary,—that of the heart,—which was kept for God alone. This had once been in him, what it is in all unregenerate persons, a cage of unclean birds: but grace had wrought its new creation there. It had been reconstructed upon the model of a living temple: it was sprinkled throughout with the precious blood of an atonement: the cross of Christ was erected as its altar to shed light and lustre upon the volume of inspiration for ever laid open before it; and the presence of the Spirit was the shining Shechinah of its glory. Here lay the real seat and scene of his study,—his worship,—his meditation,—his influence over men,—his prostration before his Maker. *Bene orasse est bene studuisse* was the correct assertion

of one of the best among the Fathers. Hence also proceeded both his political and intellectual prowess; so that the pen of the proscribed patriot would tell upon the pride and might of the renowned usurper, as though the wing of an angel smote him! Sir Henry now wrote and published his principal theological work, called 'The Retired Man's Meditation, or the Mystery 'and Power of Godliness shining forth in the living Word, to 'the unmasking the mystery of iniquity in the most refined and 'purest forms.' He also put forth a political work in quarto, entitled 'A Letter from a true and lawful member of parliament 'to one of the lords of his Highness's council.' Cromwell, moreover, having announced a fast, had issued a declaration that all persons should 'apply themselves to the Lord to discover the 'Achan, who had so long obstructed the settlement of these dis-'tracted kingdoms.' Sir Henry Vane accordingly took him at his word, and favored both the Protector and his subjects with 'A Healing Question propounded and resolved, upon occasion 'of the late public and seasonable call to Humiliation, in order to 'love and union amongst the Honest Party, and with a desire to 'apply balm to the wound, before it shall become incurable.' It has been justly observed that this production is one of the ablest papers ever propounded in any age or nation. The elements of civil and religious liberty are here exhibited, together with the rules to be observed in constructing a civil government. It perhaps developes for the first time the idea of a written constitution or body of fundamental laws, by which all government is to be controlled and limited. Such a constitution is the preservative principle of the United States,—forming them into a Republic, and distinguishing them from an unformed, naked democracy. Strange as it may seem, this treatise had become so rare as to have escaped the notice of Hume and nearly all historians * (even Hallam not excepted), until recent circumstances occasioned its republication. Its sum and substance may be stated under two heads, namely the just and natural rights of men in civil affairs, and their true freedom in matters of conscience. With regard to the first, he clearly demonstrates, how that after the Norman Conquest, one fragment after another of popular freedom came to be filched and purloined away by selfish rulers, accumulating power in their own hands for private purposes. To effect a recovery on behalf of the people, of what ought always to have remained in their possession, the Civil War had been undertaken; and that reform of parliament, which Vane patronised, would have produced its appropriate results, had not military violence

* This is the more remarkable, as it is found in the Somers' Collection, vol. vi. p. 303; revised by the late Sir Walter Scott in 1811. Second edition.

prevailed. It must not be forgotten also, that in the scheme he originally proposed, there were many more excellent features than in that wherein, for the sake of peace and unanimity, he ultimately acquiesced. The disastrous division of counties was avoided altogether, with the exception of the Yorkshire Ridings: whilst on the subject of qualification he pressed and struggled hard for affording the county suffrage to all forty shilling freeholders; to all tenants in ancient demesne; to all customary tenants; to all five pound per annum copyholders; to all life tenants in possession of the clear yearly value of five pounds; and to all leaseholders for twenty-one years in possession of a rental above £20: particularly pointing out the great danger of vesting a franchise in those whose tenure of estate subjected them to perpetual control. There can be little doubt, but that it was to escape some such mischief as the famous, or rather infamous Chandos clause of our own Reform Bill, that after being defeated in several divisions, he at length most reluctantly consented to the substitution of a £200 qualification (real or personal), as we before mentioned. The memory of what had passed, perhaps, prompted more than one remark, as to the civil claims of his fellow-creatures, so ably advocated in the Healing Question; but as to their religious rights, our readers, we feel certain, will prefer his own words, at once simple, fervid, and sublime, to any conceivable abridgment of them. He thus proceeds:

'The second branch, which remains briefly to be handled, is that which also, upon the grounds of natural right, is to be laid claim unto, but distinguishes itself from the former, as it respects a more heavenly and excellent object, wherein the freedom is to be exercised and enjoined; that is to say, matters of religion, or that concern the service and worship of God.

'Unto this freedom, the nations of the world have right and title by the blood of Christ, who by the purchase and virtue of his death and resurrection, is BECOME THE SOLE LORD AND RULER IN AND OVER THE CONSCIENCE; for to this end Christ died, rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and the living; and that every one might give an account of himself, in all matters of worship, under God and Christ alone, as their great Master; unto whom they stand or fall in judgment; and are not in these things to be oppressed, or brought before the judgment-seats of men! For, why shouldest thou set at nought thy brother in matters of his faith and conscience, and herein intrude into the proper office of Christ, since we are all to stand at the judgment-seat of Christ, whether governors or governed, and by his decision only are capable of being declared with certainty to be either in the right or in the wrong.

'By virtue, then, of this supreme law, sealed and confirmed in the blood of Christ, unto all men (whose souls he challenges a propriety in, to bring under his inward rule in the service and worship of God),

it is, that all magistrates are to fear and forbear intermeddling with, giving rule, or imposing, in those matters: they are to content themselves with what is plain in their commission, as ordained of God to be his ministers unto men for good, whilst they approve themselves the doers of that which is good in the sight of men, and whereof earthly and worldly judicatures are capable to make a clear and perfect judgment; in which case, the magistrate is to be for praise and protection to them. In like manner he is to be a minister of terror and revenge to those that do evil in matters of outward practice, converse, and dealings in the things of this life between man and man, for the cause whereof the judicatures of men were appointed and set up. But to exceed these limits, as it is not safe nor warrantable for the magistrate (in that He who is higher than the highest, regards and will show himself displeased at it), so neither is it good for the people, who hereby are nourished up in a biting, devouring, wrathful spirit, one against another, and are found transgressors of that royal law, which forbids us to do that unto others which we would not have them do unto us, were we in their condition.'—Forster, pp. 365, 366.

It may well be supposed that the Protector felt not a little startled at the apparition of this Healing Question from the seclusion of Raby Castle. Its author rose up thus suddenly before him, like the mantled spectre of Samuel, amidst the incantations of the witch of Endor. In the power of the Lord of Hosts, who had now abandoned him to his own devices, truth and justice became, as to his domestic government, avenging witnesses against Cromwell. Vane had recommended a convention of honest and faithful persons, to be elected by the free suffrage of the nation, as the only mode of delivering it from present, impending, and increasing difficulties. Unfortunately, however, the conqueror of Worcester was no longer a patriot but an usurper. In vain was it, that Sir Henry still entertained some hope that he might be brought back to the service of that cause of which he had once been a glorious champion: in vain was it, that with such views, he now blended the most perfect kindness and respectful tenderness towards himself with unshaken fidelity in propounding both admonition and reproof. He even transmitted him a copy of the work privately, through General Fleetwood, prior to its publication: but when it was returned in contemptuous silence, after the lapse of a month, Sir Henry launched it from the press forthwith, having also added a postscript, in which allusion was made to the fact, that the Protector had been previously apprised of its contents. Some have thought that Fleetwood never fulfilled his commission: but be that as it may, all ages and ranks devoured the new pamphlet; and Vane was summoned before the Council, by a writ which reached him on the 4th of August at his seat of Bellean, in Lincolnshire. On the 21st he appeared to answer it at Whitehall; whence an ulti-

mate committee consigned him, for issuing seditious papers, as a prisoner of state to Carisbrooke Castle. He might well remonstrate with his tyrants, that 'it was with no small grief to be 'lamented, that the evil and wretched principles, by which the 'late king aimed to work out his design, should now revive and 'spring up under the hands of men professing godliness.' Public opinion waxed hot on his behalf, against such intolerable domination. The captive calmly braved the storm: and no fault being really to be found in him, a secret order liberated him from his enthralment on the last day of the year 1656. Harrington meanwhile had astonished the world with the wildness of his famous Oceana; which no sooner appeared, than Sir Henry Vane commenced in the Isle of Wight, his 'Needful Corrective or Balance 'in Popular Government.' He also published about the same time, his theological treatise on 'The Love of God, and on Union 'with God.' Both in religion and politics, his fervor was like that of a seraph, lustrous rather than sparkling, its light the result of life and love, never descending towards the regions of coldness,—yet equally distant from the vagrancies of folly and fanaticism.

With regard to his recent incarceration, there was something due to the general indignation, which in fact had restored him to liberty. He therefore drew up a concise narrative, entitled 'The 'Proceedings of the Protector;' which without a word of unnecessary animadversion, just set before the eyes of the people, as in a living portrait, that veritable King Stork which their own negligence and divisions had suffered to be set up over them. The sceptre of the Stuarts had passed into the hands of one far mightier than themselves: yet cruelty and oppression perched upon it no less than before. Cromwell, perceiving that he dare not touch either the life or liberty of his victim, bethought himself of Satan in the book of Job, and resolved to persecute his property. The entire weight and energies of the executive were meanly set in motion against a private individual. It was conceived that his estates might possibly be involved within the meshes of the law; and therefore the Attorney-General obeyed his orders from Oliver to discover or invent flaws in the titles whereby the Durham and Lincolnshire manors, attached to Raby and Bellean, had descended to their possessor. Bills filed in the Exchequer, together with a series of other shamefully vexatious proceedings, harassed the mind, menaced the peace, and impoverished the purse of Sir Henry; whilst he was at the same moment given to understand, that if he would but support the protectoral government, all should at once terminate! The great patriot heard, and smiled, and sighed. He felt with his family as alive to the comforts of affluence as any man: but conscience was dearer to him than wealth; and he

rejected with scorn each infamous proposal. He knew that poverty was better than crime or compromise; and he acted accordingly: though the blood of our readers must boil as they peruse the page. The genius of Milton had poured forth its solemn deprecations, without any apparent effect, into the ears of the victorious apostate from freedom; when death overtook him on the anniversary of his grandest triumphs; and writs for a parliament issued, under his son and successor, returnable on the 27th of January, 1659.

The hopes of honest men once more revived,—and alas! revived in vain. It was felt that upon the members chosen would rest the settlement of the nation. To keep out Sir Henry was at all events the object of government. No pains were spared, nor any villainy avoided for the achievement of this single purpose. He offered himself and was duly returned for Hull; when in defiance of justice, the returning officers, being creatures of Richard Cromwell, gave their certificate of election to another. To waste no time, he then proceeded to Bristol with precisely the same results; namely, a large majority basely overruled by a false return. He still, however, persevered, and was finally returned for Whitechurch, in Hampshire. It struck his mind that Providence had at length afforded an opportunity for securing the reign of liberty and just laws in his native country. Whatever might remain of honor, and probity, and disinterestedness throughout England now rallied for the last time under his banner. He opposed the new house of peers which the late protector had called into existence; and held up his darling image of a republic before their eyes. Meanwhile, Richard, threatened by the army, resolved upon a dissolution; but news having reached the house of his design, its members closed their doors against the Usher of the Black Rod, whilst Vane delivered an address, which had he written or spoken nothing else, would alone have conferred upon him unblemished, if not unparalleled renown. It must be remembered, too, that his followers were a minority in the assembly, through the malpractices of the executive; and that the voice of the patriot could almost be heard by the very power he thus dared to attack. We regret that we cannot spare any space for it. Oratory, genius, and the spirit of freedom have achieved few such triumphs. It broke at once and for ever the whole protectorate; so that the helm for a brief interval passed again into the grasp of the republicans. The old Long Parliament received a summons from the Council of Officers, after Richard had abdicated, and dispersed his two chambers. Sir Henry received his nomination, both as one of the Committee of Safety, and as a member of the Permanent Council of State. In September, 1659, he became President of that Council; when he again gave up the entire force of his mind, not merely to the

arduous duties of governing three kingdoms, but also to the construction of a constitution for them. In one word, Sir Henry Vane in his statesmanship proved no less than an anticipation of Thomas Jefferson; nor can there be perhaps any higher human praise. He laid down and embodied three mighty principles: first, that supreme authority, delegated by the people to their trustees, ought to be in some certain fundamentals not dispensed with; secondly, that it must be destructive to liberty to admit any single person to the legislative, or executive power over the nation; and thirdly, that the supreme power is not committed to the trustees of the people, so as that compulsion, or interference, may be exercised in the slightest degree, touching matters of conscience, faith, or worship. True, indeed, it was, that our countrymen at this period so rushed into servitude, that every effort, made even by the noblest spirits, fell prostrate before the Restoration. As Tacitus wrote of the degenerate Romans, an overwhelming tide of social and political immorality *ad omne servitium fregerat, faciles occupantibus, et melioribus incuriosos.* General Monk, with his small yet well appointed force, enfolded himself in the execrations of mankind, and sold the liberties of a land for the ducal coronet of Albermarle. Charles the Second returned: monarchy was re-erected: the aspirations of Sir Henry Vane were postponed for a series of ages: whilst his own blood had to stain a scaffold, as if to give one demonstration more that the rewards of the righteous are in heaven.

He was of course among the earliest victims demanded by a victorious party. Faction, treachery, covetousness, disunion, and profligacy, roared loudly for his incarceration and murder. His arrest and confinement transferred him first to his ancestral seats, then to the Tower of London, afterwards from prison to prison, on his way into the west of England, and finally to the islands of Scilly for two dreary years. We cannot forbear transcribing the following passage:

'While waiting the slow approach of royal vengeance, in the solitary and dismal recesses of the desolate castle in which he was immured, his noble spirit was neither subdued nor depressed. Although separated from his family and friends, and severed as it were from the earth itself, shut out from the light of heaven, and the intercourse of man, hearing no sound but the dashing of the ocean against the foundation-stones, and the howling of its storms among the turrets of his feudal prison, his soul remained serene and unruffled, the abode of peace and light. Religion and philosophy, to whose service he had devoted his great faculties and pure affections, in the days of his ardent youth and glorious manhood, when power and prosperity were his lot, and the world was bright before him, now came to solace, and cheer, and bless him, in the reverse of his earthly fortunes, and when the dark clouds were gathering around the close of his career. Although to

human eye his efforts had failed, and the cause of liberty seemed utterly undone and lost,—when even hope itself had fled from every other breast, he did not despond. Not a shadow of doubt passed over his spirit. His confidence was founded upon a rock, and his faith in the promises of God, disclosed to his clear and heaven-illumined vision the sure prospect of that happy period, when there will be no more tyranny or oppression on the earth. He felt that the hour of his final trial was rapidly approaching; and although there was a constitutional delicacy and tenderness in his nature, which had even made him so sensitive to physical suffering, as to lead his enemies to charge him with a want of personal courage, he contemplated death with a singular calmness and complacency of spirit. And well he might; for when he looked back over his life, his mind rested with a just satisfaction upon the faithful and constant devotion of his talents to the cause of God and his people; and when he turned towards the future, he contemplated with glorious hope and blessed assurance, the harvest in reserve, through his Saviour, for sincerity, benevolence, and piety, in that world, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.'—Upham, pp. 299, 300.

Nor was his deep solitude unprofitable to the world at large. He here composed several elaborate works in his favorite branches of theology. One of them, entitled, 'An Epistle General to the 'Mystical Body of Christ upon Earth, the Church Universal in 'Babylon, and to all who are seeking after the Heavenly Coun-'try,' addressed his fellow-religionists, in strains pathetical, and yet practical; manifesting, at the same time, the deep concern he felt in the spiritual welfare of all men. He also drew up a treatise, called 'The Face of the Times;' which was an attempt to explain unfulfilled prophecy; showing more particularly that the kingdom of Jesus may and must subsist in the minds of his people, and often as a hidden state, concealed from the observation of the ungodly. Those that are in this kingdom he describes as having wells and springs opened to them in the wilderness, 'whence they draw the waters of salvation, without being in 'bondage to the life of sense.' Politics also came in for their due share of attention. He penned the 'Case of the People 'stated;' elaborately carrying out, as he had already done before in the Healing Question, the foundation, characteristics, and landmarks of civil liberty. His 'Meditations on Death' formed another edifying labor, full of love and solemn sweetness, and with so many exquisite passages, that selection would be almost impossible. He had learned to die from one who overcame the last enemy; having cried from the atoning cross, 'O death, I 'will be thy plague: O grave, I will be thy destruction!' We had rather extract the following letter to his wife, dated March 7, 1662:

'My dear heart!

'The wind yet continuing contrary, makes me desirous to be as much in converse with thee, as the providence of God will permit; hoping these will come safe to your hand. It is no small satisfaction to me, in these sharp trials, to experience the truth of those Christian principles, which God of his grace has afforded you and me, in our measures the knowledge of, and emboldened us to make the profession.

'This dark night and black shade, which God hath drawn over his work in the midst of us, may be, for aught we know, the ground-colour to some beautiful piece, that he is exposing to the light. God hath set this before the eye of my faith, as the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. This is that perfection, which by conformity with Christ in his death, and fellowship with him in his resurrection, is in a most eminent degree attainable before our dissolution, and the putting off our earthly tabernacle. It shall be so far attained by the power and glory of Christ, that is to be revealed in us, that it shall not much fall short of a very transfiguration. And the state of the then glorious church will be no less than a heaven upon earth, in the new heavens and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

'Nor would I have it thought, that I have already attained the powerful practice of this holy duty and perfection, but it is much in my desire, aim, and hope. The Lord grant me and mine to be content, if he deny us to live of our own, and will bring us to the daily bread of his finding, which he will have us wait for fresh and fresh from his own table, without our knowing any thing of it beforehand. Peradventure there is a greater sweetness and blessing in such a condition than we can imagine, till we have tried it. This may add to my help, even our making little haste to get out of our troubles, patiently waiting till God's time come, wherein he will open the prison doors, either by death, or some other way, as he please, for the magnifying his own great name, not suffering us to be our own choosers in any thing, as hitherto hath been his way with us.

'And why should such a taking up sanctuary in God, and desiring to continue a pilgrim and solitary in this world, whilst I am in it, afford still matter of jealousy, distrust, and rage, as I see it doth, to those who are unwilling that I should be buried and lie quiet in my grave, where I now am. They that press so earnestly to carry on my trial, do little know what presence of God may be afforded me in it, and issue out of it, to the magnifying of Christ in my body, by life or by death. Nor can they, I am sure, imagine how much I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, which, of all things that can befal me, I account best of all. And till then I desire to be made faithful in my place and station, to make confession of him before men, and not deny his name, if called forth to give a public testimony and witness concerning him, and to be herein nothing terrified. What then will the hurt be, that I can or shall receive by the worst that man can do unto me, who can but kill the body, and thereby open my prison door, that I may ascend into the pleasures that are at the right hand of

Christ Jesus. If the storm against us grow still higher and higher, so as to strip us of all we have, the earth is still the Lord's, and the fulness thereof: he hath a good storehouse for us to live upon.

'God can, and if he think fit, will chalk out some way, wherein he may appear by his providence to choose for us, and not leave us to ur own choice. And being contracted into that small compass, which he shall think fit to reduce us unto, we may perhaps meet with as true inward contentment, and see as great a mercy in such a sequestration from the world, as if we were in the greatest outward prosperity.

'I know nothing that remains to us, but like a tossed ship in a storm, to let ourselves be shaken and driven with the winds, till He that can make these storms to cease, and bring us into a safe haven, do work out our deliverance for us. I doubt not but you will, accordingly, endeavour to prepare for the worst.'—Upham, pp. 319—321; Forster, pp. 208—210.

That *worst* soon arrived. He was arraigned before the Court of King's Bench, on the 2nd of June, 1662: and whoever may wish to see the depths of treachery and falsehood, or the cruel labyrinths of law, amidst which, judges, juries, and counsel, were accustomed to torment, and then legally murder their victims, under Charles the Second, will find ample satisfaction in both the volumes now before us. The accused so conducted himself throughout the monstrous ordeal, as to command the sympathies even of his bitterest enemies. But, alas! it was virtue in the den of lions, with no messenger from heaven to shut their mouths; because they were the appointed liberators, to release from his agonies below, a magnanimous servant of the Most High. Vane had been excepted from the act of indemnity at the restoration, upon a solemn promise from the king that his life at all events should be spared. His Majesty proved as faithless to this pledge, as the Stuarts generally were to whatever engagements they might incur. The profligate monarch wrote a few lines to Lord Clarendon, admitting, though obscurely, that his conscience felt fettered, yet observing also that the prisoner was 'too dangerous 'a man to let live, if he could honestly be put out of the way!' Royal revenge had been awakened and whetted by some remarks during the trial: so that both sovereign and minister panted for his blood. In considering the transaction, it is impossible to dissent from the judgment of Serjeant Heywood; that 'no single 'act of Charles the Second has left so foul a stain upon his 'memory, as his having sought the execution of Sir Henry Vane. 'However valid his justification may seem to be in the ethics of 'tyrants, the want of feeling, with which he makes the detestable 'proposal to the chancellor, admits of no palliation.' But we hasten forward to the final catastrophe!

He was allowed from Wednesday, when sentence was pronounced, until Saturday, to prepare for his execution. In this

awful interval he calmly composed his 'Exhortation to his Chil-'dren,' of which the substance amounted to an irrefragable axiom, that they were to resolve to suffer any thing from men, rather than sin against God. In parting from his friends, he comforted himself and them with the assurance, that to depart and be with Christ was far better: for he said, 'In heaven there 'is an innumerable company of angels, with the spirits of just 'men made perfect, and Jesus, the blessed mediator of the new 'covenant: there are holy and just laws, a pure government, 'blessed and good society, every one doing their duty; whilst 'here we want all these.' Yet it was when his children took their leave, that the shinings of the furnace shone upon his inmost soul. Paternal fondness grew warmer and warmer, so as that the struggle would have appalled even the jailers themselves, had not his Christian principle enabled him to triumph over the temptation which assailed his fortitude, through the dearest affections and ties of nature. With a strength above his own, he at length embraced them tenderly, and with deep emotion; observing that, through the eye of faith, he could bless God for being enabled to look beyond the relations of earth to that glorious Mount Zion, where he would need none of them! Then kissing them, he exclaimed, 'The Lord bless you: He will be a 'better Father to you: I must now forget that I ever knew you! 'I can willingly leave this place, and outward enjoyments, for 'those I shall meet with hereafter in a better country. I have 'made it my business to acquaint myself with the society of 'heaven. Be not you troubled, for I am going home to my 'Father.' Subsequently he prayed with them, that 'as his hour-'glass was now turned up, and the sand running out apace,' he might be permitted so to honor his Saviour in the presence of many witnesses, that a blessing might descend upon the three kingdoms. Then followed a heart-rending farewell, respecting which, as his family withdrew, he was heard to whisper, 'There 'is some flesh remaining yet; but I must cast it behind me, and 'press forward to my God.' When the fatal hour arrived, he was drawn on a sledge out of the Tower, amidst enormous multitudes of people; so that even the roofs of the adjacent houses were covered with spectators, expressing by their tears and gestures how much love and respect they bore him. 'The Lord,' they cried, 'go with you, the Great God of heaven and earth appear 'in you and for you!' He acknowledged their sympathy with cheerfulness, uncovering his head, and bowing to them several times. When asked how he felt, he replied, 'Never better,— 'never better in my whole life.' Having arrived within the rails, he ascended the steps with alacrity, and showed himself to the immense concourse, in front of the scaffold, with such nobleness of deportment, equally removed from levity and gloominess, that

persons present could hardly be persuaded, that the 'gentleman 'in a black suit and cloak, with a scarlet silk waistcoat,' was to be the sufferer. After the sheriff had commanded silence, Sir Henry addressed the crowd. He assured them, that when the warrant had reached his keepers at midnight, a passage in the prophet Zechariah came home to his mind, that the garments of mortality, defiled with his iniquities, were about to be taken from him, that he might be clothed with change of raiment, and a robe washed white in the blood of the Lamb. He then pressed upon public attention the injustice of his arraignment and trial, upon which the trumpeters were ordered to approach, and sound their instruments so loud, that no human voice should be heard. Yet nothing daunted, he proceeded to relate the outlines of his life and conversion; showing, moreover, that in his political career, he was in no degree connected, either directly or indirectly, with the death of King Charles, nor with the blood or estate of any other individual, dead or alive. And now did it appear, as though the whole metropolis responded to his appeal. Every eye ran down with tears, and every breast heaved with indignation. The sight of his noble countenance,—the serene and almost divine composure of his entire deportment, heightened by the recollection of his services and sufferings, and inflamed by an eloquence the admiration of his ablest contemporaries,—began to produce their inevitable consequences. The fame of his defence before corrupt judges, when he had vindicated not merely his own cause, but that of popular freedom, had rung far and wide through the city: but now the assembled thousands beheld a yet more marvellous spectacle, in his conquest over any fear of an ignominious and violent dissolution, as well as his magnanimity towards antagonists, less placable than the grave. Royalism listened and trembled. Once again the trumpets sounded, to drown the words of the patriot, and the sobs of his audience. Sir Henry, preserving his usual firmness, only declared his readiness to endure the most bitter treatment, since that of his Divine Master had been far harder. A third time the trumpets were blown; for the multitudes waved to and fro, deepening in their excitement. Sir John Robinson, with two or three others, inhumanly rushed upon the prisoner, and endeavored to seize his papers. The subalterns also thrust their rude hands into his pockets: amidst such brutal violence on their part, and such patient dignity on his, that even a zealous loyalist denounced their brutalism towards a man, who was dying 'like a prince.' Order at last being restored, he prayed with deep pathos and fervid earnestness. The following were a few of his expressions: 'Bring us, O Lord, into the true mystical 'Sabbath, that we may cease from our own works, rest from our 'own labours, and become a meet habitation of thy Spirit, through 'the everlasting covenant. Thou knowest, that in the faith of

'Jesus, and for the truth as it is in Jesus, thy servant desires to 'die. When his blood is shed upon the block, let it have a voice 'afterward, that may speak his innocency, and strengthen the 'confidence of thy people in the truth. Let an abundant en-'trance be administered into the house not made with hands, 'eternal in the heavens, that when this tabernacle is dissolved, 'we may have peace and joy everlasting. We desire to give no 'just cause of offence, nor to provoke any, but in meekness to 'forgive our enemies. Thy servant, that is now falling asleep, 'doth heartily desire of thee, that thou wouldest forgive them, 'and not lay this sin to their charge.' He then adjusted his person to receive the final stroke; and looking up, he said, 'I 'bless the Lord, who hath accounted me worthy to suffer for his 'name. Blessed be the Lord, that I have kept a conscience void 'of offence unto this day. I bless the Lord, that I have not 'deserted the righteous cause, for which I suffer.' As he bowed his head to the block, he uttered these words: 'Father, glorify 'thy servant in the sight of man, that he may glorify thee, in 'the discharge of his duty this day to thee, and to his country.' In an instant, and at a single blow, the executioner discharged his office!

We are told that an ancient traveller, unknown to the world by name, whose extraordinary taste it was to attend public executions, that he might observe the demeanor of the victims, always examined each countenance, whenever he could, immediately as it fell on the scaffold. He was present on this occasion, and observed that, 'whereas the heads of all he had ever before seen, 'did some way or other move after the severance, as if arguing 'some natural reluctancy to die, the noble head of this sufferer 'lay perfectly still and composed, from the very moment of sepa-'ration.' The moral effect of the tragedy is described by Burnet and Pepys as having almost shaken the throne as well as the nation. Ludlow enrolled the sufferer amongst the most heroic martyrs. Such rapturous and glowing sensations appear to have been excited, that his family, through the mere force of public opinion, recovered their estates and honors. These have multiplied down to our own days; as if to mark the blessing of Providence as attached to departed excellence; although, undoubtedly, the present world is seldom a scene of reward to those individuals themselves.

But so passed into eternity the holy and patriotic Sir Henry Vane. It has been observed, that in his death, the first age of English liberty reached its termination. It commenced and it closed in blood. Strafford was the earliest victim of the incensed genius of freedom, and Vane was the last great sacrifice offered up to the vengeance of restored despotism; until that movement began under Russel and Sydney, which resulted in the enthrone-

ment of William. Rare indeed are such statesmen as the one we have just been contemplating. He lived and died for mankind; whilst his love of man altogether rested upon his love of God. As a public servant it may be difficult to affirm whether his abilities, or his industry, were greatest: he recognized the historical assertion, that *Labor voluptasque, dissimillima naturâ, societate quâdam inter se naturali sunt juncta;* but his piety, beyond a question, far surpassed both. Here lay the lasting amaranth, the glory and immortality of his fame. It was a misfortune that he was so much in advance of his contemporaries, as to receive from them rather admiration than effective support. His writings may be thought by some less simple and intelligible than his actions; nor can it be expected that Episcopalians should admit the force of his arguments against bishops, any more than the controversial opponents of Mrs. Hutchinson should fancy the favor and support which he conscientiously felt bound to render that once celebrated lady. All, however, may agree to offer fair homage to integrity without a stain, to disinterestedness which absorbed selfishness, to an eloquence which emulated the first orators of antiquity, to an ardent patriotism unconquered even by the king of terrors, and to a faith which led him to count all things but loss, that he might know Christ in the power of his resurrection, and be made conformable in heart and life to the precepts of his everlasting gospel. The sneers of Hume, at what he is pleased to style the jargon of his enthusiasm, are amongst the most satisfactory elements of his praise. Even at the foot of the cross itself, and how much less at any human scaffold, infidelity will never learn, that verily there remaineth a reward for the righteous: doubtless there is a God who unerringly governs the earth!

Art. II. *Lectures on Justification.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D., Fellow of Oriel College, and Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin's, Oxford. 8vo. London: Rivington. 1838.

THIS volume is dedicated to the Bishop of Oxford, and the advertisement informs us that it was published in answer to 'objections brought against certain essential Christian truths, 'such as Baptismal regeneration and the apostolical ministry,' 'that they were opposed to the doctrine of justification by faith;' nay to 'express statements on the subject in our formularies.' Mr. Newman, however, says his 'arguments are drawn not from 'primitive Christianity, but from Scripture;' they must therefore

be open to the examination of all who say the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants.

The lecture which opens the debate is on 'Faith considered as 'the instrument of justification,' and is founded on a text that is ominously appropriate: 'Who is this that darkeneth counsel by 'words without knowledge?' For who that intended to convey knowledge would begin by considering 'the instrument of justifi- 'cation;' deferring to a third lecture 'the primary sense of the 'word justification;' to the *tenth* 'justification by faith only;' and to the eleventh 'the nature of justifying by faith.' The confusion created by this order, which is a chaos of disorder, is nobly sustained by the lecturer's first sentences.

'Two main views concerning the mode of our justification are found in the writings of English divines; on the one hand, that this great gift of our Lord's passion is vouchsafed to those who are moved by God's grace to claim it,—on the other, to those who by the same grace are moved to do their duty. These separate doctrines, justification by faith, and justification by obedience, thus simply stated, are not at all inconsistent with one another; and by religious men, especially if not divines, will be held both at once, or indifferently either the one or other, as circumstances may determine. Yet, though so compatible in themselves, the case is altogether altered when one or other is made the elementary principle of the gospel system,—when professed exclusively, developed consistently, and accurately carried out to its limits. Then what seemed at first but two modes of stating the same truth, will be found, the one to be the symbol of Romanism, the other of what is commonly called Protestantism.

'It shall be my endeavor in these lectures to take such a view of justification, as may approve itself to those among us who hold whether the one or the other doctrine in an unsystematic way, yet fall in with neither when adopted as the foundation or 'leading idea' of a theology. Justification by faith only, thus treated, is an erroneous, justification by obedience is a defective view of Christian doctrine. The former is beside, the latter short of the truth. The former legitimately tends to the creed of the rigid Lutherans who opposed Melancthon; the latter to that of Vasquez, Caietan, and other ultra-Romanists. That we are absolutely saved by obedience, that is, by *what we are*, has introduced the proper merit of good works; that we are absolutely saved by faith, or by *what Christ is*, the notion that good works are prejudicial to our salvation.'—pp. 1, 2.

The words 'this great gift of our Lord's passion,' is a melancholy specimen of the lecturer's passion for mystical terms, introducing, at the very outset, one of the most objectionable of the renderings of our version of the Scriptures, in defiance of what must be known to every scholar; that there is nothing thus technical in the original, which ought to have been translated his suffering or his death. This 'gift of his passion' might fairly be

understood to mean giving us his passion itself; and if not, then his passion is supposed to confer a gift as if it were a person. But as neither of these can be called a 'sense,' we are left to feel for some other which may be the gift bestowed upon us in consequence of Christ's suffering or death. Having worked our way through this affected mystical technicality to some conclusion, not by the help, but in spite of the teacher, we discover at the very threshold a stumbling block of error.

It is scarcely necessary to inform our readers that the doctrine of justification here propounded must be considered as a part of the theology of the Oxford Tracts. For though Professor Pusey has happened to give a name to the Tractators, Mr. Newman is considered the Coryphæus of the party. If these lectures are any specimen of his preaching, they are all that sermons ought not to be; for the hungry sheep must have looked up and stared to find themselves mystified, but not fed. Candor, however, requires that we should view them as theological lectures, which should have been delivered, not from a pulpit in the church, but from the chair in the Divinity Hall; and verily they would puzzle the men of the cap and the gown. Every theologian who shall read the volume will acknowledge that the reviewer ought not to be obliged to say 'Davus sum, non Œdipus.'

We shall, perhaps, best enable the reader to judge for himself by giving the following quotations.

'Now, in the last lecture, in which I stated what I consider as, *in the main*, the true doctrine, two points were proposed for proof: first, that justification and sanctification were substantially the same thing; next, that, viewed relatively to each other, justification *followed upon* sanctification. The former of these statements seems to me entirely borne out by Scripture; I mean, that justification and sanctification are there described as parts of one gift, properties, qualities, or aspects of one; that renewal cannot exist without acceptance, or acceptance without renewal; that faith, which is the symbol of the one, contains in it love, which is the symbol of the other. So much concerning the former of the two statements; but as to the latter, that justification *follows* upon sanctification, that we are first renewed, and then and therefore accepted, this doctrine, which Luther strenuously opposed, is true in one sense, but not true in another,—true in a *popular* sense, not true in an *exact* sense. Now, in the present lecture, I propose to consider the exact and philosophical relation of justification to sanctification, in regard to which Luther seems to be in the right: in the next lecture, the *popular* and *practical* relation of the one to the other, which St. Austin and other Fathers set forth; and in the sixth and following, what has partly been the subject of the foregoing lecture, the *real connexion* between the two, or rather *identity*, in matter of fact, however we may vary our terms, or classify our ideas.'

—pp. 67, 68.

'Now, to proceed to the subject of the present lecture, that God justifies before he sanctifies; or that, in exact propriety of language, justification is *counting* righteous, not *making*. I would explain myself thus:—to 'justify' *means* 'counting righteous,' but includes *under* its meaning 'making righteous;' in other words, the sense of the *term* is 'counting righteous,' and the sense of the *thing* denoted by it is making righteous. In the abstract it is a counting righteous, in the concrete a making righteous. An illustration will clear my meaning. No one doubts what the word *Psalmist* means in Scripture; yet that one undeniable sense which it has, viewed in itself, is of course very far short of its full sense, when applied to this or that person. Then it stands for much more than this bare and abstract sense. A psalmist is one who sings psalms; but *the* Psalmist may be David, a given individual, living at a certain time and place, and with a certain history attached to him. The meaning of the name is one thing; of the object another. If one said, 'the Psalmist wept over his son Absalom,' it would be absurd to maintain either that the *word* psalmist meant 'a father,' or that the *object* signified was merely 'a singer of psalms.' So, again, a shepherd slew Goliath, but not *as* a shepherd; and the 'man after God's own heart' numbered the people, yet not after God's heart. In like manner, justification, in the mere meaning of the word, may be a counting or declaring righteous (as the 11th Article implies), yet *the* justification given under the gospel, the thing denoted by the word, may (as the 13th implies) be as much more than a mere external, reputed, conventional righteousness, as 'the sweet Psalmist of Israel' was more than a psalmist. It may be as true that it is *in fact* the giving of 'the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of His Spirit,' as that the Psalmist was also a king, the man after God's own heart, and a type of Christ. Justification, then, *as such*, is an imputation; but gospel justification is more, it is renewal also.'—pp. 70, 71.

After reading these passages, no one will be surprised that the title of one of the lectures is, 'Discordant senses given to the 'word righteousness.' Lecture twelfth on 'Faith viewed rela-'tively to rites and works,' is a curious specimen of discordant doctrines maintained and discarded, but all coming to this conclu-'sion: Justification *comes through* the sacraments; is received *by* 'faith; *consists* in God's inward presence, and *lives* in obedience.' Paley, Hooker, Tomline, and, indeed, almost the whole school of the established clergy since 1688, are censured, and a nice new doctrine of justification, that is said to be neither popish nor Protestant, is proclaimed as the sole truth.

Every British Christian, of enlightened mind and benevolent heart, must have watched the proceedings of the Oxford Tract party with deep solicitude for the interests of our country and of the church of God. Ecclesiastical as well as civil history may sooth the anxious observer with assurances infallible, that the headlong course which many are pursuing towards Rome will

eventually produce a reaction; and the recent publications of Baptist Noel and some others may have inspired the hope that the decree is already gone forth *ne quid ecclesia capiat detrimenti.* But action and reaction, whether in philosophy or religion, in nature or grace, are usually as slow and complicated as they are mysterious, so that he who is watching for the result may have a tedious task, and often cry, 'watchman, what of the night? O 'Lord, how long?'

The volume before us exhibits melancholy consequences resulting from the protests of the better part of the Establishment against the system called Puseyite. For here the barrier that had been ostentatiously displayed, as separating that party from Rome, is thrown down. Tridentine Romanists was the name it gave to what are usually called Roman Catholics; for it accused the Council of Trent of separating England from Rome; though it is notorious that the separation was made before the world was visited by the bruta fulmina of the Tridentine decrees. But Mr. Newman defends the Council against Luther, in the grand question of the nature of justification, whether it is identical with sanctification, or a distinct and forensic affair.

Such is the efficacy of articles of faith, acts of uniformity, and creeds of human composition forced on the ministers of religion, and guarded by pains and penalties. We are told that by this means an established church is a security for the truth, an insurmountable barrier against the vagaries of the human mind, and its proneness to be carried away by the novelties of error. But how can we be assured that the established creed itself shall be true? Is the faith of the greatest of all establishments, the *soi-disant Catholic*, the *real Roman* church, scriptural? We will, however, content ourselves with inquiring how far the articles of religion enforced by law, supposing them to be true, have secured the orthodoxy of those who have given in their adhesion and confirmed it by subscription.

As we have no wish to cavil, or trifle, on this grave question, we will give full scope to diversity of opinion on minor points, and admit the distinction, of which Rome is, when it suits her, so fond, between matters of faith and mere individual opinions; but we will fix our attention on that which is confessed on all hands to be a vital question—the terms or grounds of acceptance with God. On that which an apostle argues as a question of life or death, have there not been two opposite opinions maintained by powerful conflicting parties? One of these contended that justification by faith alone was essential to salvation, was the vital doctrine of Protestantism and of the Church of England; while the other rejected this, as an antinomian error, destructive of all personal holiness. To us it appears that, in the very origin of the Church of England, and the formation of her creed and

liturgy, and offices, there was a struggle between hostile schools, the Popish and Protestant,—that each one secured what it could; and that Mr. Head is right in affirming that the Church is inconsistent with herself, and that a consistent Churchman is an impossibility.

But we have been accustomed to think that, on justification, the mother, if not her sons, had fed us with milk free from all admixture of poison; and some, even when quitting her, have said, 'O si sic omnia,' then we could have remained with her.' That the Puritans, Nonconformists, and Dissenters in general, approved the chief doctrines of the Church of England, and especially that of justification, is notorious. On this ground, occasional conformity was recommended and practised by those who maintained, in what is termed the Calvinistic sense, that 'a man is justified by 'faith, without the deeds of the law, and that whosoever is of the 'works of the law is under the curse.' The mention of Calvin reminds us, that he approved the *doctrine* of the Church of England, finding fault with nothing but her vestments and offices, which he calls tolerabiles ineptiæ.

The whole body of those who have been termed evangelical clergy, have maintained the doctrine which Mr. Newman attempts to confute; and have here exulted, appealing triumphantly to the thirty-nine articles, along with the Scriptures, a proof of which may be seen in Hervey's Theoron and Aspasio. Whitfield and Wesley have agreed in justification by faith, and in defending their churchmanship on this point. For a century, the men who appealed most largely to the Scriptures and the Prayer Book, were those who preached justification by faith, and would condemn Mr. Newman's views, as alike fatal to men's eternal hopes, and contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England.

But we are now told that they were all wrong,—heretics to Scripture and schismatics to the Church. The Oxford restoration appeals to bishops and true Churchmen against Luther and the Reformation. Of what use, then, are the articles, and formularies, and acts of uniformity to prevent diversities of opinion in religion? That they have not accomplished their end is manifest by this grand schism in the Establishment.

We are not unaware that it may be said, there is no less diversity of opinion on this question among those who study the Scriptures alone, and profess to take them as divine oracles. But this, however true, is no answer. For those who, contending for the sufficiency of Scripture, refuse to be bound by human creeds, plead that they are insufficient to secure uniformity, and if men differ concerning the meaning of Scripture, they equally strive about the doctrines of their own articles. But the advocates for established creeds profess to supply a defect, and to produce a uniformity which the Scriptures alone cannot secure.

The Puseyite party is pursuing a course of direct opposition to that which gave birth to their Church. History stands a stern foe to dishonesty, and tells aloud that the present clergy are undoing what was done with so much cost by those who have been entitled the fathers of the English Church. But the Tractators plead, we have a higher duty to discharge towards the church universal, which is superior to any particular church. This is sound doctrine, and we are glad to see it revived at Oxford. But if the termination of schism, and the reunion of the whole church be the aim of the Oxford Tracts, why not keep others in view beside Rome? We do not say, why not reconcile English Dissenters, for they may be too insignificant; but why not show some regard for the Greek church and the Armenians? Here are millions, more numerous than the Church of England. But Rome alone is kept in view and propitiated; because the Church of England is her daughter.

We are not sorry that this volume is published; for it is far better that poison should be exhibited *en masse* where it can be detected, than diffused in small doses like the Tracts for the Times. As this is the most dangerous form of error, worse than the half heathen system of what used to be called the worldly clergy, or the downright popery of the Jesuits, it is better that it should be grappled with at once. It is rather less evangelical than the works of some of the Jansenist Catholics; for Mr. Newman, warring against the evangelicals, fastens upon the worst parts of Augustine, while Pascal, Quesnel, and their fellow laborers, opposed the Jesuits, and seized the best things that could be found in the Fathers. Omitting, however, the notes, and a few sentences in the lectures, a reader might suppose he had met with a work like that of Bossuet on the Sacraments, intended to proselyte Protestants to the church of Rome.

The present Puseyite clergy are more dangerous than the old fox-hunters, inasmuch as men of grave demeanor and diligent habits may be mistaken for ministers of the gospel. But if Satan transformed into an angel of light, is more dangerous than Belial with open lasciviousness, or Moloch dripping with blood, the race of clergy that is now spreading over the land is the most pernicious that has ever appeared, at least since the days of Laud.

An insidious passage is introduced to show that we cannot find out the sense of Scripture, without going to the fathers, which is but to make confusion worse confounded.

'1. It encourages the practice of arguing out a sense for its terms, from the particular context in which they may happen to occur. Of course, to consult the context is a great advance towards the true method of interpretation, but it is not enough. In Scripture, as elsewhere, words stand for certain objects, and are used with reference to

those objects, and must be explained by them. They may severally have many shades of meaning, but these, though manifold, are of one family, and but varieties of one meaning, if we could find it. In this or that passage where the word occurs, it may disclose its one full sense more or less; but the degree in which it is brought out by the context, depends on the accident of those other words with which it there stands connected. Therefore, I say we shall never arrive at its real and complete meaning, by its particular context; which generally comes in contact with but two or three points, or one aspect of it. What would be thought of the commentator (to recur to a former illustration), who decided that *Psalmist* meant *father*, because the Psalmist wept over his *son*; or *shepherd*, because he rescued a *lamb* from the lion and bear; or *king*, because he was a type of the *Messiah?* Yet, in this way the sacred terms of the apostles are treated; and not only by those who interpret on a theory, but by men who are clear-sighted enough to disown the bondage of modern systems, or too heedless or self-willed to learn them. They are robbed of their hidden treasures, and frittered away among a multitude of meanings as uncertain, meagre, and discordant, as the one true sense, like a great luminary, is clear and gracious. *Righteousness* sometimes is to mean God's strict justice, sometimes his merciful acceptance, sometimes superhuman obedience, sometimes man's holiness, without any attempt at harmonizing these distinct notions; *faith* is trust, or obedience, or conscience, or implicit assent; *justifying* is used by St. Paul for declaring righteous, by St. James for evidencing that God has declared us righteous; the *Law* is sometimes the moral law, sometimes the ceremonial, sometimes the Christian. What account is to be given of such changes? none is attempted. Yet, I repeat, surely, if a word means so many things, they are to be considered as but modifications of one and the same idea, according as it is viewed; and our business is to find out, as far as may be, what it is which admits of such diversified application. Our business is, if so be, to fix that one real sense before our mind's eye, not to loiter or lose our way in the outward text of Scripture, but to get through and beyond the letter into the spirit. Our duty is to be intent on things, not on names and terms; to associate words with their objects instead of measuring them by their definitions; to speak as having eyes, and as if to those who have eyes, not as groping our way in the dark by intellectual conceptions, acts of memory, and efforts of reason; in short, when we speak of justification or faith, to *have* a meaning and grasp an idea, though at different times it may be variously developed, or variously presented, as the profile or full face in a picture. And here, let me observe, is the especial use of the Fathers as expositors of Scripture.'—pp. 132—134.

But Mr. Newman may think that he shall win a larger class than either the orthodox Dissenters or Methodists—the Roman Catholics; for he has labored to prove that the Church of England and that of Rome substantially agree on justification. He admits, indeed, that Rome is defective. But who knows all the

truth? or sees all the lengths to which it may be carried? He says to Protestants, you are altogether wrong; and to Catholics, you are in the right; to Luther, your justification is no justification; and to Rome, yours is the Scriptural justification: but you have forgotten to mention something that belongs to it.

Perhaps he hopes to win the Catholics. And who could blame the wish? We are not among those who think it the highest orthodoxy to treat papists as if they had committed the unpardonable sin, and were to be excluded from the pale of Christian charity. We remember that the signal for the overthrow of Rome will be the warning voice 'Come out of her, my people,' &c. If some of God's people may be in her when just nodding to her ruin, surely there may be some there now. This consideration condemns the bitter, fiery charges poured upon Catholics, and enjoins a benevolent effort to win them.

Mr. Newman may intend to adopt the apostle's maxim, 'so 'being crafty I caught you with guile.' For he speaks of the Catholic church, continually, with favour. But will he win them over to him? Never. Will they not say, you ought, on your own principles, to come over to us? Certainly; for he has laboured to prove, that on the grand question which produced the separation, the Catholics were right, and Luther, with all the Protestants, were wrong. What is the legitimate inference, then? That they who retained the truth should stand firm, and they who corrupted it should return to a church from which they ought never to have departed. That this is the use which the votaries of Rome will make of these Lectures, none who understand the Vatican, can, for a moment, doubt. Though we judge not any man, we cannot but fear that some who are laboring in this direction will end in Rome. The lecturer would be neither surprised nor grieved, perhaps, if the result should be, not that Rome should come over to England, but that England should go over to Rome. For the fact is, that a new species of dissent has risen up in the establishment, or rather a revival of that which was headed by Laud, who consulted his royal master about accepting the offer of a cardinal's hat. It is undeniable, that the fathers and founders of the Church of England intended to make her one of the Protestant churches. To this, however, Mr. N. may make up his mind—that he will never root out the Protestant doctrine, heresy he would say, of justification by faith. It may be so clearly proved by an accurate investigation of the original languages of Scripture, by the most logical analysis of the apostle's argument, by comparing one text with another, by its connexion with other doctrines of divine revelation, by its well known effects, and by the deepest experience of all that live by faith in Christ, that in its fall is involved that of Christianity itself.

It is easy to show to what lengths the Reformers went. This

is deeply regretted by those who call themselves sons of the church, and who eat of her bread. They have a full right to judge for themselves, but then it is on penalty of becoming dissenters. Availing themselves of the relics of Popery—the chief things which they love, except the tithes—they remain in the bosom of the Established Church, and labor to annihilate the distinction between her and Rome. This is disingenuous, hypocritical, base, treacherous,—a practical living lie. Many who are engaged in the scheme are practised upon and deceived; some who are sharers in the conspiracy are not aware of the extent of their crime; but some, like Mr. Froude, are real papists, and it is to be feared that there are artful men, concealed from view, reconciled to the church of Rome, or born in her communion, but entering our universities, and remaining apparently in the Established Church, to act like the jesuit by whom Gibbon was, at Oxford, made a Catholic.

They who spurn the worst part of this charge as a false accusation, may say that they have a right to improve their church; and if they think she has taken a wrong course in her separation from Rome, or has gone too far in that direction, they ought to do all in their power to turn the tide. But what would they say, if those who should act upon this principle had given it the contrary application? Have not such as think their church not sufficiently reformed, as good a right to adopt this method? May they not go on towards Geneva, as the authors of the Oxford tracts go back to Rome? Yet the latter party would say, by the lips of a Phillpotts, if you do not like our church as it is, you have become a dissenter, and are not so much free, as bound to leave her, and join the dissenters. May not then the other party say, by the pen of Mr. Head, if you do not like our church as it is, you are become a Roman Catholic, you should avow yourself one, and act accordingly, thankfully accepting the superior liberty which the members of the Church of Rome now enjoy? How shall we end the strife between these hostile parties, that are bound by the act of uniformity to keep the Queen's peace? We must appeal to first principles. Whatever the Bishop of Exeter and the Oxford party may say of the Popish portion of the Prayer-book, they cannot deny that the Church of England, as by law established, is intended to be a separation from the Church of Rome, which was then pronounced antichristian, that the Scriptures alone were received as authority, and that all intercourse with Rome was forbidden, under severe pain and penalties. Where now is uniformity? Certainly not in the Church of England, Mr. Newman himself being judge; for though he appeals, rather charily, to his own articles, he quotes bishops and others, whom he deems the orthodox, in defence of

his doctrines, and still owns that the opposite opinion has extensively prevailed.

Dissenters have been called a motley crew, and there are indeed diversities enough among them; but it may be safely asserted, that they are far more generally agreed on the vital question of justification than the members, and especially the ministers, of the Church of England. To this there is but one grand exception—the Socinian, or Unitarian body, whose numbers, however, are too inconsiderable to require any material deduction from the statement we have made.

Art. III. *Synchronology: being a treatise on the History, Chronology, and Mythology of the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Phœnicians, and the Harmony between the Chronology of those Nations and that of the Holy Scriptures. With an Appendix, containing Tables of Synchronology, Genealogies, &c.* By the Rev. CHARLES CROSTHWAITE. Cambridge: University Press; London: John W. Parker.

THIS book carries on the face of it an appearance of learning. It is dedicated to the Professor of Greek at Cambridge, and printed at the University press. The very title may astound the illiterate. With *synchronous* we are well acquainted; *synchronical* also we have seen; but what is Synchronology? The reply is short: it means *chronology;* only that is too stale a word to please the publishers.

The reverend author opens his preface, by stating, that 'the 'learned world is here presented with a treatise, the result of the 'labour and study of near twenty years.' This appears an *argumentum ad verecundiam*, putting no light obstacle in our way. Without pretending that we have been employed so many years on that one subject, we believe that it is possible to judge, from a sound but ordinary acquaintance with ancient history, concerning the main foundations of his work. But it may be well to premise a few remarks, in order to lay the matter more clearly before our readers.

It is generally admitted that all the uncertainties of ancient chronology which are of any importance, terminate with the taking of Babylon by Cyrus the Great; the received date of which is, 538 years before the Christian era. Only when we endeavor to ascend towards earlier events, do we fall into confusion and controversy. As this date is posterior to the entire

history of the Israelitish monarchy, it leaves the Old Testament chronology within the disputed portion.

Yet concerning the national history of Israel, there is no serious and extensive diversity of opinion. The numbers which we read in the books of Kings, cannot always be depended upon; yet, we apprehend, even a sceptical chronologer would not imagine that we miscalculate by more than twenty years the building of Solomon's temple. More uncertainty attends the period of the Judges; and we cannot ourselves pretend any conviction that the date commonly assigned to the death of Moses may not be as much as 200 years wrong. In Mr. Crosthwaite's table of the biblical chronology, we find the earliest and latest dates assigned for the accession of David to be 1055 and 1070; difference 15 years: while for the death of Moses, he has 1451 and 1608; difference 157 years. The different dates in the same table assigned for the flood of Noah are 2348 and 3185; difference 837 years; and for the creation of man, 4004 and 5411; difference 1407 years. The main cause of this uncertainty, is contained in the readings of the Greek Septuagint; which assigns a longer chronology than does the Hebrew. With the Septuagint, the historian Josephus substantially agrees; a fact of some importance, since he professes, as Dr. Russell insists, to quote always from the original text. Our present author concerns himself very little with this controversy. He is of opinion that the longer chronology will ultimately prevail; but his discussions are connected with but few events as early as the reign of Saul.

The other ancient nations here introduced, are Rome, Greece, and Egypt; of which the first has no claims to high antiquity, since the received date of the foundation of Rome is only 753 B. C.; and, in our author's opinion, it should be lowered to 666; a fact which, he thinks, is possibly alluded to in the Apocalypse. Concerning Egypt, the available records left to us by ancient writers are exceedingly scanty; and our author, by preferring the testimony of Herodotus to the later authorities, Diodorus, Eusebius, &c., reduces Egyptian chronology within rather narrow limits.

To judge of the dependence to be placed on Greek dates, we must consider some facts in their early history. In the heroic or Homeric times, the use of letters was at least very rare. No one in that age could think of writing history for the sake of posterity, and no fixed era was received, from which they might reckon time. The changes of population were very frequent; and the great Dorian conquest of southern Greece caused as serious an overturn of affairs, as was produced in England by the Norman invasion. Arcadia preserved its independence, but no Arcadian history or chronology exists. The chief power of the Dorian states soon centred in Lacedæmon; moreover, north of

the Peloponnesus, Attica was celebrated for its unchanged population, and 'unravaged country.' It is therefore to the Spartans and to the Athenians that we must chiefly look for chronological information; and if we fail of obtaining it from them, it can hardly be expected from any other source.

Let us now hear Mr. Crosthwaite on this subject.

'The ancient historians give us the legendary traditions current in their own times, and handed down through many centuries of previous ignorance and barbarity. It is no disparagement to the credit of the historian, to say that we receive these as they are given, merely as traditions of an age when very few indeed could write, and not many could read what was written. When demigods and heroes were the chief personages, and their supernatural exploits furnished the materials for the mythological poet, and when the priests required the people to believe every fable, however monstrous and absurd. Moreover the priests were deeply interested in a system of chronological deception well suited to such an age. To give fictitious antiquity to their deities and religious institutions, they falsified the length of reigns, interpolated some and transposed others; just as it suited their purpose without fear of detection.

'We need not therefore be surprised, in finding that the Greeks were utterly ignorant as to their own more ancient chronology. About the year B. C. 500, things began to be more regularly recorded, and not many years after that date history became a regular province of literature, in the hands of Herodotus. But whatever refers to occurrences before that date, must be received as very uncertain, having seldom any support of cotemporary respectable evidence. Moderns may indeed talk of the concurrent testimony of ancient history, but the ancient Greeks themselves knew of no such thing. They on the contrary were exceedingly divided (as might naturally be expected) with regard to the more ancient dates. Although the memory of Lycurgus was so much, and so deservedly venerated and connected with their civil institutions, yet the best informed among the Greeks could not agree within one or two hundred years as to the age he lived in. Plato assigned him 300 years before Socrates, or about the year B. C. 700, which is I believe the truth, but the tables place him B. C. 907, two centuries different.

'Any question concerning the date of Lycurgus affects the dates of all the earlier Spartan kings, and their cotemporaries in other states; consequently affecting the date of the return of the Heraclidæ and the Trojan war, both of which events were calculated by the reigns of the Spartan kings,'—pp. 41, 42.

He proceeds to speak thus concerning Athens:

'There are tables of the Archons of Athens. But they are manifestly the corrupt fabrication of a time not very ancient. In the time of Thucydides they could not tell when Pisistratus, the grandson of Pisistratus the tyrant, was Archon, although during his Archonship he set up two altars at his own expense, one in the forum of the twelve

gods, the other in the temple of the Pythian Apollo. What is still more extraordinary, they had no memorial when Pisistratus the tyrant, or Solon their great legislator, filled the office of Archon, which they must have done repeatedly. It was about the year 500 B.C. they first became a regular record. Besides other corruptions, the extension by means of blank spaces alone, prior to the year 496 B. C., amounts to 159 years.'—pp. 42, 43.

The era and history of Lycurgus are notoriously very doubtful. Does not this fact speak volumes as to the uncertainty of all the early Greek chronology? If the hereditary kingdom of Sparta could not preserve a tolerable record of its kings' reigns, it appears that we have no materials now for supplying the defect. The following remark of Mr. Thirlwall, in his Greek history, seems to deserve much attention—vol. i., p. 293: 'It was not 'from their remote ancestors,' Eurysthenes and Procles, the legendary first kings of Sparta, 'that the two royal families 'derived their distinguishing appellations. The elder house was 'called the *Agids*, after Agis, the son of Eurysthenes; the minor 'the *Eurypontids*,* from Eurypon, the successor of Sous, son of 'Procles: a remarkable fact, not very satisfactorily explained 'from the martial renown of these princes; and *perhaps indi-* '*cating a concealed break in each series.*' As for the Athenian monarchy, the whole is in a mythological mist, few even of the facts being thoroughly ascertained; while events comparatively recent, as the legislation of Draco, have no sufficiently defined date.

The first great sceptic in modern times, who rejected the current chronology, was Sir Isaac Newton. This eminent philosopher understood, what his contemporaries could not, that in every hereditary monarchy the average reigns of kings must in a long series approximate to a fixed limit, depending on the equable longevity of mankind. The simplest case is when each king is the eldest son of the preceding. It will at once be evident, that although three or four reigns in succession may be of very variable length, the average of any *ten* in succession will probably differ but little from that of any other ten; and by increasing the number indefinitely, yet greater uniformity is to be expected. When the heir apparent dies before his father, and leaves the throne to his own son, or to a younger brother, the average is lengthened: when two or more brothers succeed, the average is depressed. Now, in a like state of society, such irregularities will recur about as often in one set of fifty reigns, as in another set; wherefore there is still a certain constant limit to which the average approximates. Extensive induction shows, that twenty-two or

* Mr. Crosthwaite, however, chooses to call them *Proclidæ*.

twenty-three years is the extreme length to be expected in any long series. Elective monarchies have of course a shorter average, which moreover depends greatly on the turbulence of the times, and sometimes on other circumstances. Thus the average of the papal reigns is exceedingly short, because the popes are generally elected in extreme old age. On applying this doctrine to the received Greek and Roman dates, Sir Isaac found that after the commencement of ascertained history the times corresponded with the natural law; but that for all the earlier reigns the average duration was decidedly too long. Assuming, then, that the error lay in the computation of time, *and not in the number of names* assigned in the tables, he undertook to correct the chronology by an approximate calculation; and believed that in this way he could determine the date of the fall of Troy and of the Argonautic expedition within twenty years. The conception, viewed mathematically, was doubtless worthy of his genius; but at that period the historical trustworthiness of the genealogies and mythical tales themselves had not adequately been sifted; and it is not to be wondered at, if Newton quietly followed the opinion of nearly all the ancient writers, who supposed the wild stories of the Greek and Egyptian gods to be historical facts with a poetical color. This great man having by such methods lowered the most ancient Greek dates by nearly three hundred years, believed that he had found a signal astronomical confirmation of his view in a story told about a celestial sphere, and the position of its equinoctial points, on board the ship Argo. But his few modern followers have long since abandoned this as invalid.

His system has been approved and extolled by Joseph Milner (who wrote a treatise to recommend it), by the historian Mitford, and now by Mr. Crosthwaite. It has always appeared to us astonishing that it is viewed with so much apathy or disdain by chronologers who believe in the accuracy of the principal lists of kings: and our present author has certainly added somewhat to our inclination to believe that Newton is substantially right. Especially, it is here shown that various received genealogies, estimated at the rate of three generations * to a century, concur in the result deduced by Newton from the series of reigns. If this were true of *all* the genealogies which have been transmitted to us, it would doubtless be an important ground for believing the catalogues of names to be generally correct. But many of the lists of kings point decidedly to another conclusion; and are in con-

* A *generation*, when only male names are under question, means the average age by which fathers exceed their sons. *Reigns* are shorter than generations, even when direct descent is preserved; because it is generally the *eldest* son who succeeds. According to Dr. Hales and Mr. Crosthwaite, three reigns make two generations, in an ordinary hereditary monarchy.

sequence pronounced by our author to be interpolated. His readiness of belief as to the substance of the mythological stories, is a phenomenon to us so curious, that we hardly know how to express our disapprobation and surprise in terms such as may seem due to the erudition and labor spent on the book. Our readers might hardly suppose, from the extract which we have produced, that we have here to do with a writer disposed to yield himself up to an undiscriminating belief in ancient fables. He belongs, however, to a school which we had imagined to be extinct, who persuade themselves that they have only 'to take 'from mythology her extravagance, and she will assume the form 'of history.' The *form*, perhaps; but hardly the reality.

After asserting that the legends concerning the Greek deities are 'all *most unquestionably* human affairs poetically embellished' (p. 155), he appends the following note, to silence our scruples: 'Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, and especially Cicero, 'who devoted much time and attention to the subject, have all 'left this as their decided opinion.' We seem to be carried back two centuries, on reading such arguments. Does Mr. Crosthwaite imagine that any of these four authors had greater means of knowing than we, whether Jupiter was 'an Egyptian, who 'had nine young female musicians with him, called Muses, and a 'troop of female warriors, called Amazons, commanded by a 'woman named Minerva?' Had these writers access to authentic records, which testified that 'Jupiter ill-treated his nephew Pro-'metheus, and imprisoned him thirty years in Mount Caucasus?' Or is he willing to receive as a substantial thing the general mass of mythology transmitted by the first three authors? We do not at all admit that Cicero really took this view, but we will not involve ourselves in a needless question; for it is manifest that Cicero's opinion is not *testimony;* nor yet is Herodotus's, nor even Homer's. Until Mr. Crosthwaite brings far more cogent reasons than such opinions, for believing these poetical inventions and genealogies, we shall consider it worse than waste of labor to settle the *date* of 'Jupiter's invasion of Greece.' We learn from Æschylus (who knew as much about it as Herodotus), that Prometheus (the *foreadvised*) was son of Themis (*justice*), and brother to Atlas (the *much enduring*). Prometheus was contemporary with the grandfather of Jupiter, and had seen three hereditary reigns. Both brothers were persecuted by Jupiter. The former was impaled on 'farthest Caucasus,' the latter was doomed 'in western climes extreme' to support heaven with his head: and to this day, the mariner who passes the rock of Gibraltar, may see his tall form somewhere southward;

> 'Nix humeros infusa tegit; tum flumina mento
> Præcipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba.'

A third brother is Epimetheus (the '*afteradvised*'); and Mr. Crosthwaite has no more right to reject the one than the other. If he proceeds to believe Pandora to be a real person we have no remedy.

But in his eyes, the Egyptian mythology is equally historical. Jupiter he maintains, is no other than the god Osiris; who, again, is the Egyptian king called Sesostris by Herodotus; finally, this Sesostris is the Shishak named in the books of Kings and Chronicles. Ergo, the Grecian Jupiter is only a certain Egyptian king, who patronized Jeroboam, invaded the country of Rehoboam, and carried away the golden shields which Solomon had made! Mr. Crosthwaite coolly speaks of the 'invasion of 'Greece by Osiris or Sesostris (*also called the great Bacchus*), '*after his expedition to India;*' as the FIRST of the 'three re- 'markable events of the heroic age,' p. 31. He afterwards tells us, that 'the Theban Hercules' was son of this Osiris and of Alcmena; that 'before Osiris invaded Greece, he spent *a year* '*or two* in Asia Minor, during which time he married Ariadne, 'the daughter of Minos, king of Crete, and was engaged in 'many other transactions with Tros, Tantalus, Minos,' &c. p. 47. It is wonderful to see how much at home our author is in this 'history.' Nay (in a note on p. 47), he adds, that there is little doubt that *Buddha* or *Fo* is this same Egyptian king.

Let us consider the grounds for asserting that Sesostris married Ariadne, daughter of the Cretan king Minos. Because, forsooth, the Greek poets sung, how Theseus slew the Minotaur, and saved the Athenian youths and virgins, whom that monster, half bull, half man, was to have devoured; and carried off Ariadne, the king's daughter; but wickedly abandoned her in the island of Naxos: then *Bacchus, the god of Naxos*, pitied her, and took her into heaven, and *made her his wife*, and presented her with a diadem of seven stars, called the Gnossian garland, from the Cretan city Gnossus. This, Pausanias has turned into history, and Mr. Crosthwaite has adapted to *Sesostris*. Nor is this all; but Mr. Crosthwaite chivalrously comes forward to defend the hero Theseus from the heavy charge of deserting his mistress. Page 99: 'I feel a degree of pleasure in correcting an imputa- 'tion cast on the *early* life of Theseus, that he ungratefully 'deserted Ariadne at the isle of Nexos, after she had delivered 'him from captivity or death. *Both Pausanias and Diodorus* '*inform us*, that she was taken by superior force from Theseus,' &c. Most decisive testimony! Indeed generally, as here, the author seems to fancy that he is arguing with great cogency of demonstration. Thus in his proof that Jupiter is Sesostris, p. 159:

'Now, I must say, that such a character, however poetical in 'the embellishment, could not be of very doubtful application.

'*Greece could not possibly contain at the same time* MORE THAN 'ONE *person answering to this description. What man possessing* 'unrivalled power, *and assuming divine honors, visited Greece* 'about thirty years before the Argonautic expedition, and two genera- 'tions before the Trojan war? HISTORY unequivocally replies, 'Osiris OR Sesostris, king of Egypt. He alone answers the 'description, and *he answers it perfectly*.'

Our notions of historical evidence are utterly opposed to Mr. Crosthwaite's; and as we cannot with politeness express all that we think about the greater part of the book, we shall say no more about the gods and goddesses. We have as little satisfaction in his principles of reasoning, even when we are on the ground of common history. For example; he follows Newton in doubting the great antiquity of the state of Sicyon; but instead of believing with Newton that Epaphas and Apis are the same king, he alleges that Epaphas is altered 'for euphony,' from *Ap*-Abas, and means 'son of Apis.' He says not, in what language: quære, in Welsh? He affirms that, 'according to Pausanias,' Apis was contemporary with Pelops; and in a note subjoins, as proof, these words from that writer: 'Apis became so powerful, '*before Pelops came to Olympia*, that the whole peninsula was 'called Apia from him.' This proves the direct opposite. Pausanias means that Peloponnesus, which was so called from Pelops, had received its earlier name, Apia, from *this* Apis. He must surely have supposed Apis to have lived many generations before, if this were the case; else the name Apia would have had no time to prevail.

The SECOND great event in the heroic age, says Mr. Crosthwaite, was the Argonautic expedition. He notices Bryant's opinion, that no such expedition ever took place, and Dr. Rutherford's astronomical arguments on that side (p. 288); to which he makes reply: but considering the high compliment which he pays to Mr. Thirlwall's Greece, in his introduction, we might reasonably have expected some answer to *his* objections. Not thinking it right to transfer Mr. Thirlwall's discussion to our pages, it is enough to extract from him the remarks; that Homer nowhere names Colchis;—that he had heard of Æetes (king of Colchis), and of *his sister* Circe; of the Ææan island, and of the fountain Artacia, a scene memorable in the Argonautic legend; but places all these in the west, near the coast of Italy; that he transports the moving rocks from the Bosporus into the Sicilian sea; that he seems to have been ignorant that the Black Sea had any northern shore, and to have supposed that Jason sailed round the north of Greece and Italy, into the western sea. On the whole Mr. Thirlwall is of opinion that the voyage of the Argonauts is an embodying into a single tale the adventures of the Minyans in establishing a commerce between Thessaly and

the shores of the Black Sea. Assuming, however, that there was one particular adventure, of far more critical importance than all others, in a ship called Argo, it was clearly a generation previous to the war of Troy; but the attempt to settle whether it was thirty or forty years, seems to us vain. Our author's nicety on these points is absolutely puerile.

'The grand hunting match at Calydon . . . is marked in the 'old tables *three* years after the Argonautic expedition; which 'seems too early. *I think* FIVE *years near the truth.*'—Page 78.

His credulity as to the results of this expedition are on a par with the rest. He marks down in his table (p. 303), that the Argonauts 'plundered Colchos *and Spain*;' as though this were a notorious fact! We cannot say at what period the story first grew to this size; and Mr. Crosthwaite is never eager to assist in such inquiries.

The THIRD important date in the heroic age he makes to be that of the war of Troy, which was to Greece what the Crusades were to Europe. In fact, it is so closely connected with the preceding, that if both be real definite events, to determine one determines the other with as much precision as can reasonably be looked for.

Mr. Crosthwaite displays considerable ingenuity in his discussion on the kings of Argos; but perhaps his most successful chapter is the eighth of his first part, in which he exposes the errors and discrepancies of the old chronological tables. Some of these, however, rise out of the *facts*, and cannot be mended by any shifting of the *dates*. The marriage of Medea to the childless Ægeus; the relationship of Helen to Castor and Pollux; are rejected by Mr. Crosthwaite himself. Yet these facts are as well attested as nine out of ten of those on which he confidently rests. Yet more arbitrarily, he alleges that Labdacus is not father of Laius, but the same person with him, and that Œdipus is not son of Laius at all: and again, that Tros, Ilus, and Laomedon are one man. This is playing fast and loose.

Concerning the earlier Egyptian dates,—the conquest of Egypt by the Shepherd Kings, and their after-expulsion,—we have little to say. Mr. Crosthwaite supposes B.C. 1176 and 1070 to be the true eras; and for any thing that we know, he may be right. But on the one hand, as these dates have absolutely no connexion with any others,—as the events are isolated from all received history,—they are of no interest to us at all: on the other, we regard the testimony of Manetho as too vague to rest upon, and are willing enough to wait for fresh light on these obscure points from the deciphering of the hieroglyphics.

We are, however, much disposed to believe that Mr. Crosthwaite is really right, in contending with Sir Isaac Newton (but against all our most celebrated antiquaries), that the Sesostris of

Herodotus is the Shishak of the Scripture. Not that we for a moment look on it with Mr. Crosthwaite's eyes; who receives with dutiful submission not only the sufficiently extravagant account given to Herodotus* by the Egyptian priests, but the yet more monstrous exaggerations of Diodorus,* four centuries later. We should rather say, that the Shishak of Scripture has been *exaggerated into* Sesostris. That the name Shishak or Sesac is Sesoochis, and this again Sesostris, is possible; but such similarities prove nothing. However, that a king of Egypt, named Shishak, overran Judea, is clear; and we seem authorized from the Old Testament in saying that *only one* king of Egypt did this before Necho. Now Herodotus's testimony that Sesostris did so, is particularly strong; and he states this of none besides, except Necho. Whether Shishak, however, marched farther than Syria may be greatly doubted.

Our author's argument drawn from the number of reigns is here illusive. According to him, Sesostris is as many reigns (in Herodotus's story) above Sethon, as Rehoboam is above Hezekiah: now Sethon is contemporary with Hezekiah; for Sennacherib attacked both: therefore Sesostris is contemporary with Rehoboam. But his case has three flaws: (1) He has counted the reign of Anysis as three reigns; thus: 'Anysis—Sabaco (an 'Ethiopian invader)—Anysis restored.' Deposition had no tendency to make Anysis live a threefold life. (2) He has omitted to notice that Herodotus makes Cheops succeeded by his brother Cephren; after whom is Mycerinus, *son of Cheops.* Hence the name of Cephren should be cast out, as not affecting the average duration of reigns. (3) Many in the Egyptian series are elective monarchs, while the Jewish kings are all in the direct line of descent. All these things considered, the names in Herodotus,† if true, bring Sesostris too low for our author's argument. He appears to think that names may often have been interpolated, but cannot have been omitted erroneously: but *both* contingencies are highly possible.

We need not follow him into his strictures on Malthus concerning the progress of population. But we have some general remarks to make. He gives us to suppose, by his preface, that his book

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* Herodotus takes Sesostris from Egypt, through Syria, right north to Colchis; and thence to Scythia and Thrace; which meant, perhaps, the county of the Don Cossacks. Diodorus makes him conquer India beyond the Ganges, and the whole sea coast from Egypt to India; besides Colchis, Thrace, the Cyclades, &c., &c.

† The Egyptian reigns are: Sesostris, Pheron, Proteus, Rampsinitus, Cheops, Cephren, Mycerinus, Asychis, Anysis, Sethon; ten names. From Rehoboam to Hezekiah are twelve names. We do not believe Herodotus's list to be complete.

is somehow intended to uphold the Biblical Chronology: yet we have been unable to discover what connexion there is between that and his real subject. Whether Troy was conquered 300 years earlier or later whether Shishak was or was not the prince named Sesostris by the Greeks, whether or when the Shepherd Kings conquered Egypt; all this seems a matter of great indifference to one who reveres the Old Testament history. But when Mr. Crosthwaite says that 'what they call Neology is really 'infidelity and blasphemy,' he ought to feel that he is injuring the cause which he means to defend, unless he adds some refutation of those whom he so stigmatises. Yet it appears clear that no refutation can be seriously intended; for in his Canons of reasoning adopted from Dr. Hales, the *first* is: 'To adhere to 'the scriptural standard:' an axiom which would be utterly absurd, if he were writing to prove the accuracy of that standard. He seems therefore to us, rather to have stepped out of his way to give a lash at the Germans, with a view to display orthodoxy, and excuse his profound ignorance of their inquiries into Greek history and mythology. Moreover, he seriously injures the Biblical cause, by making it to appear that whoever rejects these Pagan fables must reject the Old Testament history.

Consistently with this spirit, he puts forth a geological proof of the Noachian deluge, such as might naturally have been written forty years ago, but which shows astonishing ignorance, or bad faith, at the present day. Having stated broadly (p. 16), that 'the whole aspect of this globe confirms the Scripture ac-'count, and declares to every age that there is a God who 'recompenses the wicked;' he is at the pains to add some very notorious facts in detail, concerning the marine productions found at great elevations in all parts of the world. If he is not aware that the ablest geologists exceedingly doubt (to say the least) whether the argument is sound, he is singularly ignorant; but if, knowing it, he tries to beguile the reader into supposing that the facts indisputably prove a single universal deluge, this is a 'pious 'fraud' which ought to be rejected with indignation.

The many extraordinary things which we have found in this book, did not prepare us for the following notable information: p. 115, 'Mr. Champollion does not appear aware that the Coptic, 'in which he interprets most of the hieroglyphics, is compara-'tively a modern language, *a corrupt mixture of Hebrew, Arabic,* '*and a portion of Greek.*' If Mr. Crosthwaite will take the trouble to study Tatham's Coptic Grammar, and compare either the inflexions and structure of the language, or the crude forms of all the familiar verbs and nouns, with those of Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek, he will see, if indeed he possesses ordinary competency for the inquiry, that his assertion is utterly the reverse of the truth.

After noticing defects so grave pervading the whole work, it may seem trifling to descend to verbal criticism. But it is hardly worthy of a scholar to talk as he does of the *Biarchy* at Sparta, meaning the *Diarchy*, or rule of two kings: to write Delphos for Delphi, Colchos for Colchis, and systematically to use *cotemporary*; a word as opposed to analogy as *cotent*, *cotemn*, *cotemplate*.

While we are forced to say, that, for the extent of erudition here displayed, we consider the book to be of the most slender value; it is in some respects convenient, as giving to the reader within a small compass many tables of received dates and lists of kings; and what is of no small interest, the whole of the Parian Chronicle. It is solely for such reasons that we should care to afford it room on our shelves.

Art. IV. 1. *The Sixth Annual Report of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society.* 1839.

2. *Address from the Committee of the Greenwich Christian Instruction Society.*

WE notice these documents, and invite the attention of our readers to them, not for the purpose of exhibiting the moral and religious claims of sailors, nor yet of reporting what the Christian communities of Great Britain have done or are ready to attempt in responding to these claims; our object is rather to expose the impediments which bigotry, in the form of ecclesiastical intolerance, has thrown in the way of all the really benevolent exertions which have been for several years in operation, to raise the character of this numerous and important race of men, so far as those exertions have been intended to embrace that portion of our seamen who constitute the British navy.

The time is not so far distant, but we well remember when seamen were altogether overlooked in our moral statistics, and when scarcely any reference was made to them, except to contrast their general recklessness and profligacy on shore with their matchless courage and indomitable spirit on their natural element. Scarcely were any accurate notions entertained of the aggregate amount of lives devoted to the sea, or of the comparative numbers employed in our merchant ships and other craft engaged in trade, and those who at the same time manned our fleets; still less were their Bills of Mortality swelled by casualties and shipwrecks, and the number of deaths by these, compared with those inflicted by disease and the course of nature, either investigated or deemed worthy of consideration; and as to any idea of their accountable-

ness to God and the relation of their souls to eternity—it entered not into the minds of any but a few devout and uninfluential Christians, who could only sigh over a wreck, the horrors of which it was not in their power to alleviate or prevent. But as it is not in the nature of sanctified benevolence to remain inactive, or to content itself with unavailing regrets, in the present instance as in many others, it prompted inquiry; inquiry disclosed the wide extent and alarming magnitude of the evil to be combated; and this excited the deepest sympathy of Christian philanthropists, who, opposed as they were by the most appalling discouragements, resolved upon pouring the light and blessed influence of the gospel upon perishing thousands of their countrymen, so long and so fearfully doomed to spiritual destitution, aggravated and rendered more than usually virulent by their separation from those restraints which the manners and institutions of civilized society never fail to impose upon the most neglected of its population. Affecting appeals in their behalf were made to the Christian public without regard to church or sect, party or denomination—all were intreated to enter heartily with one accord, and without a moment's delay, upon this important sphere of labor; and that none might excuse themselves under the notion that their efforts were not needed, or that their lack of service might be compensated by the zeal and liberality of those more immediately interested in maritime affairs,—it was proved that the combined energies of all the Christians in the empire would be inadequate to afford the necessary agency to meet the moral exigencies of so many thousands of immortal beings passing into eternity with unexampled rapidity, multitudes of them cut off without reflection or preparation amid the shock of battle or the horrors of shipwreck, and all of them in deepest need of religious instruction and discipline.

This demonstration, for it amounted to nothing less, exhibited the appalling facts, that in the royal navy there were 30,000 immortal beings in the perilous circumstances we have described, and 250,000, in addition, devoted to the merchant service and our fisheries; that for every sixteen sailors who die of all diseases, eleven die by drowning or in wrecks; that some of these diseases and many of these wrecks are the effects of vice, more especially of the crying and profligate sin of drunkenness.

A document presented in Dr. Harris's prize essay, 'Britannia,' gives the following statement.

'That during a period of sixteen months, from January 1, 1833, to May 1, 1834, the number of vessels reported in Lloyd's books as missing or lost, and which have never since been heard of, amounted to ninety-five in number; and these ships being principally engaged

in foreign voyages, the calculation made on their value, and the number of their crews, including officers, seamen, and passengers, assuming £8,000 as the lowest average value of ship and cargo throughout, and fifteen as the average number of persons on board, the whole gives a total loss in these missing ships only, within the short period of sixteen months, of £760,000 sterling in property, and 1,425 lives.

'That these results do not embrace the whole extent of loss in property or lives occasioned by shipwrecks even among those vessels only which belong to the United Kingdom, inasmuch as these returns include only the losses entered in Lloyd's books, from which the returns adverted to were made out; whereas it is well known that many vessels and lives are lost by wreck or foundering at sea, of which no entry is made in Lloyd's books, and of which, as no record is kept, no return can be produced.'

The pecuniary consideration, important as it is, on such a subject seems almost out of place—at least *we* have introduced the extract to confirm the data assumed by those who first invited the attention of the Christian public to the moral condition and perils of seamen; the prodigal waste of life, and the consequent ruin of souls. It is also to be observed, that in this alarming account, the seamen of the British navy are not included. What the religious communities of the country were, therefore, specially called to provide for, was the spiritual destitution of 280,000 of their fellow subjects who for centuries had been uncared for and neglected—degraded by ignorance and profligacy—and passing by a thousand fatal casualties, into an eternity of which they had little apprehension. It may perhaps be contended that the navy ought to have been excepted in this painful description, inasmuch as the state provision made for the instruction of the crews of ships of war by the appointment of chaplains to all of them of any magnitude, afford opportunity of obtaining the knowledge and cherishing the influence of religion. Those, however, who are competent to form a correct judgment on this point, will attach little value to chaplaincies, at the best times no better filled than the parochial pulpits of the Establishment; and for which were formerly destined the most worthless and inefficient members of the priesthood. All the ports of the civilized and uncivilized world bear one uniform testimony to the profane, impure, and reckless character of British sailors. At least this was the case when Christian benevolence was first roused into activity on their behalf. If there be any difference in the moral condition of the merchant seamen and those of the navy, it is in favor of the former; both are trained under the same depraving influence, and from our merchant ships and fisheries our men of war are supplied,—but their character is never improved by the change. The Church of which they are members, and the state of which they are the servants, provide

for them instead of religious instruction and discipline, a perfunctory official to give them the sacrament while dying, and to perform at their interment a funeral service in which they are declared to be the heirs of a happy immortality. There was more of *naivete* than sarcasm in the remark of an honest sailor, when iron was first used in machinery as a substitute for manual labor in the navy—'*Why, Jack, our purser tells me that the 'Admiralty are going to provide us with cast iron parsons.*'

The religious friends of sailors felt, therefore, the obligation which bound them to care equally for all seamen without distinction, and as they could make these efforts bear upon their spiritual improvement whether at sea or on shore, whether in the navy, properly so called, or in our ships of merchandize and commerce. To the latter they experienced at all times the utmost freedom of access; and though sometimes discouraged by persons in authority, and 'untoward circumstances,' their tracts and Testaments frequently obtained entrance into the cabins and berths of our men of war, while their friendly press-gangs on shore drew many a careless sailor to their 'ark' or floating chapel in the Thames.

With such objects in view, and in such an enterprize, at once so truly Christian and patriotic, it was natural for them to reckon upon the kind sympathies and cordial co-operation of men of all political parties, and of sincere Christians of all denominations; the only opposition they could reasonably apprehend was that which the antagonist power of ignorance and vice might be provoked to array against them. This they were prepared to brave, and fearlessly to carry their aggressive efforts into the camp of these their only legitimate adversaries. How greatly were they mistaken, and to how little purpose had they read the ecclesiastical annals of their country. A state church, be it heathen or Christian, papal or Protestant, is the uniform, active, and intolerant enemy of that liberty, without which it is impossible for the philanthropist, the patriot, or the Christian to advance and carry forward any really comprehensive and effective labors for the social and spiritual improvement of the commonwealth. And not only to this liberty does a state church oppose its desperate hostility; but to all those measures and objects which would prove its value and shed lustre upon its character. Whatever does not originate with itself,—is not managed by its machinery—and does not directly and exclusively present worldly aggrandisement; whether it be designed to preserve a throne, to educate a people, or to annihilate by the diffusion of religious principle, the immorality and insubordination, by which thrones are subverted and nations destroyed, it matters not—the Church abhors it, the ecclesiastical ban is upon it; and a curse is mouthed

against it deeper than any of the pious comminations which once a year reverberate through cathedral domes.

The basis of the society originally formed for diffusing the knowledge and influence of the gospel among British seamen, was charity. The committee presented a beautiful epitome of a catholic church. In the grand fundamental principles of Christianity they were agreed. To different communions, however, they were conscientiously attached—from these they did not separate when they united in a holy confraternity for the promotion of one grand specific object, equally dear to them all as Christians and patriots.

The arrogant pretensions of the clergy, and their refusal to co-operate with the ministers of dissent, soon diminished the resources and impaired the energies of the Seamen's Society, and snapped asunder that bond of perfectness which as a zone of beauty and power had held them together in delightful harmony. With a few honorable exceptions the members of the Church of England, both lay and clerical, withdrew their support from the original Ark, and the various interesting operations associated with it, and set up another in its immediate vicinity, with an advantage which altogether threw the original into the shade—namely the pretensions of an efficacious, because an authorized and exclusively apostolical ministry. As this was nothing more than an exhibition of bigotry, which only reflected disgrace upon its authors, without actually interfering with the religious liberty of others, we pass it without further remark than that, it discovered the spirit of the system to be as repugnant to the genius of Christianity as to the liberality of the age. The hierarchy has an undoubted right at its own expense to erect its altars both on land and on the ocean, and though they should place them in juxtaposition with the humbler temples of dissent, we have nothing to complain of while the voluntary principle of Churchmen does it all, without burthening the nation, through parliamentary grants or any other exactions which transgress the limits of impartial justice. We might, indeed, indulge the reasonable suspicion that in all cases of such proximity the design of their erection was rather to counteract the energetic efforts of Dissenters than to supply an ignorant and wretched population with the means of Christian instruction.

What we do complain of, and not without the most cogent reason, is the direct interference of the Church through the state, with the free and independent exertions of British Christians to propagate Christianity throughout their own country, its colonies and dependencies, and, indeed, wherever British commerce opens a way for the introduction of their evangelical mission; and it is to an aggression of this kind, as affecting the Christian

liberty of the subject and the spiritual interests of the British navy, that we now direct public attention, hoping that the attention thus awakened may grow into intense feeling,—the feeling which principle sustains, and which becomes valuable as it ripens into an active energy, that cannot know repose till the wrong which it denounces is redressed, and the right which has been trampled upon is not only restored, but established on a basis from which it can never be moved.

For a series of years our ships of war admitted the visits of pious individuals, both at home and abroad, for the purpose of distributing religious tracts among the sailors; and Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Dissenters of all denominations employed themselves as they had opportunity in this good work. We believe that the tracts thus circulcated were of a strictly evangelical character, inculcating no peculiar dogmas either of Church or sect, but were well adapted simply yet effectually to answer the great end of their distribution,—the salvation of those who might be induced to read them. With every prospect of success these benevolent individuals continued, and even extended their Christian efforts up to the 28th of May in the year 1827, when an order was issued by his late majesty, then Lord High Admiral, directing that no tracts or religious books should be received on board the ships of the fleet, except such as should be approved by the Rev. Dr. Cole, the senior chaplain of Greenwich Hospital. This announcement so worthy of the Vatican, was regarded by the friends of religion and of religious liberty with apprehension and alarm,—they saw in it the spirit of the hierarchy. It was Jacob's voice, though the hands were the hands of Esau. We should like to know something of the secret history of this order; the parties by whom it was sought, the representations under which it was obtained, the arguments that were used, the craft and the bigotry by which the measure was concocted and carried to a successful issue. Were these things known, we should have another and not uninstructive exemplification of the duplicity of 'the Man of Sin.' It ostensibly was a mandate from the Lord High Admiral, in truth it was a Protestant bull from the conclave of Canterbury. In this order, and in the strictness with which it has ever since been enforced, liberal and devout minds find several topics for observation, which should be well considered, and put to the account of that ecclesiastical Establishment whose act it is, and which must be held responsible for all the consequences.

When the mandate was first issued, the pretext was that 'immoral books might be given if there were no restriction.' In a recent correspondence between Sir Culling Eardley Smith and the Board of Admiralty, the avowed object for maintaining the

original order is, 'that books and tracts on religious subjects 'should not be indiscriminately circulated.' Before we make any further observations we may as well lay the proceedings which have lately taken place regarding this order before the reader.

On the 4th of June, 1839, the Greenwich Christian Instruction Society held a special meeting in Maize Hill Chapel, among other purposes to propose the adoption of the following memorial, which, having been signed by their chairman, Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Bart., it was resolved to present without delay to the Lords of the Admiralty.

'Sheweth,

'That your memorialists are deeply impressed with the vast importance of religious knowledge to all classes of her majesty's subjects. That to seamen, being deprived of many religious ordinances enjoyed on land, and being exposed to manifold dangers, it is of the utmost importance to communicate Christian instruction in every possible form.

'That your memorialists, therefore, deeply regretted the publication of an order under date of May 28, 1827, by which his late majesty, then Lord High Admiral, directed that no tracts or religious books should be received on board the ships of the fleet, except such as should be approved and pointed out by the Rev. Dr. Cole, the then senior chaplain of Greenwich Hospital.

'That your memorialists have reason to believe, that notwithstanding the decease of the Rev. Dr. Cole, the distribution of religious tracts still continues to be prohibited on board of many of the ships composing her majesty's fleet.

'That your memorialists respectfully submit that the said order does not prevent the circulation of works inimical to sound morality and good order; while the prohibition of which they complain interferes with the sacred rights of conscience, and presents many obstacles to doing good among the seamen comprising the British navy.

'Your memorialists, therefore, humbly pray that your lordships will allow the free and unrestricted circulation of books and tracts of a strictly religious character throughout the British navy.'

The following reply to the memorial was forwarded through Sir C. E. Smith to the committee of the Greenwich Society.

Admiralty, 14th Nov., 1839.

'Sir,

'I have received and laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a memorial signed by yourself as Chairman of the Greenwich Instruction Society, complaining of the order which directs that no tracts or religious books shall be received on board the ships of her majesty's fleet except such as shall be approved and pointed out by the senior chaplain of Greenwich Hospital; and I am commanded by their

lordships to acquaint you that they do not deem it expedient that books or tracts on religious subjects should be indiscriminately circulated through the fleet without the supervision which has been established, and my lords cannot, therefore, comply with the request of the Society.

I am, Sir, your most
Humble servant,

Sir Culling E. Smith, Bart. JOHN BARROW.

That the Greenwich Society were not unnecessarily anxious or unduly officious in this application to the Board of Admiralty, the numerous complaints of our missionaries on foreign stations, and their testimony to the demoralizing influence of British sailors wherever they are stationed even for a short season, abundantly assure us. On this subject the following letter from the Rev. E. Davis, stationed at Penang, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, contains statements so affecting and awakening that they cannot, we think, fail to speak with a weight of emphasis to the Christians of Britain, to which it is impossible to add.

'At this port, several of her majesty's ships on the Indian station remain at anchor, sometimes for two or three months together; and the sailors are allowed to come on shore in small companies, and stay two or three days; and of their conduct, during that time, I need only refer you to Wapping and Billingsgate for correct specimens. Your minds, I doubt not, have been distressingly pained to witness, what you have there and in other places beheld, when seeing Neptune's bravest sons delighting in nothing else than drunkenness, lust, and blasphemy; but conceive of all this taking place in a heathen land, among idolators and Mahomedans, and it will be nothing more than we see, to our anguish, during many months of every year. Natives tremble,—children are not allowed to attend our schools when the 'drunken sailors' are on shore,—shops are closed when they approach. The first idea suggested to the mind of a native, by an English sailor, is 'drunkenness with all its consequences.' I need not tell you how this tends to thwart all the purposes, and how it paralyses all the energies and efforts of a missionary of the cross of Jesus Christ.

'I need not tell you how the holy name of God is blasphemed before the heathen. If we advance, and dwell upon the holiness of our religion, how effectually can we be repelled by the most palpable and disgraceful facts; which afford to a native mind a counter-demonstration, when they hear the holy name which we recommend to them, as being the only name under heaven, given among men whereby they must be saved, openly blasphemed, and see that the religion of the holy Jesus, practically tends to the vilest iniquity and grossest crime. Your Society is the organization of means to benefit this interesting class,—a class in whom we feel, in this part of the world, additional interest, as being our kinsmen according to the flesh. We endeavor to

second your efforts, by pointing British sailors to Britain's God—the God of the whole earth; but we are prevented legally, and officially (it is sometimes said)—and we believe often *officiously*. If we had time, we could not be allowed to go among the crews of the Royal Navy on board, to preach to them the unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ; we have therefore confined ourselves to the distribution of tracts, and of the Holy Scriptures. Our general plan has been to send a few of the Religious Tract Society's publications on board, with a request that they might be distributed among the ship's company. This is against the regulations of the lords of the Admiralty; they are therefore collected and sent back, or thrown overboard. The sailors come on shore themselves, and express a desire to have a few tracts to take on board—here again is a transgression of the rules of the Admiralty, and the tracts are collected and disposed of, as caprice or disposition may suggest.

'How long shall this be the case? How long shall such regulations disgrace our naval code? Will British Christians tolerate it much longer? To all the friends of vital piety, ministers of the everlasting gospel, I would say, leave no effort untried, till this foul stain is for ever blotted out from the rules of the naval service.'—Sixth Annual Report of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society, pp. 70, 71.

In confirmation of this statement we might quote largely from a letter addressed to the directors and friends of Bible and missionary institutions in Great Britain and America, and entitled 'Affecting Intelligence from the South Sea Islands.' We must content ourselves with merely referring to the pamphlet.

It requires no great degree of sagacity to perceive, that this standing order of the Lords of the Admiralty is a virtual, and indeed a practical interdiction of any thing like an adequate and efficient effort being made by the Christian public, and even by the members of the Church of England, for the spiritual instruction of the navy. It is the withdrawment of a certain amount of Christian instrumentality from a sphere of operation which demands more than all the Christians in Britain could supply, even though their resources and activities were immensely greater than they are; and we cannot help regarding it as an abandonment of that class of the British community on which its safety and prosperity mainly depend, to the overflowing and contaminating impurities of infidel and obscene publications, without any counteraction from those of an opposite tendency. It is only tracts and books of a *religious* kind that pass under the inspection of the senior chaplain of Greenwich Hospital—and with regard to these we doubt not that his office is little better than a sinecure. Atheists and Socialists may range as they please through our fleet without let or molestation; but Christian missionaries, and those who would fain promote the spiritual and eternal interests of our sailors, must not approach. Procul, O procul este profani.

It is vain to allege that the Church is blameless in this matter, inasmuch as the order in question emanates from the Admiralty. One word from the authorities of the Church would secure its immediate recall, but that word is not uttered. A criminal silence is maintained, from which but one inference—and that the most dishonorable—can be drawn. If the Church is to be held innocent, let her voice be heard in indignant reprobation of the measure.

And what is most galling to a noble spirit devoted to religious freedom, because it is essential to the communication and triumph of religious truth, this order of the Board of Admiralty fixes an undeserved stigma upon the efforts of Christian benevolence, placing enlightened and devout subjects under the ban of the state for no offence against the laws, either proved or imputed. It is a mean and ungenerous interference with the most sacred feelings of our nature, while it gratifies all the antipathy of bigotry and all the pride of intolerance. While it forbids the exercise of that liberty which is founded on indefeasible and unalienable right, its authors take upon themselves a fearful responsibility, without professing or being able to impart the moral and spiritual qualifications which that responsibility demands.

This order must be rescinded. The subject ought to be brought before parliament. Our great religious societies, our various churches ought to unite their efforts, to pour in petitions upon the legislature, and to exert their individual influence for the attainment of the object. A more legitimate exercise of that influence cannot be attempted, and we earnestly crave their attention to the matter.

Art. V. *The Sons of the Soil. A Poem.* By Mrs. Ellis, Author of 'The Women of England,' &c., &c. London: Fisher, Son, and Co.

THIS is a genuine poem, full of sense, feeling, truth, and nature. Whoever has experienced much of the past of human life, and looked forward to its future; whoever has breathed the freshness, and glowed with the ardent feelings and fair friendships of youth, and sorrowed over the ravages that a few years have made in them; whoever has felt that we live to be moulded and refined by a divine hand hidden amid the fluctuations of time, yet becoming every day more palpable to the reflective; and, moreover, whoever has mused with a patriotic heart on the pre-

sent social aspect of our country, will read this volume with a sorrowful but a deep interest. It is well worthy of the author of 'The Women of England,' and will greatly extend her reputation, as one of those few writers who think soundly and seriously and dare to utter the most solemn truths to the public, even when soliciting its fastidious ear to the seductions of poetry.

Mrs. Ellis, in her preface, states her opinion, which must be that of every person who has well considered the subject, that the present indifference to poetry is the result of over excitement from the passionate and high-toned school of Byron, Moore, Scott, and the host of inferior writers who have obsequiously followed in their wake. She regards a return 'to nature and simplicity' as the circumstance which must revive our jaded taste for poetry. We agree with her in a great measure. It must be nature, and simplicity, and *originality*, which must secure attention, and awaken our dormant powers of feeling and admiration; but we do not go so far as to imagine that it is only through subjects of a very simple and rural nature that this can be awakened. On whatever subject, that possesses a powerful human interest in itself, these qualities of nature, simplicity, and originality are brought to bear, the certain consequence will be that public attention will be aroused. The fact is, that we have a great deal of cleverness now-a-days employing itself on themes which it fancies are cunningly adapted to the prevailing taste, and the result is that we have not nature of any kind; we have only new words to old tunes of which the ear is weary. Let authors who have 'the root of the matter in them,' look not to what others have done, nor to what has been well received by the public hitherto, but to what they feel in their own souls is true and powerful, and demanding the voice of a high and heartfelt utterance, and they will be surprised at the sudden eagerness with which they will be listened to. The heart of millions is hungering after healthy intellectual food, but for that very reason they will not have the musty old Gibeonish loaves rebaked.

Mrs. Ellis has shown practically the justice of her theory, that not only nature and simplicity, but power are needed for the successful management of a subject. In this poem we have not only a great deal of simple nature, but we have great power, a sound, masculine sense, a clear discrimination of character and motive. We are reminded continually of the shrewd spirit and narrative life of Crabbe, employed on a more attractive theme than he often chose; and the harmonious rhythm of Rogers in his 'Human Life,' often seems to fall on our ears. The work is, indeed, human life portrayed under a form in which it is well known to the author, and which she has sketched with great felicity. It is the life of a farmer and his family. She shows us the home of the young farmer and his wife in the early years

of their wedded existence, with their harvest labors and their young children about them. Then follows the progress of events. The farmer's wife dies; his short summer of domestic happiness, if not totally destroyed, is darkened. The twilight of an eclipsed spirit hovers over it; but his children grow up, and the development of their individual character is traced with a master hand. Troubles, arising out of very naturally depicted causes, fall on that household. Deaths and separations follow; the farmer, and part of his family emigrate to a new country. Besides the life of the farmer, we have glimpses of another life, which is connected with it, and exerts the most important influences on it, that of his landlord. We are hence led to contemplate the working of systems and principles which involve the fortunes of the mass of the agricultural population, and the moral being and prosperity of the nation at large. We can testify from our own experience to the entire truthfulness of all these sketches, and honor the heart and mind, the firmness and discretion with which they have been made. They have carried us away into that peculiar walk of life with which the poem deals—that of the wealthy and cultivated farms of the north of England, in which, in prosperous times, and under the reign of a past simplicity, perhaps more real happiness has been experienced than in any other. Such peace, and pure-hearted comfort were there; such sweet and plentiful abodes; such sense and intelligence; such a bond of affection, in a whole household; such enjoyment of kind and cordial friends; of books, and of the fresh pleasures of nature. The Society of Friends, to which the author then belonged, held in those northern counties, and especially in Yorkshire, many such rural paradises of peace, friendship, and affection, which would have justified the most glowing of her present descriptions. But we must give a more detailed view of the poetry of the work. The seasons and the charms of nature are entwined, here and there, with the narrative, in a manner that brings them all before us in their strength and sweetness. The volume opens with a delightful spring morning in which the heart of the fair writer feels and diffuses all its happiness.

> "'Tis early dawn, and morning's welcome ray
> Gilds the blue mountains, rising far away.
> From out the bosom of a mimic sea,
> Where the white vapours float along the lea;
> Till the proud sun, exulting in his might,
> Enrobes the earth in universal light.
> 'Tis spring's bright morn—and oh! what tongue can tell
> The mingled melodies that mount and swell,
> And float upon the flowery scented gale,
> Wakening sweet echoes through the verdant vale—

Harmonious voices—mellow toned and shrill,
Liquid, and murmuring, and almost still,
So small the fountain, and so pure the stream
From whence it flows, like music in a dream.
Yet, not the feeblest note of forest bird,
E'en by the brink of woodland-waters heard,
Nor loudest clarion that salutes the morn,
But hath some note of gladness still upborne.
A hymn of gratitude for life and light,
To the clear heavens fresh opening on the sight.
'Tis spring's sweet morn ; and let our poets say
Whate'er they list of that cerulean day,
That rises o'er Italia's classic shore,
My native land for me ! I ask no more.
My native land, clad in her robe of flowers,
Her daisied meadows, and her woodbine bowers;
Her lilacs gay, her bright laburnums, seen
Like fringe of gold beneath a mantle green;
Her streams that wander through the shady grove,
With cadence gentle as the voice of love ;
Her patient herds that slumber on the lea,
Her gales that waft the honey-laden bee,
Her blooming orchards girt around with may,
That falls like snow, when from the scented spray
The song-bird flutters on his joyous wing,
To soar away to the blue skies, and sing ;
Her pastures with the yellow cowslip rife,
And sportive lambs, in wantonness of life,
Wildly careering o'er the grassy downs,
Where furze, or broom, the goal of triumph crowns ;
Her verdant hills beyond its village spire,
And many a heath-clad mountain rising higher,
Around whose base the circling river winds,
Or through the vale its path of beauty finds.
Such are thy pictures, and I love to dwell
On scenes so long remembered, and so well—
Scenes that I gazed on fondly from my birth,
That made thee then the loveliest spot of earth.
And such thou art, beloved land, to me,
And ever wilt be—come what may to thee.

The farmer's home is accurately described from what was the author's home in childhood, and contained hearts as happy as peace and virtue and mutual affection could make them.

Was there not one within that peaceful home
Who might have boasted, had the question come
To her fond heart—for she was proud to be
The creature of one soul's idolatry?
And such a soul, so manly and so clear,
So firm of purpose, upright, and sincere,

Untaught of schools, yet filled with noble aims,
And that high virtue, which all praise disclaims,
With patriot fire to emulate a Tell,
And but one weakness—that he loved too well.
Yet she he loved was worthy of his care,
So gentle and so true, so fond and fair,
So self-devoted, looking to the end
For the remoter good, and thus his friend.

* * * * * *

To her the sweet return of morning light
Brought a new life, still fraught with new delight;
For she had one to love, and serve, and cheer,
Who paid her back in kindness as sincere;
And both felt bound their earthly course to make
As smooth as might be for the other's sake.
And now with that sweet morn of spring they rose
To offer up to heaven their early vows;
With joyful spirits to kneel down and pray,
And bless the light that brought another day,
Laden with all things needful, all things good,
They only asked for deeper gratitude,
Love that was less of earth, hopes more on high,
And greater willingness to live or die.
For they were growing to that lovely scene
As if their very root of life had been
Within the earth's deep bosom planted there,
To live, and bloom for ever, fresh and fair.
They looked around them with a joy so pure,
And felt the blessings of each day so sure,
They were so fain to hope, so glad to trust,
They failed to think what might be, or what must—
Of dark or drear, calamitous or strange,
They knew no evil, and they feared no change.
Thus while that sun his radiant course pursued,
He found no hearts more filled with gratitude,
More free to own that mercy crowned their days,
To tune to thankfulness their songs of praise.
It was the spring-tide flow of life to them:
Might not some rock, some gale, that current stem?
Might not that tide with natural ebb fall back,
And leave behind a waste and sterile track?
Were they prepared, in sorrow's wintry hour,
To own, and bless the same benignant power?
When darkening clouds should overcast their sun,
To bow the head, and say, 'Thy will be done?'

The scenes of domestic happiness are sketched with such a pure home feeling, that we could linger amongst them very long;

but we must pass over resolutely their pleasant evening's reading of choice books,—

'Thomson, or Burns, or melancholy Gray,'—

or the best of books, and give the following beautiful lines on evening prayer.

'It is the holy hour of evening prayer—
Descend, thou peaceful Dove, in mercy there.
Lo! the poor suppliant his sorrow brings—
Descend, thou Dove, with healing on thy wings.
If weary-laden in a world of grief,
Behold he kneels! with tears he asks relief;
Fainting beneath the burden of the day,
He seeks the shadowy night to weep and pray.
If in the pomp of manly power he stand,
Asking a boon, yet seeking to command,—
Descend, thou Dove, his earth-born pride control,
Come, with the dews of evening, melt his soul.
If he hath aught against his brother,—come,
Come, heavenly Dove, and let one happy home
Receive them both, one bower of peace be theirs,—
Angel of mercy, listen to their prayers!
If he have wandered from the ways of truth,
Blighting the promise of his early youth,
Call back the prodigal, thou gentle Dove,
Teach him once more to trust a father's love!
But if his earthly home be all too fair,
Then, holy Dove, descend, yet spare! oh spare!
Let the dim shadow of thy hovering wings
Warn him, without the weight of grief that brings
A blight upon the blossom where it falls,
Deeper for all the bliss its touch recalls.
Warn him, but gently tell thy tale of tears,
Blast not his hopes, but yet awake his fears.
Listen! he prays thee to behold his heart;
Canst thou not purify the vital part
With less than torture—less than fiery trial?
Angel of mercy! then uplift thy phial,—
Pour down the burning flood, so let the end
Be glorious—thou the mourner's friend.'

We have been seduced, by the beauty of the poetry, to quote thus largely from the opening of the work—all these extracts being taken from the first book only—the poem consisting of twelve. We are conscious that we have not selected what would give the most complete idea of the power and skill of the writer, that can only be felt in pursuing the course of the story; and

were we to transcribe half of what we would wish to lay before the reader, our notice would extend to a very great length. We must therefore leave our readers to the pleasure of exploring the contents of the volume themselves, sure, as we are, that they will rise from it with increased admiration of the fair author's talents, and esteem for her sound and independent mind. The development of the incidents, and portraiture of the characters of the story, are equally admirable. The death of the farmer's wife—his grief—the growth and several characters of his children—their country pleasures and pursuits—the aunt who comes to supply the place of the lost mother—her notions of genteel life—the pulling down of the old house, and building of the large new one—the visit of the landlord and his gay aristocratic party, and all the very natural incidents of that visit—the farmer's reverses of fortune—the melancholy wet season—the worldly young clergyman—the deceiving young aristocrat—the invitation of the tenantry to the hall only to lay on fresh rent—the distresses which follow, flowing down from one class to another—the various attachments of the daughters, and their unhappiness, except that of the humblest of them, who marries an humble but thriving tradesman, and the final emigration of the family;—all these things are so full of actual human life, that they cannot be read without the deepest interest.

If ever country was an image of gold and silver, iron and clay, it is England at the present moment; and in this able narrative poem, we have many of the causes of our social distress clearly laid bare, and some moral and political truths of the most solemn moment impressed on our minds, while we are drawn on by the charms of the verse, and the interest of the relation. The farmer, and his son and daughters, whose hearts cleave to their native soil, and who, under a better social system, might have been happy, and happiness-diffusing members of a community with which they had so many sweet and natural ties, are now embarked for a foreign shore; and the last view we have of them is full of deep feeling, and a regret the more melancholy because it has been experienced by so many thousands of our departing countrymen.

> 'Many and various were the minds that met
> Upon that deck before the sun had set;
> And varied still the groups that gathered there,
> With every shade from sadness to despair.
> But William Herbert sat apart from all;
> Perchance to watch the billows swell and fall.
> No; for his eye is stretched too far away,
> And farther still his thoughts unbidden stray,
> He sees again the cheerful hearth begin
> Its smile of joy, as evening closes in;
> The same dark covering—such there used to be

When gleamed that light beneath the orchard tree,
And he was weary, and the cold wind blew
But hearts were blending then both warm and true.
'Oh, dream of bliss! what dreary gulf has come
Between me, and this long-remembered home?
I see my bower of peace and beauty gone.
Father, I bow—thy gracious will be done!
Through the short years this failing strength may last;
Teach me—oh, teach me to redeem the past.
Grant me to witness through this changing scene,
Thy guiding light, the clouds of care between;
Thy shield of faith upon my lonely breast;
Thy gracious hand to lead me to my rest.
Then let the tempest roar, the billows heave;
I have no more a bower of peace to leave;
In distant wilds my weary steps may roam;
In realms of light I seek my only home.'

Art. VI. 1. *Council of Trent.* Religious Tract Society. 1839.
2. *Tracts of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain, passim.* 1839.
3. *Speech of R. H. Anderson at a Meeting of the York Catholic Society.* 1840.

THE most subtle, intricate, and dangerous development of the Popish system, is to be found in the practice of AURICULAR CONFESSION. Of the true nature of this practice, the results consequent upon it, and the principle which it involves, the British public are, generally speaking, in the profoundest ignorance. Auricular Confession, more than any other Romish principle, requires, in order to obtain a just conception of its nature, experience of its operations—acquaintance with its convolutions—scrutiny into the inmost recesses of a duplicity, that 'prunes its 'face for all occasions,' and masks its principles when it is imprudent to exhibit them. Moreover, there is no subject which it is more difficult to handle: for on one side, delicacy and common decency recoil from an exhibition of the grossness and shocking depravity contained therein; and on the other, there is danger that truth will be suppressed, and that the world shall not see the practice in its true colors. To these considerations must be added the fact that in Britain people only know Popery by hearsay and history;* and the perpetual din of 'prejudice,' 'calumny,' 'exaggeration,' and the like, kept up by Romish writers

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* Southey.

and speech-makers, shake in the minds of many their authority and justice.

But we are now fairly challenged to combat.* The monster is unkenneled; and like the fabled dragon † that summoned the chief of England's chivalry to the rescue of innocence and loveliness, with sulphurous breath, it howls out and affrights the island. Popery ought not to have forgotten the moral of the tale: while the beast *lay low* it escaped, and blunted the point of George's spear: when it attempted to *raise its wings* and fly, it exposed its vulnerable parts, and was stabbed in the vitals.

It is proposed to draw attention at present to some of the principal features of Auricular Confession; and to examine the arguments by which it is defended.

Our forefathers, who lived under its operation, had no great affection for this department of Popery. They found that it was calculated to destroy their freedom; that it debased and enslaved every region in which it was harboured—prostrating national energies—crushing the minds of those that owned its power—defiling the loveliness of gospel truth—spreading moral corruption through the land! The yoke into which we are invited to thrust our necks, they found too grievous to be borne: and we are now called upon to re-examine the reasons why they refused to wear it.

Before we proceed to trace the evils of *auricular confession*,—hold it up to reprobation, or notice the clumsy sophisms by which the institution is propped up, to avoid all misapprehensions and silence all cavils, we shall offer a brief definition of the terms employed, with a description of the practice indicated by them. By *auricular* confession we mean a practice which requires that every member of the church of Rome (say from seven years of age and upwards) on pain of eternal damnation, shall *make confession to a priest in secret, or the ear, of all their sins of thought, word, or deed, at least once a year.* We have not marked the papistical distinction between *mortal* and *venial* sins; nor perhaps is it necessary that we should draw such a distinction; because the priest is the judge whether a sin be mortal or not; and this fact involves, of course, the confession of *all* sins. It shall not be our

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* In some provincial towns in England Romanists have lately adopted the practice of sending a man round from house to house, who knocks at every door and hands in a tract of the Catholic Institute. If the master of the house refuses it, the curiosity of the females of his household is excited; especially as they are told that the *mass* is a kind of Italian concert: and if the master does not see it, very likely it finds its way into the kitchen, where the distributors hope some good may at least be done. Dealers in bravado when there is a safe opportunity like to imitate the boldness of truth.

† See Seven Champions of Christendom.

fault if any charge of 'misrepresentation' be raised hereafter in this matter. To the practice we describe there is no exception allowed. *The priest must know all.* Every thought, every suggestion; every feeling, passion, and imagination must be disclosed on bended knee to the ear of the priest, in secret. We do not wonder at the incredulity with which Protestants receive such statements; the fact is calculated to shock every virtuous and sensitive mind: *but it is true;* and more than this is true. The Council of Florence (A.D. 1439) declared auricular confession to be a sacrament, constituted substantially as we have described it. The Council of Trent in like manner declared '*That a full con-*'*fession of sins was instituted by the Lord as a part of the sacra-*'*ment of penance, and that it is necessary, by divine appointment,* '*for all who sin after baptism:* because our Lord Jesus Christ, when 'he was about to ascend from earth to heaven, left his priests in his 'place, as presidents and judges, to whom all mortal offences into 'which the faithful might fall, should be submitted, that they 'might pronounce sentence, or remission, or retention of sins, by 'the power of the keys. For it is plain that the priests cannot 'sustain the office of judge if the cause be unknown to them, nor 'inflict equitable punishments, if sins are only confessed in 'general, *and not minutely and individually described.* For this 'reason it follows, that penitents are bound to rehearse in con-'fession, all mortal sins, of which after diligent examination of 'themselves, they are conscious, *even though they be of the most* '*secret kind, and only committed against the two last precepts of* '*the decalogue, which sometimes do more grievously wound souls,* '*and are more perilous than those which are open and manifest.* '. . . . Moreover it follows that even those circumstances 'which alter the species of sin, are to be explained in confession, 'since otherwise the penitents cannot fully confess their sins nor 'the judges know them; and it becomes impossible to form a right 'estimate of the heinousness of the offence, or inflict a suitable pun-'ishment.' This authoritative statement puts an end to all quibbling; and fully justifies the statement that Rome claims for 'the confessor,' as the recipient of confessions is falsely called, the offices of judge, physician, father, counsellor, and teacher.* We have here a fair and correct statement of the practice: it remains for us to see the results thereof, to examine the objections against it, and the arguments employed in its defence.

The subject presents itself in three aspects: moral, political, and religious. The Popish advocates (who are always desirous of preventing their opponents from going into the case thoroughly)

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* Officia confessarii sunt agere et implere partes et obligationes judicis, medici, patris, consularii et doctoris. De dotibus Confessarii.

say, 'Pray spare yourselves this trouble. Try the case by a 'shorter issue: either God did institute 'confession,' or he did 'not! If he did, the controversy is at an end. Therefore it is 'improper to invert the order of proceeding, and discuss it as a 'moral or political question before you examine it on religious 'grounds.' But is it possible for a man to judge whether this or that practice or institution is agreeable to Scripture, *unless he really knows what the institution or practice is, in all its particulars?* Does it never occur to those crafty gentlemen, that the whole world is not entirely ignorant of the canon which directs that in comparing one proposition with another, you must be cautious that the *middle term* means exactly the same thing in both—that precisely the same ideas are conveyed in each case? 'Nothing is proved by a doubtful middle.'* We therefore choose, *first* to examine 'auricular confession' in all its bearings; and then compare it with the confession enjoined by Christ in the New Testament. If it should happen that auricular confession not only affords facilities, but strong inducements to tyranny and vice, it will follow that it must be anti-scriptural; for Christianity cannot contradict its own ends, which are the promotion of purity, moral dignity, and freedom: 'Where the 'Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty!'

First, then, it is affirmed that auricular confession is attended with results morally pernicious.

Who can contemplate the practice *in the nature of the thing* without recoiling from it with indignation? The MIND placed under the keeping of a fellow being, who probes every feeling, knows every thought, crushes every emotion that tends to the emancipation of the soul!—the MIND forced into an iron mould, and there held by a priest!—maidens unbosoming themselves in secret to unmarried men; to men forced to celibacy, who are trained up from childhood by their parents for the priesthood as a respectable livelihood! Married women exhibiting the inmost recesses of their hearts to strange men! Is there not iniquity unspeakable here?

I. *Auricular confession of necessity debases the human mind.* The constant fear of the priest tends to degrade the intellect: freedom of thought is crushed by the consciousness of the reckoning to be rendered in the confessional. Again, if a vicious thought flashes across the mind, is it not a metaphysical truth that the effort to recall it, and the process of repeating it, tend to fix it indelibly in the imagination? We affirm that the repetition of the minute details of sin [in reply to the *quis? quando? ubi? quomodo?* and *quibus?*] is not calculated to produce any other

* Aldrich.

effect than to excite the emotion of shame and a feeling of degradation before the man to whom confession is made. Dugald Stewart, in his inestimable book on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, in recommending an examination, with scrupulous care, of the foundation of all those received opinions which have any connexion with morality or human happiness, observes, 'And unless 'he submit in this manner to bring all his opinions to the test of 'a severe examination, his ingenuity, and his learning, instead of 'enlightening the world, will only give additional currency, and 'an additional authority to established errors.' Now if a papist even thinks of such a process, his priest tells him he has committed a mortal sin, and sets him as a penance five fasts, and as many 'Hail-Mary's' multiplied by ten: and in every 499 cases out of 500 'a noble soul is thus undone!' It may well be asked who is the being that demands the exercise of such powers over the souls of men? A priest! and what is a priest?* A servant greater than his lord—a man claiming power unassumed, discarded by his Saviour and apostles—higher than prophets or angels—the sinful associate and rival of his God—a *sinner* affecting to pardon sin!

The priest of the Jewish dispensation performed offices and offered sacrifices merely typical of, and foreshadowing, the sacrifice of the Lamb of God: here is a man, *after* the law is fulfilled, —after THE ONE † sacrifice is offered—after the great atonement is completed and Jesus hath ascended into the heavens, to sit at the right hand of God till the restitution of all things;—after all this, here is a man (like some poor player bedecked with the faded ornaments of bygone royalty) dressing himself out in the obsolete grandeur of the Levitical priesthood. A '*priest*' without an office ‡—save that of extortion: without a victim—save the man he deludes: a spiritual sinecurist, exhibiting a ludicrous and mischievous combination of the principles and practices of pagan and Jewish priests, united with Christian precepts: a priest 'of shreds and patches,' cut from the gospel, the Israelitish theocracy, the theology of the Vandals,‖ and the priesthood of Mithra.§

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* It is of course unnecessary to say, that the assumption of the name of *priest* is a positive fraud: the word Ἱερεὺς in no case being in the New Testament applied to a Christian pastor, to whom the title πρεσβυτερος is exclusively applied.

† Heb. ix. 12, 25—28.

‡ The offering of a sacrifice is an attribute essential to the character of a priest. There can be no *priest* without a *victim*. Vide Archbishop Whately on equivocal words.

‖ Mr. Thomas Moore, in his '*Travels in Search of Religion*,' boasts of the adaptation of Christianity to their pre-conceived notions.

§ The priests of Mithra we are informed exacted a special confession from their dupes.

Before we can form an adequate conception of the mischievous influence of auricular confession, in crippling the human mind and enslaving the vulgar, it is necessary to examine the character assumed by the Romish priest who sits on his inquisitorial throne in the confession-box.

First. *He partakes in the eyes of his dupes of the character of infallibility.* 'The church,' they are taught, is infallible. He is her mouth-piece, and parish oracle; being one of that mystic body, which they are told, is infallible, when *collected* in priestly parliament. This naturally elevates him into a supernatural being in the opinion of the crowd; and gives him an awful importance in their debased minds.

Second. *The validity of all sacraments depends upon his intention!!!* For example: though he went through all the usual genuflections and manipulations, and uttered every word of the prescribed form of consecration, at the mass, it is held *that no consecration really takes place* unless the priest INTENDED to consecrate. Again, no sinner, we are told, is absolved from sin, *although the priest pronounces absolution,* unless truly and absolutely he intended absolution!!*

Third. *It is blasphemously taught that the priest can bring the Godhead visibly and bodily into any particular place by the word of his mouth:* i. e., every popish priest can bring a piece of dough into any one's house, and then and there turn it into the very body, blood, soul, and divinity of Jesus Christ, to be seen by the family, capable of being touched, smelled, tasted, and handled.

Fourth. He is described in the children's catechism as 'a mediator (mediator is the word) between God and the people.'

Fifth. He says he can bind or loose on earth and it shall be bound or loosed in heaven.

Sixth. It is declared, as we have already hinted, that the priest fills the offices of judge, physician, father, counsellor, and teacher.

Seventh. His name is rendered awful by connection with the name of Deity: the words of the *Confiteor* (the act of confession) run thus: 'I confess to Almighty God,' &c. [viz. saints and angels], '*and to you*, O! holy father.' It is an obvious law of the human mind, that men ignorant and undisciplined are prone to regard with superstitious feeling objects associated with others that demand their homage. The two objects become compounded or inseparably connected together in the mind; and the ideas raised by the greater are transferred to the meaner.

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* i. e., '*I do forgive you*' (with my lips), at the same time '*I do not forgive you*' (in my heart). 'It is true I invoke the name of the Holy Ghost to witness the falsehood; but the church decrees that I have told no lie, and that my heart is free from deceit or craftiness.'

Let the reader now pause; and, connecting the extraordinary claims of the priesthood here noticed, with the nature of the jurisdiction exercised in the confessional, say whether auricular confession is not calculated to subjugate and prostrate the intellect? It is further to be recollected, that this confession is imposed upon members of the Church of Rome from the age of seven years, and upwards:—

> 'The priest continues what the nurse began,
> And thus the child imposes on the man.'

And it is material to mention that the practice under review, by enabling the Church of Rome to enforce *the prohibition of certain books from its members*, in this way also operates most prejudicially against the growth of the mental powers. The Council of Trent appointed a committee to prepare an index of prohibited books; not however having finished their task, the business was referred to the pope. The index was accordingly published at Rome, A.D. 1564, confirming the tyrannical regulations of the tenth session of the council of Lateran, under Leo X.; and among other decrees the following was issued by the holy see: 'Finally 'it is enjoined on all the faithful, *that no one presume to keep* 'or read any books contrary to these rules prohibited by this index. 'But if any one keep or read any books composed by heretics, 'or the writings of any author suspected of heresy or false doc-'trine, *he shall instantly incur the sentence of excommunication;* 'and those who read or keep works interdicted on another ac-'count, besides the *mortal* sin committed, shall be severely 'punished at the will of the bishop.' This law is still enforced: a permanent committee, styled the 'congregation of the index,' still exists, and is especially charged with adding to the list.* It is very true that the '*infallible*' decrees of Rome cannot be enforced to their full extent in England:—thanks to Protestantism, papists enjoy some little relaxation; and we suppose the curse is in some way suspended. But as it is the sworn duty of the priest to enforce the decrees of the church, there cannot remain a reasonable doubt that he *does* prevent those, to whom he can safely dictate, from perusing books which he conceives objectionable.

II. *Auricular confession necessarily tends to corrupt the morals of society.* We shall abstain from allusions which are calculated to excite feelings otherwise than delicate; and simply demand of fathers, brothers, and husbands, whether the honor and chastity of

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* The list contains the works of Luther, and all the reformers, of Erasmus, Grotius, Milton, Locke, Jeremy Taylor; and even Young's Night Thoughts!

their wives, sisters, and daughters would, considering the natural consequences of the practices described, be in their opinion always in safe custody in the hands of men, 'forbidden to marry, pampered in luxurious ease and abundance to voluptuousness, with '*secresy* in one hand, and an amplest power of absolution in the 'other?'* Can they refuse to apply to it the words of *Hamlet*, as inappropriate?—

> '—— Oh! 'tis such an act
> That blurs the grace and blush of modesty;
> Calls virtue hypocrite; takes off the rose
> From the fair forehead of an innocent love
> And sets a blister there; makes marriage vows
> As false as dicers' oaths; oh! such a deed
> As from the body of contraction plucks
> The very soul; and sweet religion makes
> A rhapsody of words!'

If it be true,—and no one in his senses can deny it,—'*that every 'moment of time spent in meditations upon sin, increases the power 'of the dangerous object which has possessed our imagination*,'† who can doubt that the situation of the priest who listens to the details of intrigues and amours, and unveils the female bosom swelling with guilty passion, is not one dangerous to virtue? The true way to preserve purity of heart, is not to rush into temptation, but to *avoid* it. For this reason we are taught daily to pray not to be led into temptation. Arguing from general principles, it is impossible not to adopt the conclusion, that in the hands of bad or weak men, auricular confession cannot fail to be a fruitful source of demoralization. But this conclusion is strengthened by two facts of great importance in the present discussion.

There exist two classes of manuals in use among Roman Catholics, explaining the nature of the practice, and giving directions to the priest on one hand, and to the penitent on the other. Without laying undue weight upon the work of any particular individual so in use, we may state that from these manuals we learn, if not the particular questions put in confession, at least *the general tendency of the examination instituted by the priest.* It is therefore of the utmost consequence to examine these publications, and to see whether they exhibit the confessional in an amiable or odious light.

We freely admit that we cannot enter upon this subject without feelings of the strongest indignation. We might exhaust the

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* William Howitt.

† Haller.

most vehement denunciation—the bitterest taunts—the keenest sarcasms—the most scathing rebuke; and yet fail to convey a just notion of the turpitude of the directions to 'confessors,' contained in manuals which have come under our notice. We name in particular the manuals of Bailly and Dens. In those books, every crime that the human mind can conceive is described with the most frightful minuteness of detail. Every hypothetical sin is discussed in particulars so disgusting, that you are constrained to feel that the writers were imbued with every thing lewd and sensual. Every circumstance in the single or married state of woman is laid down and treated on with scholastic precision; the whole justifying the assumption, that the priests enforce to the uttermost the powers given them by the council of Trent, and torture from the bosoms of their unhappy female votaries, every thought or feeling that can excite or depress them.

Again; the examinations proposed in the 'books of devotion' are also revolting. Children and women are asked, did you think thus? did you feel so and so? did you commit this or that sin? Combining all these considerations, is it too much to assume, that auricular confession is a withering pestilence, fatal, at the same time, to domestic peace, dignity of mind, and female purity?

III. *The practice places a vast amount of property at the disposal of the priesthood.* It enables the priesthood not only to pry into people's affairs, but to influence the mind of the will maker: 'A death-bed was a friar's harvest: there were suggested 'the foundation of chanteries, and the provision of masses and 'wax lights. *The confessional was his exchequer:* there hints 'were dropped that the convent needed a new window, or that it 'owed 'fortie pound for stones.' *Was the good man of the house 'refractory? The friar had the art of leading the women captive, 'and reaching the family purse by means of the wife.'* *

Many other facts might be added expository of the moral working of this iniquitous practice; but we must turn to its *political* relations.

Auricular confession, then, must be regarded as an institution dangerous to public liberty, and to the political prosperity of states. Without frightening the country with relations of the efforts of the Romish priesthood, in times past, to ride over all the monarchs of Europe, or with a history of the intrigues by which they convulsed nations, and placed daggers, for the accomplishment of their ends, into the hands of their Ravaillacs;—we shall just put a case which will serve as an illustration. Suppose that Queen Victoria were to make a secret confession once a

* Blunt's History of the Reformation.

week to a Romish priest;—suppose that her husband, Prince Albert, were also to 'make a clean breast' of it to the confessor;—suppose that the Duchess of Kent, the Queen Dowager, the royal dukes, each of the ministers and officers of state, with the privy councillors, also made confession;—suppose that all the maids of honor were to whisper their thoughts into the ear of some Romish ecclesiastic;—suppose, in a word, that the members of Parliament, lords and commoners, that the judges and magistrates, the whole mass of electors and non-electors were to kneel to the confession-box;—suppose all this, and then candidly tell us whether the degradation, thraldom, and political downfall of England would not be secured?* The confessors are the servants of a *foreigner*. The vast majority of them are friars, sworn by a vow of perpetual obligation to unquestioning *obedience;* so that on the pain of perjury and sacrilege, and consequent degradation and final ruin, they cannot refuse to obey the orders of their ecclesiastical superiors! A *spy* in every body's house!! The spy of an Italian prince in the palace and the privy council!!! Papists in our days are wont to reply to this—'*We* don't believe 'that the pope has a right to absolve subjects from their allegiance: 'the confessor has no right to ask any questions, excepting those 'affecting our *spiritual welfare*.' Simple-minded people; the priest thinks a particular question calculated to promote the good of the church, and the good of the church affects 'the spiritual welfare' of all her members. He has not read Thomas Aquinas's logic for nothing; and will arrive at his own conclusion, by one road or other. Who is there so credulous as to suppose that a man on his knees in a box before a priest, dare refuse any thing that he is asked? He cannot go to heaven without absolution from the priest; the priest refuses it, and the poor wretch soon makes submission. The power of questioning is given to the confessor; *and no law can regulate a power exercised in secret.* Let councils and their apologists split hairs if they will; Father John or Friar Paul will catechise and cross-examine, and probe and spy according to the standard of right in his own mind. Whatever his interest, his whim, his ambition, his avarice, his lust suggests, he asks—and who presumes to refuse? To talk of a peasant, or indeed a papist in any class of life, arraigning his priest before a bishop, cardinals, or council, is pure folly. Where is the evidence to support his appeal?

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* 'Auricular confession has been a national evil, a public calamity, a dark and threatening spirit or ill-tending demon, hovering over the length and breadth of the land. *What made the king or the queen, the minister or the general, do this or that bad thing?* The cursed counsel of the confessor!—poisoning the ear, hardening the heart, and urging the hand to persecution, tyranny, and blood.'—*John Rogers.*

All history proves that the confessional has contributed to place the lives and liberties of subjects virtually at the disposal of the vassals of the popedom :—

> 'Unless to Peter's chair the viewless wind
> Must come and ask permission where to blow,
> What further empire would it have? for now
> A ghostly domination unconfined
> As that by dreaming bards to love assigned,
> Sits there in sober truth—to raise the low,
> Perplex the wise, the strong to overthrow—
> Through earth and heaven to bind and to unbind!
> Resist—the thunder quails thee!—crouch—rebuff
> Shall be thy recompense! from land to land
> The ancient thrones of Christendom are stuff
> For occupation of a magic wand,
> And 'tis the pope wields it! whether rough
> Or smooth his front, *our world is in his hand!*'*

To any one acquainted with the ordinary methods of reasoning, the most ludicrous thing conceivable is to see a papist tasked with the defence of auricular confession. The word *confession* is tossed about like the juggler's ball!—it is an admirable word for him; just suitable for his purposes. As it is, logically speaking, an *equivocal* expression, and is employed in common language to denominate *four different things*, a practised hand can employ it in one sense at one moment, and in a different sense the next, by which trick the vulgar are deluded into the notion that he has proved his point, when in fact he has done nothing of the kind. It is pitiable to see men thus shuffling with equivocal words, employed to deceive the ear and cheat the understanding: it is a paltry and dishonest trick which no candid advocate of a good cause could stoop to. For example—the jesuit proves, 1, 'from the sacred 'scriptures—2, from the practice of the ancient church—3, from 'the admission of its utility on the part of Protestants,' that *confession* is of sacred origin; and then with the coolest effrontery demands, has he not proved his case? But what is his case?—*to prove the sacred origin of* AURICULAR *confession.* That is his case. To *that* he must be pinned, and the consequences of his being so will soon be apparent. He will, if possible, prove that *confession* of sin [1, to God] is commanded in the Bible,—that *confession* [2, before congregations of the faithful] is recommended in the New Testament, and was practised in the primitive church,—that *confession* [3, mutually, or 'one to another'] is

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* Wordsworth.

enjoined by St. James, and then he will demand assent to the predicate of his conclusion, that confession [mark well, *here meaning* (4) *auricular*(*!*) confession] is a divine institution ! !

Our present inquiry is not whether confession to the Almighty is or is not good; whether confession before congregations is or is not useful; nor whether the confession of faults 'one to another' is beneficial or otherwise. The question is this—Whether or no *auricular confession* is a part of Christianity?—i. e. whether *secret* confession, to a *priest*, vested with the powers given by the councils of Florence and Trent, be a system dangerous to mental growth—to civil and religious liberty, to purity of morals, and to domestic peace; whether, while it is designated a 'sacrament' it is justified by the religion of Jesus Christ? That is the question. We find a remarkable instance of the chicanery alluded to, in one of the speeches* of the Rev. Thomas Maguire, a popish champion of some note:—

'Now I will prove,' he says,—'and, gentlemen, it will be 'worth your while to hear the demonstration—that there was '*auricular confession* in the old law, and that the people were 'obliged to *confess* their sins. If then—mark this—if then there 'were *confession* in the old law, it follows that there should be '*confession* in the new, which was founded on far better pro-'mises.'

This is what Mr. Maguire *promised* he would prove; see *how* he proves:—

'Now,' he continues, 'you will find it laid down in the Old 'Testament, that God said to Moses, 'Say to the children of 'Israel, that if any one shall commit any of all the sins' (now 'mind the expression) that happen between man and man, he 'shall make *confession* thereof; and then provides for the sin of theft, 'if confessed, and says, 'And he shall make restitution thereof, 'and one fifth part over.' There now is confession, restitution, 'and satisfaction, in the old law; and then recollect the expres-'sion, 'any of all thy sins.' That is to say, that any sin, no 'matter what it is, must be confessed.'

This is the whole of Mr. Maguire's 'demonstration,' to which his audience were told it was well worth their while to attend. How it has proved the existence of, or afforded a sanction to, *auricular confession*, the wily priest has not thought it prudent to state. If he asserts that *auricular* confession was practised in the Jewish church, he states a historical falsehood: if he says that congregational confession prevailed, he has not proved his point, but a different one. We boldly challenge scrutiny into

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* We quote from the edition of P. and M. Andrews, 'Catholic Printers,' Little Britain, London.

this matter; and we unhesitatingly affirm, that not a text nor a term in the Scriptures can be produced to justify, nor afford a shadow of proof in favor of the foul and abominable tribunal called auricular confession. It is defended by a series of palpable sophisms, and miserable beggings of the question. What can exceed the nonsense of the following paragraph, in the speech of another popish-champion—of the legal profession too?

'There are many portions of scripture in illustration of this 'subject. I will, however, pass on to the second part of my sub-'ject, namely—that Protestants, if consistent, ought to be believe 'these doctrines; for we find it written in the Protestant Prayer-'Book, 'If we say we have no sins we deceive ourselves, but if 'we *confess* our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, 'and to cleanse us from all iniquity.' Now, I would ask my 'Protestant friends, what motive could there be for confessing 'sins, unless it be in accordance with the practice of confessing 'sins, which practice has existed from the time of Christ down 'to the present day. But I might cite more texts of Scripture 'to show the general bearing of the Bible on the subject. I trust 'I have stated sufficient to convince you that we are sufficiently 'justified by the word of God for believing this doctrine. We 'must all give some weight to history; and history tells us that 'confession has been practised in the church from the earliest 'period to the present day.'*

What an aggregation of blunders! First, this Roman Catholic orator concedes the title of 'the word of God' to the Bible; for which offence we award him, as penance, the perusal of Dr. Milner's 'Catholic Scriptural Catechism:' he will there be told that the *word of God* consists not of the Scriptures, but of two parts, written and unwritten, of equal authority. Leaving him, however, to settle this matter with his priest, we beg the reader to mark his exhibitions of the fallacy *ignoratio elenchi* in the quotation. See how coolly he equivocates with the word 'protestant.' He uses it in the first instance in its generic signification, and then in a specific. It is false that Protestants, if consistent, ought to believe those doctrines (supposing them to be contained in the Prayer-Book of the Church of England), *because* they find them written therein; for with only one section of Protestants has that book authority, and that section professes to hold nothing but what may be proved from the sacred Scriptures. Let us put Mr. Anderson's proposition into the syllogistic crucible:—

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* Speech of R. H. Anderson, delivered at the tea-party of the York Catholic Society.

Protestants are inconsistent if they do not hold what is taught in the Protestant Prayer-Book:

It is taught in that Prayer-Book, 'If we say we have no sins 'we deceive ourselves, but if we *confess* our sins HE is faithful 'and just to forgive us our sins:'

Therefore, a Protestant is inconsistent who does not believe in the excellence of auricular confession!!

Such is the method of arguing in vogue among the men who propose to extend their system among an educated, intelligent, and Protestant people!

But the grand argument in defence of auricular confession, is grounded on what is called *the power of the keys;* or of binding and loosing. But even if it were proved that it were in the power of the priest absolutely to forgive sin (and every papist when pressed to it will deny this) we say if this were proved, *we are as far as ever from auricular confession.* It is triumphantly demanded, 'If no confession be made, how could the apostles or 'their successors know what sins they were to forgive or retain?' Now, this question is not quite so decisive as the proposer of it seems to suppose. Has it never crossed his mind that *a confession of guilt before the Christian congregation* might communicate the requisite knowledge? Here is confession—here is the thing he wants to know: why then is he tied to the alternative of auricular confession? We, therefore, repeat again, that if papists were enabled to succeed in proving ten times over that their priests had the power of forgiving sins, still we should want proof of auricular confession. We press this point upon attention; and offer it as a direct answer to the hypothetical quibbles which abound in Romish writings on this matter.

But *can* a Roman Catholic priest forgive sin? We demand an answer, and that a direct one, to this question. Without evasion, can he absolutely forgive? if so, what is the nature or quality of the forgiveness? There is a great deal of mystification in this business; but if the questions we propose be fairly met, the imposture of Popery will be at once exposed; and the priests, like the jackdaw stripped of the peacock's feathers, will stand shivering in detected nakedness. The usual practice on the part of papists is to repeat the words 'Whatsoever sins ye remit, they 'are remitted,' as a proof of some sort that the power assumed is held by their priests. But they must give us leave to say that this is taking for granted the very point in dispute; i. e., whether the interpretation put upon these words be correct or not?

Let us suppose that a man comes to a priest and makes confession to him. The priest 'forgives' or absolves him. *Is that man absolutely forgiven?* Is he? In the eyes of God, is he freed from guilt? Mark the reply. 'Now, my friends, this shows us 'what I first set out with, namely, that the mere act of confes-

'sion [including the act of absolution by the priest] alone, we 'Catholics believe, is of no avail, unless we, at the same time, 'have sincerely repented of our sins.'* Of no avail, unless!!

The priest has said, *I forgive you;* has declared *I absolve you:* yet the man is not absolved! What a sacrilegious waste of consecrated breath! Mayhap the man is not forgiven after all! In plain English, the whole of the priests' power amounts to saying this—'Sir, *if*—if you have repented before God, you are forgiven: if not, you are yet in your sins!!!' We defy the priest to make more of it. We defy any of the Popish advocates to exhibit power beyond this: and this is not the power of forgiving sin; it is simply a publication of the gospel message; it is no more than a declaration—'if you repent you are forgiven; if you 'do not, you are not forgiven.' Where, then, is the *power* of the priest? What becomes of all his mystery, and all his pretence? We dare him to deny that he is unable to forgive sins. He cannot, Dr. Challoner admits, forgive the sins of a man *unless God has first forgiven him.* He will *ratify* the act, if you please, when God has forgiven and accepted the repentant sinner; that is, do a thing unnecessary and at the same time blasphemously wicked. And if God *has not* forgiven, he utters commands without force—words without meaning—sounds without sense. He says that a thing is, when it is not; and thus makes his business a jest and a burlesque!

But then we are asked, what is the meaning of the words 'binding and loosing?' We reply, in the words of Bishop Jewel,† 'that the power of *loosing* consists in this, that the minister, by 'the preaching of the gospel offers to dejected minds and true 'penitents, through the merits of Christ, absolution, and doth 'assure them of a certain remission of their sins and hopes of 'eternal salvation. Or, secondly, restores and receives into the 'congregation and unity of the faithful those penitents, who by 'any grievous scandal or known public offence have offended the 'minds of their brethren, and in a sort, alienated and separated 'themselves from the common society of the church and the body 'of Christ. And we say the minister doth exercise the power of 'binding or shutting when he shutteth the gate of the kingdom 'of heaven against unbelievers or obstinate persons, and de-'nounceth to them the vengeance of God and eternal punish-'ment, or excludeth out of the bosom of the church those that are 'publicly excommunicated.'

To every one at all acquainted with the history of the church in the early ages it is known, that when an infidel was converted

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* R. H. Anderson.

† See Jewel's Apology.

it was required that he should make a *confession* of his past guilt in the face of the congregation or church, accompanied with a profession of faith in the Lord Jesus. As soon as he was admitted by the suffrages of the people, the pastor then on the part of himself and the body over which he exercised oversight, laid his hands on him publicly, and implored the pardon of his sin and acceptance before the Father. The remains of this practice are still to be traced in the canons of churches in connexion with Rome. Again, if a man in connexion with any Christian congregation, committed any known sin, he was arraigned before his brethren; and if found guilty was by the vote of his peers excluded from fellowship and communion, in accordance with the solemn injunction of St Paul: 'Now we command you, brethren, 'in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw your-'selves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after 'the tradition which he received of us.' The people agreed to the sentence—the pastor pronounced or executed it. The writings of Clemens Romanus, Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Cyprian,* contain numerous allusions to these practices. Cyprian, in his treatises concerning the *lapsed*, and in his epistles, again and again, recurs to them. The lapsed, he said, 'were to plead 'their cause before the clergy and the whole church.' 'All 'things' (he declared) 'were debated in common amongst them;' and he adds, whoever was excommunicated, 'it was done by the 'divine suffrages of the people.' But as the church waxed strong in this world's goods, the rich could not bear the humiliation of public censure, and the clergy were not unwilling to add to their own power and wealth by a compromise of the ancient discipline. 'A new method also,' says Mosheim, referring to the fifth century, 'of proceeding with *penitents* was introduced into the Latin 'church. For the grievous offender, who had formerly been 'obliged to confess his guilt in the face of the congregation, was 'now delivered from this mortifying penalty, and obtained from 'Leo the Great a permission to *confess* his crimes *privately* to a 'priest appointed for that purpose.' Mosheim adds, by way of reflection, 'By this change of the ancient discipline one of the 'greatest restraints upon licentiousness, and the only remaining 'barrier of chastity, was entirely removed; and the actions of 'Christians were subject to no other scrutiny than that of the 'clergy; a change which was frequently convenient to the sinner 'and also advantageous in many respects to the sacred order.'

It is a circumstance that demands our notice, that the great Reformer was first stirred against the corruptions of the church

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* See an Account of the Discipline of the Primitive Church, by Lord Chancellor King.

of Rome by a traffic in indulgencies—what he regarded as a violation of the sanctity of the confessional. The German priests had been accustomed to prescribe penance to those who confessed to them; but Tetzel, a Dominican monk commissioned by Pope Leo X., appeared in Germany, and offered *for sale* 'indulgences' absolving purchasers from all pains and penalties. There was no sin (and some he named) which he asserted he had not the power to remit. 'The indulgences were farmed; they were sold in the 'gross to the highest bidders, and were by them dispersed among 'the retail pedlars of pardons, who resorted to the public houses, 'exhibited their wares, and picked the pockets of the credulous.'* Tetzel boasted that his indulgences could ensure the forgiveness of an offender *etiam si matrem Dei stupravisset.*† Luther regarded this unholy traffic with indignation. He had looked upon the confessional as sacred, and had from his childhood been taught 'That the sacrament of penance as administered by the holy 'Roman Catholic is *the only means* by which Christians who have 'been guilty of mortal sin since their baptism can be reconciled 'to God.' Luther took his staff—repaired to Rome, and represented the scandal to the Pope. But Leo treated the son of the miner of Saxony with disdain, and dismissed him with a sneer: 'Brother Martin,' he said, 'is a very fine genius!' Luther's spirit was moved. He returned to Saxony to muse and meditate upon the corruptions he had witnessed during his visit to the eternal city. He opened his Bible; re-examined the case; and then published the living truth—justification by faith in Christ only! Like Samuel, he had mistaken the voice of the Lord, and had repaired to the high-priest; but he returned to his place, having received a special and superior commission from God himself, who had heard him ejaculate with the fervor of an honest and good heart, 'Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth.' The gospel truth announced by Luther clove down the impieties of Leo, and annihilated the usurped power of the confessional, scattering 'satisfaction,' 'supererogation,' 'attrition,' &c., to the winds. Christ was restored to the pedestal from which he had been dethroned. The priest was no longer the 'mediator' between God and the people. The pardon vended by him was valueless, and came second hand, for the awakened world now were told, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and *thou shalt* be 'saved.' They were invited to go to him who 'in no wise' will cast out; and, without money and without price, were directed to wash at the fountain opened for sin and uncleanness, and be whole!‡

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* Blunt. † Maurin's Sermons on Popery.

‡ 'Having now taught of faith in Christ, let us now teach touching good

Blessed be God for this glorious truth! In it shall we find the antagonist of the hideous system of ecclesiastical despotism we have faintly shadowed out. And blessed be God for giving the world a Luther to proclaim it. Luther! It may be that we are destined to see Popery start from the ground, like the dying chief, 'as light as if she felt no wound,' and shout out victory: but she will reel and stagger anon. The crimson tide, in the action, bursts from her side, where the arm of Luther planted the wound. Well hath Master Francis Quarles sung:

> 'Welcome those gentle quills (whose e'er they be)
> Whose meritorious labors shall set free
> The true imprisoned dust of that renowned,
> Thrice-famous Luther: let his head be crowned
> With sacred immortality, and raised
> Much rather to be wondered at than praised.
> Let babes unborn, like fruitful plants bring forth
> To after-days new monuments of his worth,
> And time-outlasting name:
> While men, made perfect in his well-known story,
> May all turn patrons and protect his glory.'

Art. VII. 1. *American Slavery as it is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses.* New York. 1839.

2. *The Limitations of Human Responsibility.* By Francis Wayland, President of Brown University, U.S. London: Hodson.

THESE two publications of the American press, issued within a few leagues of each other, under the same government, and by authors professing the same religion, constitute one of the greatest anomalies which the versatile history of man can furnish. The first is a simple relation of facts, descriptive of the actual condition of society; plain unvarnished tales witnessed or told by men whose veracity is unimpeachable, and whose names, attached to the facts, defy contradiction. The second is written by a divine of high character and standing, and expresses

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works also. Seeing that we have by faith apprehended Christ by whom thou art justified, go now love God and thy neighbours. Pray to God—give him thanks—preach him—praise—confess him. Be good to thy neighbour—help him—do thy duty by him. These are truly good works, *flowing as they do from that faith and joy conceived in the heart by reason of our forgiveness of sins through Christ.*' Luther on Galatians ii. 16.

his deliberate sentiments in regard to this state of society; what he thinks of it, what he feels towards it, and how he proposes to deal with it. The feelings created by the two publications are as opposite as the poles. The details of the first make one's blood boil at the atrocious cruelties which beings in the human form are capable of inflicting; while the reasoning of the other instantly transports us to the frigid zone. The author of the latter appears to be a pure intellectual abstraction, a mere automaton, without nerves or sensibilities of any kind. A more finished specimen of cold-blooded indifference to the wrongs and miseries of his fellow creatures we never expect to witness. We learn from it how a man may immure himself in his study or incase himself in prejudices, until he ceases to sympathize with active life, or to feel one generous emotion in his heart.

It is not our intention to harrow the feelings of our readers by any extracts from the first publication. Such relations were copiously made when it was necessary to arouse British feeling upon the subject; but that happily is not now required. Our notice will be chiefly confined to the elaborate treatise of Professor Wayland on the Limitation of Human Responsibility, a work written with great caution. The publication of such a work, if the information of travellers may be depended on, was not uncalled for in reference to some striking characteristics of American society and manners; but, we conceive, it can have but a very limited application to the social condition of other portions of the globe. Where else, for example, could the following description, by any possibility, have any adaptation.

'It seems to be frequently taken for granted, that all duties belong to all men; that matters of right recognize no distinction either of age, or sex, or civil office, or ecclesiastical function; that all men, and all women, and all children, are equally responsible for all possible things; that there is no peculiar and special duty assigned to a magistrate or legislator, a people or a clergyman; but that every man, woman, and child, is responsible for the discharge of every possible duty, and that every human being may urge this responsibility upon every other human being, under penalty of the infinite displeasure of the eternal God.'—Wayland, p. 12.

To the author's statement of the nature of his subject, and, indeed, to a considerable portion of his reasoning in the earlier chapters of the work, we yield our free assent. There is much just discrimination, and clear and consecutive reasoning, expressed in language appropriate and dignified. Our only objection to this part of the work is an apprehension that the parties to whom the advice is applicable will not take the benefit of it. Though at the utmost remove from the intention of the author, we cannot help fearing, that in *society* it will not be the bold and

restless innovator, nor in *religion* the wild and visionary enthusiast, that will avail themselves of his labors. Such men are usually as far removed from reasoning, as they are from the restraints of authority and law. A larger and more willing class of admirers will be the supine and selfish; men who are on the look-out for opiates and apologies for cupidity and sloth. If we lived in such a busy and energetic world, that the zealous in religion, and the philanthropists in society, were constantly pushing their efforts in improper directions, and overstepping the bounds of prudence, there might be some apology for such a strain of admonition. A wise man once said, 'Whatsoever thy hand 'findeth to do, do it with all thy might;' and a more recent authority exhorts us 'to be zealously affected always in a good 'thing.' Exhortations like these seem to be much more adapted to the present aspect of the church and of the world. It would be in perfect good keeping for the advocate of a state-enslaved church, with its located cures pinioned to a geographical space, and its signals on each side of this enclosure warning off intruders, to employ himself in constructing grooves and rail-roads for Christian effort; but for the president of the oldest academy of the most democratic of all the sects, and in the most republican of all governments, to be thus employed, is a singular page in the history of modern times. The politics of the country, the history and habits of the people, their independent religious training, are all at the antipodes to the restraints and formalities which obtain in older and more formal states of society.

It is admitted that there is sometimes an eccentricity in minds of ardent temperament, apt to turn into extremes, which the cool and calculating will be sure to condemn. In the present imperfect state of our nature, men seldom take a strong hold on any great object without falling into excess. Enthusiasm seems almost inseparable from earnestness. It is in the nature of zeal kindled in behalf of great objects, to burst the trammels of ordinary thought and action. 'The calm reason, the single idea of right, 'the principle of pure love, such as it exists in God, serene and 'unimpassioned—these divine impulses seldom of themselves 'carry men through great enterprises. Human passions insensi-'bly mix with higher influences. Religion and freedom have 'evermore made their way through struggles and storms. Es-'tablished evils naturally oppose an iron front to reform; and the 'spirit of reform, gathering new vehemence from opposition, 'pours itself forth in passionate efforts.' The history of American freedom furnishes many illustrious examples of indomitable energy—this moral heroism; while it furnishes at the same time the most hopeful indication of the triumphant issue of their present struggle, in comparison with which their subjection to a foreign power was but as the green withs on the limbs of Sampson.

It is not on the former part of this work, much as there is in it to approve, that we feel ourselves called upon to pronounce judgment. It is the last chapter—a chapter by far the most important, and for which the other parts were obviously intended to prepare the reader, that we feel called upon specially to notice. Though the last in order, it was clearly the first in the view of the writer; and was the anticipated ordeal through which the reasonings and arguments of the former part would be required to pass. The subject of this chapter is the application of human responsibility to the slavery question—that delicate question on the lips of an American, which opens all the folds of his suspicion, and braces him to a moral hardihood unfelt on any other theme.

It has long been matter of interesting inquiry with us, what must be the precise feeling and position of the better part of the American clergy in reference to the slavery question. Religion has made more rapid advances in the United States than in any other portion of the globe; and yet the fact is,—strange and unaccountable as it must appear—that while the sinews of the system are relaxing everywhere else, they are here retained, as with a giant's grasp. How is this? How are we to account for the fact, that ministers of the gospel, the students of God's holy word, preaching and exhorting every Sabbath-day on the relative duties of man to man, and the responsibility of all men to God, should be open to the following cutting rebuke by a late intelligent traveller. 'Seeing what I have seen, I can come to no 'other conclusion than that the most guilty class of the commu-'nity in regard to the slavery question at present is, not the slave-'holding, nor even the mercantile, but the clerical.' How, we ask again, is this? By what show of argument, by what course of reasoning, by what silent stupefying process can the energies and sensibilities of the Christian ministry be so paralyzed and blunted as to afford the least point and verity to such a rebuke? The reply to this inquiry is in a great measure furnished in the chapter before us; and in saying this, we are fully aware that we are uttering a censure of no slight amount. It appears, according to the judgment of Professor Wayland, President of Brown University, and author of Elements of Moral Science, &c., &c., that the Christian church is not responsible. Slavery is an affair of civil society. The respective States of the union are governed each by their own laws: no one local legislature has the least authority beyond its own boundary; and, therefore, the citizen has no power to act; and where there is no power, there is no responsibility. But on so serious a subject, justice requires that the author should speak for himself; and that justice may to the fullest extent be awarded, we shall make the extract copious and complete.

'The right or wrong, the innocence or guilt of slavery, is not the question here to be discussed. Waiving this, and granting it to be a violation of the law which God has ordained between man and man, and granting, also, that it is our duty to labor for its removal, I design merely to inquire what are the limits, within which our efforts, for the accomplishment of this purpose, are to be restricted.

'Our duty on this subject must, I think, be either as *citizens* of the United States, or as *human beings*, under the law to God.

'1. I think it evident, that, as *citizens of the United States*, we have no power whatever either to abolish slavery in the southern States, or to do any thing, of which the direct intention is to abolish it. Whatever power we possess, as citizens of the United States, is conferred upon us by the constitution. This power is *not conferred upon us* by that instrument, and therefore *it does not exist*.

'But this instrument has not merely a *positive*, it has also a *negative* power. It not only *grants* certain powers, but it expressly declares that those not enumerated are *not granted*. Thus it enacts, that all 'The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it, to the States, *are reserved* to the States respectively, or to the people.' Now, the abolition of slavery being a power *not* conferred, it is, by this article, expressly *withheld*. Whatever power we may therefore have over slavery, as *citizens of the several States*, within our own limits respectively, we have none, as *citizens of the United States*. The majority of the people in the United States have, in this respect, no power over the minority; for the minority has never conceded to them this power. Should all the States in the Union but one, and that one the very smallest, abolish slavery; should the majority of one hundred to one, of the people of the United States, be in favor of its abolition, still it would not alter the case. That one State would be free to abolish it or not to abolish it, as it is now. This is a question which has never been submitted to the majority of the citizens of these United States, and, therefore, the citizens of the United States, as citizens, have nothing to do with it.'

—pp. 183—186.

'As we have, therefore, as citizens, no power over this subject, we have, as citizens, no responsibility. The guilt, if guilt exists, will not rest upon us as citizens of the United States. Whoever supposes himself guilty because Congress does not *pass a law* abolishing slavery in the United States? But this is the only manner in which, as citizens of the United States, we have any power to act in this, or in any other case. If, then, we are not responsible, we have, as *citizens*, no obligation to discharge in the premises. Whether slavery be bad or good, we wash our hands of it, inasmuch as it is a matter which the providence of God has never placed within our jurisdiction.

'But this is not quite all. As citizens of the United States, we have solemnly promised to *let it alone*. We have declared that we *leave* to the States respectively, and to the people of the States, whatever powers they have not conceded to us. This is, by universal consent, acknowledged to be one of the powers thus left. We have, therefore, promised as citizens of the United States, to let *this* alone.

The concession has been made by both parties, and we hold the other party to it. Should the majority in Congress undertake to *establish* slavery, in one of the free States, we should plead *this very article*, as a bar to their usurpation. But the slave-holding States have precisely the same right to plead it against *us*, should we attempt any legislation in the case. Both parties have pledged themselves to abstain, and neither can interfere in the matter without the violation of a solemn compact. In this respect, therefore, the providence of God, and our own solemn obligations to each other, have precluded any action whatever.

But I go still further. I hold that a *compact* is binding in its *spirit* as well as in its *letter*. The *spirit* of the compact, I suppose, imposes upon me the obligation not to do any thing for the purpose of changing the relation of master and slave, except with the consent of the master. I have no right to declare the abolition of slavery in another State; I have conceded that this is to be left to the *free choice* of the citizens of that State. I have no right to do any thing to *interfere* with that *free choice*. I have, therefore, no right to excite such a state of feeling among slaves, that the master shall be *obliged*, from physical necessity, to liberate his slaves, whether he believes it to be right and wise, or whether he believes the contrary. This is as much a violation of the *spirit* of the compact, as an arbitrary act of legislation.'

—pp. 188—191.

'But it may be said, granting all this, yet Congress *has* a right to abolish slavery in the *District of Columbia*. Here we are, therefore, *responsible*, and of course, *under obligation*. Let us proceed, and calmly examine this question.

'I grant that the unrestricted legislative control over the District of Columbia has been ceded to the United States. I grant that Congress has the same power over the District, as the Legislatures of the several States have over their own States respectively. They have, therefore, the *power* to abolish slavery within that District.....

'But it is always to be remembered, that it is *one* thing to say that a man has a *right* to do a particular act, and a very *different thing* to say that it is *right* and just for him to do that particular act. The *right* to do the act may be absolute, but the fitness, and propriety, and justice of *exercising* that right may be *conditional*.....

'It is manifest, then, that, granting a right to exist, in the signification above given, the question still remains, is it a right, fit and proper and just to be *exercised*? In other words, although we have the *right* to do it, yet would it be right and just for us to do it? This is really the point on which it seems to me the whole question hinges.

'I ask, then, in the first place, what is the *object* of the act of abolition? Is it ultimate within itself? Is it merely because, as citizens of the United States, we are opposed to slavery in any territory over which we exercise jurisdiction? Or, is it for the sake of something ulterior, that is, for the sake of creating such a state of things in the slave-holding States, that the citizens of those States will be obliged, whether they approve of it or not, to abolish slavery? In so far as this latter is the object, I think it unconstitutional; because we have

by the spirit of the compact, bound ourselves to leave it to their own *free will.* That free will we have no right, either by ourselves or by others, to control; and we have no right to use our power, either of one kind or another, for this purpose. I think, therefore, we have no right to exercise the power which we possess for the accomplishment of this object.

'I ask, in the next place, was the power over the District of Columbia ceded to Congress *for this purpose?* Did Maryland and Virginia ever anticipate that, without their consent, this use would be made of it?' 'If I make a contract with my neighbour, and by the *letter* of that contract, obtain a power to do some act, which power he never intended to convey, I cannot, as an honorable man, avail myself of it. To do so is an act of knavery, and every man of sound principles would so consider it.'—pp. 191—196.

The above extracts, we believe, give an honest view of what our author conceives to be the duty of his countrymen as *citizens* of the United States. The following will show what he thinks is their duty in respect to slavery from their relations as *men.*

'We are bound, I apprehend, in all our efforts on this subject, most scrupulously to avoid all measures which could justly be construed into an attempt to infringe the rights of the South. We have a right to attempt to change southern opinions on this question, and to show the master, by argument, that it is for his interest, and that it is his duty, to liberate his slave. But we have no right to take any measures of which the natural tendency is to excite the slaves to insubordination and civil war. We have a right to change the purpose of the master by *argument*, but we have no right either to oblige him by our own *physical* force to change it, or to excite another person thus to oblige him. I here only speak of the question of *right* to do the act, and not at all of the *practical result* of the act. It is my firm belief, that a general insurrection at the South would end in the almost entire annihilation of the colored people.

'Nor, again, can I perceive the utility of a system of societies, affiliated, not for the sake of circulating truth at the South, but for the sake of exciting and agitating the people at the North. The only advantage which can be expected to result from this measure, is the increase of abolition *votes.* But this is a matter, as we have attempted to show, with which *votes* have nothing to do, inasmuch as it is a question over which, as citizens, we have no control. In the mean time, the very attempt to multiply votes, on this question, cannot but beget in the minds of the South, the suspicion that we intend to interfere in this very manner: that is, in a manner at variance with our constitutional obligations. The least suspicion of this nature must, from the necessity of this case, render all our argument useless, and make our very appeal to men's understandings and consciences, a positive annoyance. And in so far as I have been able to discover, such has been the effect of the system of affiliated abolition societies. They have

already become the tools of third rate politicians. They have raised a violent agitation, without presenting any definite means of constitutionally accomplishing their object. In the mean time, as combination on the one side, always produces combinations on the other, they have embittered the feelings of the South. They have, for the present at least, rendered any open and calm discussion on this subject in the slave-holding States utterly impossible. They have rivetted, indefinitely, the bonds of the slave, in those very States in which they were, a few years since, falling off; and everywhere throughout the South, they have rendered the servitude of the enslaved vastly more rigorous than it ever was before.'—pp. 206—208.

On this extract we must make a few remarks.

In the first place, there is throughout it an entire misstatement of the objects and measures of the American Anti-Slavery movement. It is not by any overt act that they seek to "abolish slavery in the Southern States; it is, not their aim to excite the 'slaves to insubordination and civil war;' *or* 'to oblige the master 'by physical force:' all this is gratuitous assumption, warranted neither by the laws of the association, nor by the acts of its accredited agents. Their aim is not to induce the people to break the laws, be they as bad as they may, but to persuade those who made bad laws to amend them. They know that there is a higher tribunal than earthly legislation; and that when human laws contravene and oppose inherent rights, the fact only requires to be brought fairly out into the light, to make the necessity for its prompt and thorough correction to be clearly seen.

There is, moreover, an entire confusion between moral and political rights. The right which a man has to *himself*, is anterior to all political regulations, is what he never relinquishes when he enters into the social compact; and to wrest it from any man, unless forfeited by misconduct, is tyranny and oppression, by whomsoever practised, or by whatever name it may be called. Were any one man to take this liberty with his fellow man, he would be treated with universal execration; and if a nation does it, the immorality of the act is precisely the same. It may have the power, and it may exercise the power; but it has not, and never can have the right. Indeed, no man has a right even to dispose of himself by this summary process, since it interferes with the claim which God, as his Maker, Preserver, and Judge, reserves to himself, who will hold all his creatures responsible for their actions, which they cannot be while held in involuntary servility to a fellow man.

Allied to this, as there is an entire misapprehension of the limits of human legislation, there is also a most gross misrepresentation of its foundation and authority. One would be led to sup-

pose, by the extracts quoted, that the curse of slavery was imposed upon them by Providence, just as cataracts, and earthquakes, and tempests, or epidemics, which may occasionally be permitted to devastate a country. As if they or their ancestors had no hand in the appointment; but were bound quietly to submit to a destiny over which they had no control. Had such language proceeded from some antiquated oriental despot, the origin of whose power was lost in the darkness of ages, we could not feel much surprise; but from the conservatives of the last made government, the authors of which are scarcely cold in their graves, such language savors more of cant and hypocrisy than of argument. The author knows well that in their 'Declaration of 'Independence,' there is a clause allowing any alterations and improvements which the lapse of time might justify, under cover of which many amendments have been made, and are still making; and under what mighty spell then are the Americans so bound as to be prevented from removing this foul blot from their institutions? We say, by nothing in the world but their idolatrous love of the system itself. Disguise it as they may, conceal it under whatever specious names and appearances, ashamed of it as they profess to be in the presence of all not under its blighting influence, the true reason, and the only reason, why it is not abolished, is because 'they like to have it so.'

For what is it to abolish slavery? Slavery, it should be remembered, is the mere creature of statute, or positive law. It is unknown to the common law. 'It is so *odious*,' said Lord Mansfield, 'that nothing can be suffered to support it but *positive* law.' What is it, then, to abolish slavery? It is simply to repeal the positive laws which sustain it. To open the foul dungeon locked by the key of unjust legislation, and permit to the slave to walk forth and breathe the pure, invigorating atmosphere of the *common law*. It is to restore to its just efficacy the great fundamental law of *natural justice*, on which the common law is founded: a law *written upon every man's conscience and in every man's heart.*

A great deal of loose declamation has been uttered in this controversy about property being the creature of law; as if it had not a natural foundation or right antecedent to law. The duty of government is not to create, so much as to protect and regulate property. The notion that property is the creature of law is revolutionary, and destructive in the highest degree. If we have no right to our houses, or merchandize, or farms, but what a vote of the legislature gives us, then the vote of a majority may at any time strip us of them all, and transfer them to others; and the right will go with the law. What can the veriest radical or chartist wish for more?

If this be true in reference to property in general, what shall

be said to those who claim property in *human beings;* and allege as their title the authority which the law affords them? Here is a double fallacy. They have no right to the thing; and the title by which they hold it is fallacious. A man may be possessed of a poor estate under a good title; or he may have a defective title and the estate be good; but here both title and estate are bad. They have no right to the thing; and their title is void. The property is man; and the title to it is God's; execrated be the despot who seizes it for himself, guilty alike of sacrilege and robbery.

Again, we cannot help observing a most glaring disproportion between the disease and the remedy proposed. What is the disease of which complaint is made? It is the system of buying, selling, enslaving immortal creatures; subjecting them to incessant and unrequited toil; violently dismembering families, selling parents from their children, and husbands from their wives; forbidding education, and thus robbing them of the treasures of God's word; in a word, it is SLAVERY;—Slavery among professing Christians, practised by members, officers, and pastors of churches, advocated by many, palliated by more, and practised by one entire section of the American republic; a system which threatens to dismember the Union, to convulse every section of that large continent, and to terminate only amid scenes at the prospect of which every humane heart must shudder. And what is the remedy? The author shall speak for himself.

'We are only held responsible for setting the truth before men. They have a right to decide whether they will accept of us as their instructors or not. They have as good a right to their ears as we have to our tongues. Hence, if they will not hear us, our responsibility is at an end. We have no right to force our instructions upon them, either by conversation, or by lectures, or by the press. If they still determine to go on in what we believe to be wrong, we must leave them to God, who is perfectly capable of vindicating his own laws, and executing justice among the children of men. If they will not hear us, the indication is plain, that God does not mean to *use* our instrumentality in the affair. We must retire and leave the case in his hands, and turn our attention to the doing of good in some other way.'
—pp. 209, 210.

Very kind and gentle truly! 'Now Eli was very old, and 'heard all that his sons did unto Israel; and he said unto them, 'Why do ye such things? for it is not a good report that I hear.' . . . . But we shall be told, that Eli was an old man, retired from active life, and had no power over his sons; and having no power, he had no responsibility. . . . But did this satisfy the Searcher of hearts? 'And the Lord said to Samuel, Because

'Eli's sons have made themselves vile, and he restrained them not, 'behold I will do a thing in Israel at which both the ears of every 'one that heareth it shall tingle. In that day, I will perform 'against Eli all things which I have spoken concerning his house: 'when I begin I will also make an end.'

The perusal of Professor Wayland's treatise has given us great pain. Without laying claim to the prophetic impulse, we cannot help saying, that while such extenuating apologies, such gentle correctives, are applied from such quarters, to an evil of such magnitude, we see not a ray of hope for the poor down-trodden slave. Under such treatment, so far from diminishing, the system will go on, as it has done for the last century, increasing in extent and malignity; its roots will be more firmly struck into the institutions of the people; while the gentle rebukes of the pulpit and the Christian press will only operate as a convenient safety valve, relieving conscience by an acknowledgment of the evil, and attributing that, to the civil institutions of his country, the disgrace of which every man, and especially every Christian, ought to take to himself.

We have always regarded the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade as fairly handed over to the high principles and stern integrity of the Christian church. No other agency has the power, or the willingness, or the patience, requisite for its overthrow. It was the church that effected its destruction in this country; and to the Christian church in America we ought to look for a similar undertaking. So violent is the repugnance between Christianity and the slave-system, that it has passed into a maxim with us, either that Christianity will root out slavery, or slavery will destroy Christianity. But it appears that in the southern states a way has been discovered of accommodating matters more conveniently; of serving God and Mammon at the same time; of reconciling injustice, licentiousness, and murder, with the character and claims of the gospel: and how is this effected? Why, by a kind of mutual compromise. The *professor* may pacify his conscience by denouncing the system, and the *slave dealer* will quietly repose under these denunciations, permission being allowed to continue the practice. The *professor*, as in duty bound, may utter his aversion as long and as loud as he pleases, in every variety of phrase, vulgar or refined; but he must go no further. He must confine himself to words, taking due care when and where they are uttered; he must not touch the system with a view to its extinction; he must stir up no prejudice against those engaged in it; his voice must not be heard in the streets, where he can work, either upon the fears of the oppressor, or the hopes of the oppressed. He may talk as large and as loud as he pleases when off American soil: he may come to England, and harangue in Exeter

Hall against the iniquities of the trade, and tell us how sorry he is for his country, and how his country longs for deliverance. He may visit our churches and our family circles, and tell us how the Christian church in that land mourns over her hard lot, from which she would fain escape, but cannot. And he may appeal to our pity and our prayers; and amuse us with the hope, that as some of the states have discarded the system, this ere long will be the case with the whole. But all this while the slave merchant is rearing his human cattle, and selling them like brutes—the iron is eating into the flesh—the fetters are binding the limbs of the man who has as much right to sell his master as his master has to sell him. The system is going on; its victims are suffering and dying by thousands; and all the relief the poor wretch is to enjoy, is a little vapid pity and a few heartless prayers. But we are told that we must not be rash. The religion of the Bible is 'no patron of injustice,' any more than of oppression. Our intemperate zeal has 'rendered any open and calm discussion 'of this subject in the southern states utterly impossible;' 'has 'rivetted indefinitely the bonds of the slave in those states in 'which they were falling off;' 'has rendered the servitude of the 'enslaved far more rigorous than it ever was before.' And with this siren song we are to be hushed into silence. We devoutly thank God that all this is seen through, not only by men at a distance, uncontaminated by a pestilential slave atmosphere, but by a noble and increasing band of Americans,—men who have vowed eternal enmity to the system, and are sacrificing property and life in its extinction; men whose piety and character defy the tongue of slander; against whom their enemies can find 'none occasion or fault, except' in their hatred to oppression! A sample of these modern martyrs we hope shortly to hail in this country; who are too stiff of nerve, to listen to such nursery lullabies, or to rest quietly in a cradle rocked by the selfishness of interested partisans, and the treacherous silence of a sycophant church.

We say, and we say it emphatically, that we lay the guilt of the continuance of this system *at the door of the American church.* We have not the materials for any extended statistical calculations respecting the proportion which the church bears to the other part of the population; but from printed reports we learn that in *Georgia*, with a population of about 600,000, there were some years since 587 *Baptist* churches, besides portions of most other denominations of Christians. In the state of *South Carolina*, it is stated that one-sixth of the adult population are actually members of Christian societies. And yet in this same state of Georgia, the law 'inflicts a fine of five hundred dollars upon every 'white man who teaches a free negro to *read or write;* and if one '*free negro* teaches another, he is to be fined and whipped at the 'discretion of the court; and should a free negro presume to

'preach to, or exhort his companions, he may be seized without 'warrant, and whipped *thirty-nine lashes*, and the same number 'of lashes may be applied to *each one of his congregation*.' What! a violation of law to teach a fellow-creature to read—to read the revelation which his Maker has given him! What! *thirty-nine* lashes for doing that which every Christian in the New Testament is commanded to do? Is this Georgia, or is it Sodom? Are we come back to the darkness of the middle ages? Is this America in the nineteenth century, or is it Italy in the thirteenth? And who, we ask, made these laws? Who had the presumption and hardihood so to fly in the face of human rights and of divine obligation as to impose such iniquitous statutes? There are in this State 587 Baptist churches; and had the pastors and members of those churches no hand in making these laws, and have they no influence in removing them? The supposition is absurd. The church is tainted to the very core with the leprosy; it is their own: not a judicial infliction from without, not an evil from which they could flee if they knew how or where; but their own free, loved, cherished, fondled institution, the evil of which must be fixed home upon themselves, and its consequences charged to their own account.

But it only remains to ascertain the duty of British Christians in reference to this state of things. And here we can be at no loss. The New Testament furnishes us with the apparatus, and all the apparatus that is required; at least all that as Christians we are allowed to employ. The churches are in *error*; and to convince them of this the pulpit and the press of the northern States have been most energetically employed for some years. The matter, so far as argument is concerned, is settled. But we consider them not only in error, but living in *sin*, in gross, aggravated sin; and to hold fellowship with them in any act of worship is to be partakers in their sin. This must not be. We are not accountable for the effect which the exercise of discipline may produce, whether it harden or melt into penitence. Our course is clear; and the duty is imperative as much for our own sakes as for theirs. With the conviction we have of the enormity of the slavery system, we can do no less than entirely withdraw from all who are contaminated by it; and after doing this, we are as clear of any participation as if they were the inhabitants of another globe.

We may, perhaps, be told that to stand aloof from them as excommunicated from the Christian fold, is not the way either to convince or to reclaim them. Of this we are not quite sure. Of one thing we are very confident, that it is a position which no individual, and no association of individuals, can long retain. The Author of our nature has so linked society together that no man can long endure existence totally dissevered from his fellow-

man; and communities are but one remove less dependent than the individual. The Author of the Christian system has availed himself of this bond of mutual dependence in the construction of the Christian church; and the metaphor of the apostle in comparing it to a body is beautifully appropriate, not only in regard to its particular sections and localities, but to its widest and most comprehensive boundaries. As well might an amputated limb boast of its independence of the body, as any one section of the spiritual body long retain its vitality dissevered and excluded from the rest. 'I am far from thinking lightly,' said the Rev. R. Hall, 'of the spiritual power with which Christ has armed his church. 'It is a high and mysterious one, which has no parallel on earth. 'Nothing in the order of means is equally adapted to awaken 'compunction in the guilty, with spiritual censures impartially 'administered. The sentence of excommunication, in particular, 'harmonizing with the dictates of conscience, and re-echoed by 'her voice, is truly terrible; it is the voice of God, speaking 'through its legitimate organ, which he who despises or neglects, 'ranks with 'heathen men and publicans,' joins the synagogue of 'Satan, and takes his lot with an unbelieving world, doomed to 'perdition. Excommunication is a sword which strong in its 'apparent weakness, and the sharper and more efficacious for 'being divested of all sensible and exterior envelopments, lights 'immediately on the spirit, and inflicts a wound which no balm 'can cure, no ointment can mollify, but which must continue to 'ulcerate and burn, till it is healed by the blood of atonement, 'applied by penitence and prayer.'

But this will not altogether meet the case. Very few ministers or professors of religion, who advocate slavery, or are actual participants in its abominations, ever visit this country; we have, therefore, no personal access to men of this class. The ministers who visit us are almost entirely from the northern and free States; and are these entirely free from blame? Are their hands unstained by the pollution? We are firmly of opinion that so long as unchristian prejudices against the colored population are cherished in the north, it is in vain to expect the extinction of slavery in the south. This prejudice is nothing else and nothing better than incipient slavery; it is both the parent and the nurse of the system. The very arguments which would justify the one, only carried a little further, will justify the other. The expression of that prejudice furnishes a passport to the confidence of the south, silences the reproofs of conscience, and wipes off the odium which attaches to the system. The ministers who cherish this prejudice feel no scruple in associating with the thorough advocates of slavery, of holding fellowship with their churches, or of uniting in their benevolent and religious institutions. The countenance, therefore, which we give to ministers of this class is

an indirect countenance to the system itself. Believing what we do respecting that system; believing it to be the very essence of sin, the grossest outrage on the rights of man, the fruitful parent of the most loathsome impurities, and the most daring invasion of the prerogatives of the Most High, we must not be content to withdraw from those who openly countenance these abominations, we must equally withdraw from those whose guilty silence emboldens its abettors; whose associations with slavery churches encourage them in transgression, by blunting the edge of remonstrance, and weakening the voice of conscience. To this class of ministers and others we have frequent access; they traverse our country; they mingle with our churches; they assist at our public meetings; and it is, therefore, upon the consciences of these we must urge our remonstrances. We must prove to them and to the world, that we take the high ground of religious principle, and are resolved to follow out the legitimate bearings of such principle, whithersoever and to whatsoever it may lead. Unseduced by bribes and undeterred by frowns, we must refuse—indignantly refuse—to associate with men who either practise injustice and robbery themselves, or who wink at such atrocities when practised by others.

Art. VIII. 1. *Debate in the House of Commons on Sir James Graham's Motion. April,* 1840.

2. *Parliamentary Papers. Affairs of the East India Company.* 1830.

3. *Parliamentary Papers. China.* 1840.

4. *Asiatic Journal (passim).*

5. *Facts and Evidence relating to the Opium Trade with China.* By William Storrs Fry. London: Richardson.

IN the debate on Sir James Graham's Motion on Chinese affairs, Sir Robert Peel said, 'He would give no opinion with 'regard to the Opium Trade, nor as to the policy of the war. 'Those were two questions perfectly distinct from that which 'formed the substance of the present motion.' In this declaration the opposition leader displayed his usual tact, looking forward to the possibility of being called upon as minister to prosecute the war and to perpetuate the traffic. The suppression of questions of such importance, involving the whole merits of the controversy between Great Britain and China, renders the debate (like the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet omitted) a most jejune and unsatisfactory performance. But these topics,

though carefully kept out of the motion, could not be altogether excluded from the discussion. The latter was managed on both sides with sole reference to the interests of party, yet many of the statements made, and much of the argument employed, serve to illustrate the question in its more general bearings, and in this point of view the debate has features of interest and utility.

It is impossible for any intelligent and reflecting reader, even supposing him to have no previous acquaintance with the subject, to read the speeches on either side without perceiving that the present difficulties are to be traced to one source—the 'Opium 'Trade;' that this traffic is *immoral* in its intrinsic character, being destructive of human happiness and of human life; that it is *criminal*, being carried on by unlawful means; and that by common consent it is condemned as degrading to the national reputation and injurious to the national interests. The consideration of this subject, a subject involving the whole gist of the controversy, was excluded by the terms of Sir James Graham's motion, for obvious reasons. The two great parties which divide the British parliament are equally guilty of the Chinese war—both are implicated in the omissions and the commissions, in the blunders and the crimes which have brought this country into its present disgraceful position. The following extracts from the speeches of Mr. Hawes and Sir John Cam Hobhouse establish this fact beyond controversy.

'He (Mr. Hawes) meant to lay it down as a principle, that the discussions on the contraband Opium Trade were the foundation of all these troubles. In 1833, when the Indian Act was passed, and the instructions sent out, all the evils of this trade were well known, and the dangers attending it had been distinctly pointed out; no information had been wanting to prove the nature of the trade, or to show its tendency to produce collision with the Chinese authorities, and to put a stop to trade with that country altogether. All these circumstances were as distinctly known then as they were at present. Mr. Grant, in opening the India Act, expressly stated that it was a contraband trade—that it was a dangerous trade, and one that could not continue. Now he (Mr. Hawes) wanted to know, if all this information was well known, how it was that measures were not taken by the government of that day to put down the trade in opium. To that trade he (Mr. Hawes) attributed all the evils which the trade between this country and China had been suffering, and to that he attributed all the jealousies of the Chinese.'

Sir John Cam Hobhouse bore testimony to the same facts in a manner which must have been sufficiently galling to the member for Pembroke.

'This was not a question of yesterday. A committee sat in 1810 to discuss the renewal of the East India Company's charter, and at the

same time examined the case of the Opium Trade. Did that committee make a report? Yes, it did. Did that report say any thing against the smuggling of opium? No, it did not. There was another committee which inquired into the same subject in 1832. Did that committee make any report as to the smuggling trade in opium? It did. Various witnesses were examined; the atrocities, as they had most properly been called, of the trade were inquired into; a report was drawn up, and the evidence given, more particularly that of Mr. Shepherd and Mr. Majoribanks, and the whole bearings of the trade were thoroughly sifted. Yet some gentlemen spoke of this matter as if it now came before the house for the first time. What was the opinion of the committee of 1832? Why, that as the Opium Trade of Bengal produced £981,283 it was not desirable, in the existing state of the revenue of India, to put an end to it; the more so as the duty fell chiefly on the foreign consumer. The right honorable baronet was very loud now in his indignation against this traffic. In 1833, when Mr. Grant, now Lord Glenelg, in his place in the house, entered into a long and eloquent detail of the iniquitous process by which this trade was carried on, the right honorable baronet, who then sat by the side of Mr. Grant as a colleague, was perfectly mute—he said not one single word on the subject. The right honorable baronet, on that occasion, expressed no disapproval of the trade. No, the right honorable baronet reserved all his indignation at the traffic for this particular occasion. On that occasion, in fact, there was no member of the house who said any thing about it, except, indeed, one solitary individual, Mr. Buckingham, who got up and exposed the whole traffic, and made a direct charge against the East India Company, taking the occasion to mention that the trade in opium was so productive as to bring in a profit of 1000 per cent., and that it was held of such importance by the company, that their superintendent of the growth of opium at Patna received a larger salary than the chief justice of the Court of King's Bench; adding, that while the company claimed to themselves the privilege of being the guardians of the law in India, and the conservators of the morals of the people of that country, and while they punished with the utmost severity any infraction of their own laws, they openly cultivated this drug for the purpose of smuggling it into China. That charge was made by Mr. Buckingham in the face of the House of Commons; and did the right honorable gentleman opposite, who was sitting near Mr. Grant, say any thing against it? Mr. Buckingham told them that the East India Company had the monopoly of the cultivation of the poppy, and he charged the iniquities of the traffic on the company. Did any one rise to second Mr. Buckingham, or say a word in his favor? No one said a word; neither his right honorable friend the member for Pembroke, nor the honorable member for Newark, who, he believed, was then a member, nor the noble lord the member for Liverpool.'

Mr. Hawes asks a question which cannot be answered without condemning not the present administration alone, but former administrations and former parliaments. The government of

Great Britain has for forty years past connived at the Opium Trade, and in 1833 that disgraceful traffic received the formal sanction of the imperial parliament after all its circumstances of atrocity and danger had been fully developed before the committee of 1832. The evidence adduced before that committee, and printed in the parliamentary papers, is a permanent record of national dishonor.

The most important and characteristic peculiarity of the Opium Trade, though incidentally developed by Sir John Cam Hobhouse in the remarks above quoted, was carefully kept out of sight by the other speakers on both sides of the house. They not only were silent on this point, but by arguing on a contrary supposition, virtually implied the non-existence of so remarkable a feature. We allude to the national character of the traffic. The slave trade, during its legal continuance, might have been called a national trade from the amount of capital and the number of vessels and of seamen employed in it; but the Opium Trade is *national* in a stricter sense, or more properly speaking, it is a *government trade.* The opium in its production and original sale is strictly monopolized by the British Indian government, which, in our eastern empire, is an *alter idem* of the British government itself. For the acts and policy of the former the latter is completely and entirely responsible, not only because from the British government the rulers of India derive every particle of their delegated power, but because on the last settlement of Indian affairs, parliament reserved, in the most full and comprehensive terms, its imperial and constantly existing right of supervision and interference; and because also the President of the Board of Control, one of the mainsprings of Indian administration, and whose powers and responsibilities are almost unlimited, is a member of the Cabinet. Indian measures are, therefore, the measures of the government of the day, and the latter are as responsible for them as for any part of their more strictly foreign, colonial, or domestic policy.

The East India Company assumed the monopoly of opium in 1773. They carried on the trade openly at Canton for some years by their own servants, but the attention of the Chinese government being drawn to the pernicious effects of the drug, its introduction was totally prohibited by an imperial edict in the year 1796. On the urgent recommendation of the officers who superintended their important interests at Canton, the company prohibited their vessels and commanders from carrying opium to China. It was found expedient to employ unchartered villany in a traffic, which by being declared contraband, was rendered both disreputable and dangerous. The company continued to monopolize the growth and preparation of the drug, sold it at stated public sales, and *licensed* vessels to carry the baleful freight

to the Chinese shores, for we need scarcely remark that until the expiration of their charter in 1832, no British vessel could trade to China without the company's *license.* The following quotation from the 'Minutes of Evidence and Report on the Affairs of 'the East India Company, House of Commons, 1830,' will illustrate the intimate connexion of the Indian government with the Opium Trade.

Charles Marjoribanks, Esq., seventeen years in the service of the East India Company, most of that time in their China factory.

'292. 'Would you not consider it as derogatory to the character of the company for its servants to be extensively interested in the smuggling trade of the country?

' 'The company have always professed to be legal traders in China, and to conform to the established laws of trade in China.'

'293. 'Does not a considerable portion of that high character, which you state the company to bear with the Chinese government, arise from their conviction that the company would not meddle with a trade of that description?'

' 'I think it does.'

'341. 'So that although the company will not smuggle opium into China, they sell it knowingly to parties that do smuggle it in?'

' 'The persons connected with the company's interests have knowledge enough to know that it goes to China, but they conceive their connexion with it to terminate with the sale in India.'

J. T. Davies, Esq., seventeen years in the company's service in China.

'443. 'As a member of the select committee, have you not had occasion to know officially, that a considerable quantity of that opium was sold by the East India Company's authority in India, and a license granted to British subjects to carry it to China?'

' 'We cannot possibly be ignorant of that; the company enjoys a monopoly of the growth of opium in India, and therefore they must be the sellers of it.'

'444. 'Are the committee to understand that the members of the select committee are cognizant of the fact, *that the contraband article is brought to China under the license of the East India Company's government in India?*'

' '*They cannot be ignorant of a fact so generally notorious to Englishmen.*'

These admissions of the companys' influential servants place that body in no very creditable position. At the very time they were making hypocritical pretensions in China of a high-minded disdain of contraband traffic, while they were praising themselves and seeking honor and reward for their spontaneous obedience to the fiscal laws of the Empire, and for their abstinence from a lucrative traffic because of its illicit character, we find them, behind the screen, the secret and active agents in originating and superin-

tending the whole of that complicated machinery by which the empire of China was flooded with the natural and moral poison. So important was the revenue derived from this impure source in the estimation of the company, that a department of government was created expressly to foster, and cherish, and promote the Opium Trade. One branch of this *honorable* service superintended the sales and realized the proceeds of the opium for the Indian exchequer. There were besides 'Opium Agencies,' whose great object was to protect the monopoly, and by calling in the aid of science, 'to furnish an article suitable to the peculiar 'tastes of the population of China,' according to the distinct avowal of Dr. Butter, late Opium Examiner in the service of the company and the author of an elaborate paper 'on the Prepara-'tion of Opium for the China market,' written expressly for the benefit of the opium agencies of Behar and Benares.

Since the expiration of the charter the opium monopoly has been as rigidly preserved and as vigorously promoted as before. A few years ago 'the Indian government itself, on its own 'account, sent to Canton, balls of opium prepared in a particular 'way, as samples, to try the taste of the Chinese.'* Another marked manifestation of parental sympathy towards the Opium Trade is thus related by the author of a pamphlet on the subject, entitled 'Pros and Cons,' an individual personally conversant with Indian and Chinese affairs. 'The British Indian govern-'ment raised the article and prepared it specially for the China 'market; saw it start for 'China direct,' in British vessels, from 'British ports, unquestioned, unimpeded; nay, a short time ago, 'say two years, the British Indian government showed how en-'tirely it sanctioned the traffic by paying a large sum to those 'engaged in the trade, and who had suffered in consequence of a 'stoppage occasioned by unwonted severity and activity on the 'part of the Chinese authorities.' The inquiry has lately been raised, how is the Indian government employed in those distant provinces committed to their rule? The *opium department* is a specimen. Here is a government, an enlightened, a Christian, a British government, laying all the resources of science, wealth, and power under contribution, for the purpose of producing opium for the heathen population of China in a form at once the most fascinating and the most destructive; for the higher seductive qualities of Indian opium are owing to the presence of Narcotine in extraordinary abundance, which renders it unfit for medicine, and available only for its destined purpose of betraying its miser-

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* Facts and evidence relating to the Opium Trade with China.

able victims, through a short course of vicious indulgence, into a state of indescribable physical and mental distress, of moral degradation, of want, disease, and premature death. While the East India Company have been thus employed, they have known well what they were doing. We might rest this accusation on the notoriety of the facts, but we prefer convicting them out of their own mouths. We beg the reader's attention to the following quotation in Mr. Fry's valuable pamphlet, from official documents of the Court of East India Directors.

'In the Appendix to the Third Report, p. 903, there is a letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor General of Council in Bengal, dated 24th October, 1817, in which the following expression occurs:—'In the hope (with reference to internal consumption) that they will tend to *restrain the use of this* PERNICIOUS DRUG.' And, further on, is the following statement, containing the most specious argument for persevering in the present system which has ever been brought forward.

'After all we must observe that it is not our wish to encourage the consumption of opium, but rather to lessen the use, or, more properly speaking, the abuse of the drug; and for this end *as well as for the purpose of revenue*, to make the price to the public, both in our own and *foreign dominions*, as high as possible—having due regard to the effects of illicit trade in our own dominions *and of competition in foreign places*, from opium produced in other countries. Were it possible to prevent the use of the drug altogether, except strictly for the purpose of medicine, WE WOULD GLADLY DO IT IN COMPASSION TO MANKIND; but this being absolutely impracticable, we can only endeavor to regulate and palliate an evil which cannot be eradicated.'

'What a striking acknowledgment of the evils resulting from the use of opium! 'Were it possible to prevent the use of the drug altogether, WE WOULD GLADLY DO IT IN COMPASSION TO MANKIND!' And yet *we* must persevere in doing evil, lest others should do worse! We will commit *ten* murders, lest others should commit *twenty!* Would this plea avail, before any court of justice in the world, to save the murderer from condign punishment? Yet is not this the nature of the argument used? And what is the result? Is the abuse of opium lessened? Is the evil palliated? The annual increase of the Opium Trade from 1817, when the above was written, till 1839, when the Chinese government so strenuously, yet ineffectually interposed, supplies a fearful answer to this question. During those twenty-two years the importation increased from less than 4000 to more than 34,000 chests!'—Facts and Evidence, pp. 31, 32.

It will now, we think, be sufficiently evident that the Opium Trade is not merely the guilty offspring of private enterprise, but that it has been made by the British authorities in India a part of the settled policy and routine of government. A correct and distinct apprehension of this distinguishing characteristic of

the traffic is essential to the decision of two most important questions—the justice or injustice of the war in which we are engaged, and the abolition or continuance of the Opium Trade. It may be that we have bestowed a superfluity of pains in proving a fact of undoubted notoriety—the implication of the Indian government, and by a necessary consequence, the British government, in the iniquities of the Opium Trade. Yet strange to say, the debate in parliament proceeded on the totally opposite supposition—that this infamous traffic, with its black catalogue of crimes lay at the door of the private merchants—the opium smugglers. Much virtuous indignation was poured upon the vocation of that disreputable class, by men, who are at least equally guilty, men who have called this traffic into existence, given it a national character, and affixed the stigma of its immorality ineffaceably on the national escutcheon. The palpable fallacy we have pointed out is particularly evident when the extinction of the traffic is adverted to. The ministerial speakers ask with an air of triumph, if the British government can be required to give effect to the laws of China? If our cruisers are to be employed in a hopeless preventive service to carry out the impracticable decrees of the Flowery Emperor? Miserable sophists! On this branch of the subject we shall have to remark hereafter, and we must again recur to the extraordinary attempt on the part of ministers to prove that they were innocent of the Opium Trade and all its consequences. The defence of Lord Palmerston rests upon three or four short lines in one of his despatches to Captain Elliot: 'With respect to smuggling opium, her majesty's 'government cannot interfere to enable British subjects to violate 'the laws of China.'

This pithy quotation, ten times reiterated in vindication of the Foreign Secretary, merely proves that, with an eye to contingencies, he appropriated at second hand the hypocritical gloss wherewith the East India Company distinguished between themselves as high minded and honorable merchants, and the private traders who, for a paltry fraction of their unhallowed profits, relieved that scrupulous corporation from the trouble and discredit of the smuggling process.

The policy of Lord Palmerston, both in what he has done and what he has omitted to do, has been in direct contradiction to the above cited declaration. No catastrophe was ever so distinctly foreseen as the late rupture with China. The inevitable consequences of the Opium Trade were pointed out in the discussions and inquiries preliminary to the last settlement of Indian affairs, not only by witnesses who had been long resident in China, but by at least one member of the government—Lord Glenelg. As the crisis drew on, the warnings multiplied. Each successive Superintendent, Mr. Davies, Sir George Robinson, and Captain

Elliot, called Lord Palmerston's attention to the Opium Trade as the certain cause, sooner or later, of a violent interruption of our profitable and peaceful relations with China. Each of these officers demanded powers adequate to the emergencies of their position. Those powers were withheld, for, as we have before shown, parliament under the influence of the then administration, had sanctioned the opium monopoly, and Lord Palmerston well knew that that monopoly was the grand source of all the evils felt and apprehended by Captain Elliot and his predecessors. His lordship had been a party to the continuance of this monopoly, and to that fatal and unprincipled policy he stedfastly adhered. Were the case against him to be closed here, his defence might be rested on the previous sanction given to the Opium Trade by the House of Commons. This would be a good parliamentary defence, however intrinsically invalid; but we may be allowed to suppose that, if those facts, those urgent representations, which every arrival from China laid upon the desk of the Foreign Secretary, had been laid before parliament, the consideration of the Opium Trade would have been resumed, and the former decision in its favor reversed. Lord Palmerston made two ineffectual attempts to bring the British community in China under due restraints of law, by the introduction of a 'China Courts 'Bill,' which was twice rejected by parliament. The refusal of the powers which he asked was owing, say the opposition, to his careful suppression in the papers laid on the table of the house of those despatches and parts of despatches relative to the contraband traffic in opium. The more recent measures of Lord Palmerston have been of the same complexion. They were at first shrouded in mystery; explanations in parliament were skilfully fenced off. An invading armament was prepared under the pretext of 'opening communications' with the government of China! To the present time no honest and manly avowal of their intentions and measures has been made by the government. It appears, however, at last, from the hints rather than the statements of Lord John Russell, that the objects of the war with China are to compel payment for the confiscated opium, and to re-establish our trade on a secure basis.

While Lord Palmerston has studiously kept the public in the dark, it would appear there are certain favored individuals with whom he has been in frequent and unreserved communication. Mr. Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, in an appeal to 'The Chris-'tian Public of Great Britain,' against the Chinese War, makes the following statement.

'An individual, now in this country, who has acquired immense wealth by this unlawful trade, has been in communication with the government, and his advice, it is presumed, has in no small degree

influenced the measures they have adopted; though he is a *leading partner* in a firm to which a large proportion of the opium that was destroyed belonged; and at the very time he was claiming compensation, or urging a war with China, his house in India was sending *armed* vessels loaded with opium, along the coast of China, and selling it in open defiance of the laws of that empire. This information, with the names of the vessels and the parties concerned, the number of chests of opium on board, the enormous profits they were realizing, &c., was some time ago communicated to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on authority which he did not and could not dispute.'

Mr. Sturge's Letter has been copied by the newspapers in every part of the kingdom, but has elicited no reply. We find the strongest confirmation of his inference that the opium smugglers have either influenced or dictated the measures of the government, in Lord Palmerston's own speech on Sir James Graham's motion. The very climax of his elaborate defence was the following certificate of London firms engaged in the Opium Trade. We quote from his lordship's speech.

'He held in his hand a letter from thirty respectable firms in London engaged in the China trade, and which he would beg leave to read to the house. The noble lord then read the following letter:—

'London, April 9, 1840.

'TO THE VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

'My Lord—We, the undersigned British merchants connected with China, cannot but view with the greatest alarm and apprehension the probable effect of the expression of any public opinions with respect to the justice and policy of the measures understood to be taken by her majesty's government to obtain redress for the insults and injuries inflicted on British subjects by the Chinese government, and for the future protection of the legal trade with that country. We disclaim all pretensions of dictating to the Chinese the mode in which the British trade with China shall be carried on; but we cannot refrain from expressing our deliberate opinion that unless the measures of the government are followed up with firmness and energy, the trade with China can no longer be conducted with security to life and property, or with credit or advantage to the British nation.

'We have the honor to be your lordship's most obedient humble servants, (Signed)

G. G. De Larpent, chairman of the East India and China Association	Lyall, Brothers, and Co.
J. Horsley Palmer	Walkinshaw and Co.
J. Mackillop	Gardnir, Urquhart, and Co.
Briggs, Thurburn, Acraman, and Co.	John Hine
Gledstanes, Kerr, and Co.	W. J. Hall and Co.
Alexander George Milne and Co.	Alexander Matheson
	James W. Smith
	Walkinshaw, Skinner, and Co.
	Magniac, Smiths, and Co.

Small, Colquhon, and Co.
John S. Rigge, of the firm of Sanderson, Frys, Fox, and Co.
H. H. Lindsay
Gregson and Co.
Daniel Dickenson and Co.
Crawford, Colvin, and Co.
Larkins and Co.
Dallas and Coles
Wm. Drayner
Hunter, Gouger, and Co.
C. S. Gover
Robert Eglinton and Co.
Scott, Bell, and Co.
John Brightman
C. R. Read and Co.'

With the exception of two or three individuals of congenial minds, drawn in by the force of sympathy, the above *respectable* firms are composed of opium smugglers. The document is a little remarkable. The writer deprecates in the strongest terms '*the* '*expression of* ANY *public opinion*,' on the justice and policy of the measures of government. Kind, considerate men, if they would save the public the trouble of deliberating on questions deeply involving the national interests and the national character, it is that they have already taken that trouble and responsibility on their own shoulders. How is it, we are ready in our simplicity to ask, that Tory merchants, as many of them are, should thus step forward to protect the measures of a Whig government from the ordeal of public discussion? The inference is, that the measures 'understood to be taken by her majesty's government,' have been communicated to them, or adopted from their suggestions;—that they are measures perfectly satisfactory to the opium smuggling interest, involving not only compensation for the past but impunity for the future. Well may these merchants and Lord Palmerston deprecate the interference of that marplot THE PUBLIC. Who after this can deny that the war with China is an OPIUM WAR?

All that we have hitherto advanced has been preliminary to the decision of a question which it behoves every Briton to ask; is the war with China a just war? After the preceding development of the national measures by which the Opium Trade has been fostered, can any deny that we are the aggressors, that we have done our neighbour wrong? Take the cause before any impartial tribunal—the public opinion of the world, the judgment-seat of posterity, or even before the secret conscience of an East India Director, of a Palmerston, or a Macauley, and what must be the verdict? When time shall have dispelled the mists of prejudice it will be a cause of wonder that such a question should ever have been raised. Our assumption of the language and demeanor of an injured party, of a party seeking redress, is a fantastic trick, which might make angels weep, and excite derisive laughter amongst the worst foes of the human race. We may deceive ourselves for the moment, but we shall not deceive our contemporaries, nor the next generation. The *Opium War* will

stand out in history as the blackest stain on the character of Britain.

Perhaps we shall here be reminded, that the question of right and wrong between the two governments has two sides—that while the emperor issued his edicts against the Opium Trade, the provincial authorities at Canton sanctioned the traffic; and further, that in the recent energetic proceedings against the smugglers, the Chinese have violated the law of nations. It is convenient, no doubt, for the advocates of the war to divert attention from the real merits of the question; to occupy the public mind with discussions on *Chinese* policy and morality, to stir up national animosity by vague rumors of barbarian atrocities, and above all to entangle the inquiry with the subtleties and technicalities of legal discussion. We are unable, however, to perceive that the errors of China neutralize the crimes of Britain, that the corruption of her ministers can wipe out the accumulated wrong heaped upon her laws, her government, and her people, by the British during the last forty years. We do not perceive how their delinquency expiates our guilt. If the Chinese officers were corrupted, it was with British gold. The Opium Trade was perpetuated by means of violence, treachery, and the most lavish and systematic bribery. These circumstances, the blackest aggravation of our national guilt, are pleaded in bar of judgment, nay, are produced with an air of injured innocence triumphing over a convicted adversary. 'Oh, shame, where is thy blush!'

The discussions which we have read on the justice and policy of the war have chiefly turned upon the acts of the Chinese government, and consequently, as we presume to think, have been to a great extent beside the question; nevertheless as considerable importance has been attached to this aspect of the case, we shall offer a few general remarks upon its merits. First with regard to the question of international law. This law in its simplest form is the expression of the universal conscience of mankind; it is equity and reason unincumbered by form and precedent. True, the decision of disputes between nations, who arrogate to themselves the distinctions of civilization and refinement, has created a body of precedents, which have been dignified with the name of a Code, and form a labyrinth of beautiful intricacy, where none may safely venture without an experienced guide. But this law is binding only where it is mutually recognized. International law between Great Britain and China is unincumbered by these subtleties. The dispute between the two nations must be brought to the test of the common sense of common minds. That is the only tribunal before which the pompous appeal to the law of nations can be determined. In this view of the case we are confirmed by one of the greatest living expounders of 'the law of nations,' Dr. Lushington, who said during the course of the debate,

'He must be allowed to say one word as to the principles which ought to govern our relations with China. He admitted that the code of law called the law of nations, could not be rigidly applied to a country so singular and so strange as China—a country half-civilized, half-barbarous—a country that formed an anomaly in the history of nations. But although he discarded the rule of the law of nations as governing our relations with China, he must observe that if we were to carry on any intercourse at all with that country, it was imperatively necessary that our relations should be governed by the great principles of ordinary sense.'

Dr. Lushington lays down this principle as the standard by which the grand question at issue must be tried. He then states the principal features of the controversy, and formally decides against China. We may remark generally on the Doctor's speech, that he appears pro tempore to have laid down the judge and assumed the advocate, or rather to have superinduced the special pleader on the political partizan. By limiting his view of the opium traffic (which we must do him the justice to say he unsparingly condemns), to the operations of the contraband traders, he assumes a fallacy which we have already exposed, that the government have had nothing to do with it, and are innocent of its consequences. Arguing from these false premises, he maintains that no nation can be required to punish its own subjects for the infraction of the fiscal laws of another nation. On this point, however, he has some misgivings; the generous dictates of his heart and conscience interrupt for a moment the current of his sophistry.

'The Opium Trade had grown up to such an extent that he believed it might with truth be said, that not a thousandth part of the quantity of opium exported from India, and introduced into China, was used for medical purposes. It was a trade that had been fostered for the love of gain, and by the misery of hundreds of thousands of human beings a large acquisition of lucre had been purchased. He must say that he more than doubted whether it was consistent with a due regard to the most sacred obligations that subsisted between nation and nation, and between man and man, that we should have thus fostered and encouraged, for our own pecuniary advantage, a trade that tended to the destruction of the constitution and faculties of hundreds of thousands of people.'

The Doctor resumes his argument against China as follows.

'The Opium Trade was prohibited by edict upon edict from 1796 up to 1836; but those edicts were mere waste paper, and were no more regarded than the proclamations that were stuck upon the Admiralty walls. They were literally useless to all effectual purposes.

Whether the emperor had the power to enforce them or not he (Dr. Lushington) pretended not to say, but what he did say was, that he who undertook to delegate powers of government to others, was bound to appoint just and honorable men—men who were competent to fulfil his will and enforce his claims; and if those men did, on the contrary, deviate from their duty, and were guilty of contravening their own laws, and if the trade in opium was flourishing, not, as it had been said, up to 1836 only, but, as he knew, up to 1839—then he would say, that it was a mockery to suppose that the Emperor of China, who had not been able to restrain his own subjects, had even a semblance of right to call upon England to suppress that trade.'

The doctrine of the learned gentleman, though somewhat startling and novel in England, has been for sometime recognized at Canton. We met with it first in a quotation from the 'Canton 'Register,' in all its unveiled beauty, under the title of '*the pre-*'*scriptive right of smuggling!*' a right derived, as the Doctor derives it, from the timidity or supineness of the supreme, and the corruption of the subordinate authorities of China. The argument fairly stated runs thus, 'we have bribed the subordi-'nate officials for forty years, and have thereby purchased the 'right to defy the government and debauch the population.' It is ascertained not only by the testimony of the most respectable authorities, Mr. Marjoribanks, Mr. King, and others, that the introduction of opium was originally prohibited by the imperial government 'on a moral principle,' and that the successive enforcements of the prohibition have been dictated by a sincere intention on the part of the emperor, but the same is indisputably proved by the plain facts of the case. The writer of the able pamphlet already quoted ('Facts and Evidence,' pp. 55, 56), has proved that the admission of opium under a duty would have realized a revenue of between one and two millions sterling, instead of which the government has incurred enormous expenses in the attempt to exclude it. This fact disposes of all the sophistry lavished in the attempt to prove that the imperial policy has been dictated by unworthy motives. It shows undeniably that the question is not merely a 'bullion question;' although the financial derangement occasioned by the 'oozing out of Sycee sil-'ver' was a legitimate cause for the energetic action of that government, and doubtless concurred with higher and yet more urgent reasons in determining its measures. It is due also to remark, that the adoption of these measures was accompanied by sufficient warning to the parties concerned. Sir George Staunton accuses China of confiscating the property of the smugglers by a new and ex post facto law. Such was not the case. Mr. King, an unimpeachable eye-witness, has proved that after the adoption of that decree, no means were omitted by the provincial government to induce the merchants to save their property by removing it

from the Chinese seas. Warnings, threats, entreaties, and the public execution of native accomplices, were the expedients exhausted in the vain attempt to convince the smugglers of the reality of the danger.

It is a question with us whether the Opium merchants were as sceptical as they pretend, with regard to the intentions and sincerity of the Chinese government. It is quite notorious that the prevailing sentiment among the foreign residents at Canton, was that of undisguised dislike and contempt for the institutions and peculiar policy of the empire. The probable advantages of a war had been openly and repeatedly discussed. It is probable, too, that the diabolical scheme of smuggling Opium along the whole extent of the Chinese coast, by means of vessels 'armed to the teeth,' had not yet been invented. To remove their stock of Opium from the vicinity of Canton, appeared like removing it from the only market in the world where it could be disposed of. It became therefore their policy to remain, and if possible to embroil their powerful partners, the British government, in the quarrel, and to trust to the chapter of accidents for the rest.

The remaining charges against China are thus expressed by Dr. Lushington :—

'Upon what principle could the seizure of men, who were living in Canton under the protection of that country's usages, be justified? Upon what principle could those men be made responsible for the offences of others? Not only were those two hundred persons without any proof of trial maligned, but they were seized; and then, under the greatest durance, and under the threat of their being suffered to die by starvation, they had not only their own property extorted from them, but, in order to enrich the Chinese government, the feelings of their countrymen were likewise practised upon to compel them to surrender property, in order to save the lives of those long-enduring and most innocent persons. That was an act of atrocity that no usage, no custom, no respect to popular prejudices in China, ever would, or ought to allow England to endure, much less to sanction. It was a grievous sin—a wicked offence—an atrocious violation of justice, for which England had the right, a strict and undeniable right, to demand reparation by force, if they refused peaceable applications. What followed? Expulsion. Was it expulsion alone from Canton? No; it was expulsion to Macao, which was in possession of the Portuguese. To this place they sent unoffending men, women, and children. What next? Why that very practice, which from all history from the earliest days in which it ever was attempted, from the days when it was practised in Egypt, now probably 2,500 years ago—even during the time of open war, and even at periods when it might be said almost to be done in self-defence, had met with the unequivocal reprobation of all the world—the practise, not of cutting off the supply, but of poisoning

that source of life by which not only the enemy alone, but innocent women and helpless children, were indiscriminately exterminated.'

On these charges the learned Doctor solemnly pronounced the 'perfect justification, in the existing circumstances, of the British 'government,' and maintained '*that they were fully warranted in* '*proceeding by means of a hostile armament to obtain reparation* '*at the hands of the Chinese.*'

Now, the Doctor has assumed much that is false, and much that is not proved. What remains after these deductions is capable of being justified on those principles of international law, which according to his own statement ought to regulate our intercourse with China. He states, in the first place, that the two hundred British merchants placed under duress by the Chinese commissioner were innocent persons—'most innocent persons:' a bold assumption in the teeth of notorious fact. They were a community of Opium smugglers. Not five men can be named out of the whole number who were guiltless of this soul-destroying traffic. The Doctor next assumes, that these injured individuals were forcibly expelled by the Chinese, not only from the limits of the empire, but from Macao, an island in the possession of Portugal. If he will consult the best authorities, he will find that Macao has never belonged to Portugal; that it is as much a part of China as the city of Canton; and that the Portuguese, a mere handful of the population, although suffered to enjoy a kind of municipal government of their own, are mere tenants at will. The third accusation, that of poisoning the wells, rests at present on no kind of proof.

Supposing however, for a moment, that we overlook the Doctor's glaring inaccuracies of statement, and take his facts as he gives them. Can we admit their sufficiency as a cause of war? If the Chinese have poisoned wells, are they to be dragooned into civilization and humanity? If, under circumstances of peculiar provocation, they have first imprisoned, and then banished an entire community of persons, both innocent and guilty, is such a wrong to be rectified by a greater wrong of the same nature? Does war discriminate between guilt and innocence? If we had room for the examination in detail of the measures of Commissioner Lin, we think we could show, even on the ex-parte statements of Captain Elliot, that they were not more characterized by subtle policy and resolute determination, than by a humane desire to avoid bloodshed and preserve peace, and that the tragical events which succeeded were inevitable consequences of the measures of the British superintendent. We have not space for the discussion, but let those interested read the Parliamentary Papers, or the digest of official documents in the recent numbers

of the Asiatic Journal; and if they arrive at the same conclusion, let them join with us in publicly protesting against the *Opium War*, as an outrage on justice, on public principle, and on the independent rights of nations.

Although it has been incumbent on us to bestow due consideration on the reasons openly alleged in Parliament in justification of war, we must express our conviction, that those reasons have had little weight in determining the policy of government. Behind the scenes the war is doubtless regarded as a measure of expediency and political necessity. Great Britain cannot afford to lose her trade with China, and will therefore re-establish her intercourse at the point of the bayonet. Will her demonstration be a successful one? It is confidently expected by some, that the mere presence of a British armament will be followed by the instant concession of all our demands. We do not share this anticipation. China is not ignorant of the extent of British power, and yet has dared the contest, strong in the justice of her cause. Her resources, intelligence, and civilization, and the courage of her people, are now known to have been underrated by Europeans. Her shores are begirt with shallow waters,—a formidable barrier against naval aggression. Our ships of war may effect infinite destruction of life and property, but their thunder will make no impression on the policy of the empire. If the British succeed in occupying Canton, the Emperor will sacrifice his commercial capital, as the Russians sacrificed Moscow, leaving the invaders to enjoy the poor satisfaction of exposing the teeming population of one of the largest cities in the world to all the horrors of war, and the extremities of famine. One object the war is calculated to accomplish, viz. the reimbursement of the Opium Smugglers, by means of a grand, national, piratical appropriation of the ships and property of innocent Chinese subjects. For the rest, after a vast amount of carnage, and a vast expenditure of money, with the sole effect of multiplying the obstacles to the re-establishment of our trade, that object will have to be accomplished by amicable negotiation, on the basis of a national guarantee for the abandonment of the Opium Trade by Great Britain.

We shall have some remarks to make presently, on the means by which this object is to be effected; but we must observe here, that if China should succumb, if she should even legalize the Opium Trade, its relinquishment by Great Britain, its utter extirpation, is an object which can never be lost sight of by British philanthropists. The Opium question is not merely a Chinese, but a British, and more especially a British Indian question. The miserable population of our eastern empire groans under the thousand-fold evils and oppressions entailed on them by that accursed traffic. These evils may be traced to two grand

sources—those which flow from the monopoly, and those which proceed from the inherent noxiousness of the fascinating drug. Let us first direct our attention to the former class.

An exclusive right, in an article so valuable and so easily secreted as Opium, would require, it is obvious, protective arrangements of unusual severity. The cultivator is placed under a system of *espionage*, and paid a scanty pittance *arbitrarily fixed by the government*, which leaves the *honorable* company the moderate profit of from 600 to 1000 per cent, and the cultivator—a bare subsistence. If the tooth of an unknown animal—we will suppose of the carnivorous order—were shown to a naturalist, he would be able to delineate its form and describe its habits; he would discover the cruel ferocity of its temper, and its thirst for blood;—so the statement of those conditions of the opium cultivation enable us confidently to decide, that they can only coexist with a state of virtual slavery—that the opium must in fact be produced by compulsory labour. Such would be our reasoning if we had no direct evidence on the point; but Mr. Thelwall, in his 'Iniquities of the Opium Trade,' quotes the testimony of a respectable eye-witness to the following effect:

'Advances are made by government through its native ser-'vants; and if a ryot refuses the advance, the simple plan of 'throwing the rupees into his house is adopted. Should he 'attempt to abscond, the peons (officers) seize him, tie the 'advance up in his clothes, and push him into the house. The 'business being now settled, and there being no remedy, he 'applies himself as he may to the fulfilment of his contract.'

The following extract from Mr. Fry's pamphlet corroborates this representation, and developes the intolerable oppression consequent on the rigorous system of surveillance, instituted for the security of the monopoly.

'Other and grievous sources of oppression, arising from the surveillance of the Custom-house searchers, and the extortions of the officers of the chokees, or search-houses, are forcibly detailed in the following letter, written by a gentleman of my acquaintance, who, from long residence in the interior of India, possesses an intimate knowledge of the subject on which he writes; this letter, though long, will amply repay for the perusal.

''The evils which the cultivation of opium entails upon our fellow-subjects in India arise partly from the ryots in the opium districts of Patna and Benares being to give up fixed portions of their lands for the production of the poppy. It is true, that the honorable company pay fairly for the lands and labor thus wrested from the ryot (farmer); and did the amount paid by the government find its way honestly into the possession of these people, there might not be so much cause of complaint in this matter; but the contrary is the case. These payments have to pass through numerous *employés* of the govern-

ment; and scarce twenty per cent. of it ever reaches the legitimate owner. The evils of the cultivation, however, do not end here. In consequence of being obliged *forcibly* to cultivate this highly-taxed drug, the peasant is constantly exposed to a suspicion of retaining some part of the produce for private sale; the surveillance of the police is, therefore, especially directed to these unhappy creatures; and the oppressions which they are subjected to in this way surpass belief. They are exposed to every sort of annoyance which the ingenuity of authorized plunderers (the police and the Custom-house searchers) can devise, in order to extort bribes. The privacy of their miserable abodes—the sanctity of their females—is intruded upon by these harpies of government; and no redress can be given by the government, unless they abolish the production of this accursed drug.

"The evils arising from the government's trade in opium to the people of Bengal, Behar, and Benares, arises from the necessary protection against the smuggling of this article of monopoly, and the right of search given to the Custom-house officers, who are placed in search-houses, or chokees, at short distances along the bank of that main artery of Indian trade—the Ganges—and allow no native boats to pass without bringing it to, for search. Now this right is not in any way used to protect the government; it is held out by the Custom-house officers as a means of extorting bribes. This tax upon goods is made in every search-house established along the line they have to travel. Nor are merchant-boats alone subjected to these extortions. They fall heavily upon mere travellers—especially pilgrims, and those who travel with their families. The latter usually have a separate apartment for their wives, sisters, and other females, which the officers threaten to enter, under the pretext of suspecting that opium is concealed there: and we know that a respectable Hindoo would sacrifice all he has in the world, rather than expose his wives to insult from these miscreant searchers.

"The same system of extortion exists upon goods and persons conveyed by land, whenever they come within the limits of inland custom-houses.

"To sum up the curse consequent on *this right of search, which springs from the government trade in opium*, I may say they are as follows: The exactions and corruptions; the grievous delay; the insolent exercise of low, ill-paid authority; the interruption of communication, by shutting up ferries, roads, and routes; the distress and ruin resulting from false seizures and confiscations (got up by the Custom-house people to blind the government); the diversion of trade into channels less impeded; the advancement of price of all goods, by reason of these checks and annoyances; and, worst of all, the demoralization of the habits of all parties connected with, or exposed to the influence of, these oppressive and unjust measures. And we must either submit to all these evils and hindrances, the happiness and prospects, eternal as well as temporal, of the inhabitants of this large and wealthy tract of country, teeming with industry and fruitfulness, or annihilate the right of search, which, as it is exercised, is replete with every curse that can be inflicted on millions of our unoffending fellow-

creatures, whom, by the laws of God and man, we are bound in every way to protect and comfort.' '—Facts and Evidence, pp. 36—38.

This is one half of the case, the rest is still more appalling. The production of opium has been pushed by the cupidity of the company to a frightful extent, and the consequence is, '*the rapid* '*demoralization of the vast population of India, from the growing* '*habit of opium-eating.*' Here we must again recur to the valuable evidence collected by Mr. Fry. As a witness on this point, he introduces to our notice his friend, Mr. Andrew Sym,

'Who resided eleven years at Gorakh-poer, and for about eighteen months of that time had charge of the East India Company's Branch Opium Agency for that district. This gentleman, who has recently returned from India, in a written communication, dated the 13th of March, 1840, states—

''The health and morals of the people suffer from the production of opium. Wherever opium is grown, it is eaten, and the more it is grown the more it is eaten; this is one of the worst features of the opium question. We are demoralizing our own subjects in India; one-half of the crime in the opium districts, murders, rapes, and affrays, have their origin in opium-eating.

''Both Hindoos and Musselmen eat the drug; and its pernicious effects are visible on the population of the opium districts, particularly in the neighbourhood of the depots.'

'In a recent conversation with this gentleman, who, it is important to remember, speaks of what he has actually seen, during a long residence in the opium districts, he assured me, that all the other evils of the Opium Trade, as far as India was concerned, sink into insignificance, compared with the debasing effect upon the population; he added this remarkable expression—One opium cultivator demoralizes a whole village!—Comment upon this is superfluous.

'Thus thousands of our fellow-subjects in India are oppressed, and their health and morals destroyed, for the sake of this 'infernal Opium Trade.'

This dark picture has still deeper shades. The Assam territory, acquired from the Burman empire at the close of the late war, has lately become invested with singular interest and importance from the discovery, that the *tea plant*, hitherto supposed to exist only in China, flourishes there in the most luxuriant abundance. Here then is an opening prospect of an exhaustless source of wealth, trade, and revenue. That prospect, however, is clouded by the character of the population, which is thus described by C. A. Bruce, Esq., the intelligent superintendent of the company's tea plantation in Assam.

'I might here observe, that the British government would confer a lasting blessing on the Assamese and the New Settlers, if immediate

and active measures were taken to put down the cultivation of opium in Assam, and afterwards to stop its importation, by levying high duties on opium land. If something of this kind is not done, and done quickly too, the thousands that are about to emigrate from the plains into Assam, will soon be infected with the opium mania; *that dreadful plague* which has depopulated this beautiful country, turned it into a land of wild beasts, with which it is overrun, and has degenerated the Assamese from a fine race of people, to the most abject, servile, crafty, and demoralized race in India.

'This vile drug has kept, and does now keep, down the population; the women have fewer children compared with those of other countries, and the children seldom live to become old men, but in general die at manhood; very few old men being seen in this unfortunate country in comparison with others. Few but those who have resided long in this unhappy country know the dreadful and immoral effects which the use of opium produces on the native,—he will steal, sell his property, his children, the mother of his children, and finally even commit murder for it. Would it not be the highest of blessings, if our humane and enlightened government would stop these evils by a single dash of the pen, and save Assam, and all those who are about to emigrate into it as tea cultivators, from the dreadful results attendant on the habitual use of opium? We should in the end be richly rewarded, by having a fine healthy race of men growing up for our plantations, to fell our forests, to clear the land from jungle and wild beasts, and to plant and cultivate the luxury of the world (Tea). This can never be effected by the enfeebled opium-eaters of Assam, who are more effeminate than women. I have dwelt thus long on this subject, thinking it one of great importance, as it will affect our future prospects with regard to tea; also from a wish to benefit this people, and save those who are coming here, from catching the plague, by our using timely means of prevention.'

'Mr. Bruce's report,' observes Mr. Fry, 'receives confirmation from a letter lately received by a private friend, from a highly respectable gentleman holding an official situation under the East India Company in Assam. His allusion being only casual, is the more striking.

''The cultivation of opium is free in Assam; the fearful results from its use, which every day present themselves to notice, are very painful to witness.'

'God forbid that its cultivation should be thrown open in the rest of British India.'—p. 33.

We do not charge the state of Assam upon the opium monopoly, for the monopoly has not yet been extended to that part of India; and it would appear the cultivation of the poppy has taken root there, without the company's aid; but the fearful picture of the condition of the Assamese, drawn by Mr. Bruce, is a representation of the awful state of demoralization to which the measures of the government tend to reduce the whole of India. This is the Indian part of the case. Does it not loudly call for

peremptory interference. The leaders of the *anti-opium war* must adopt the Roman motto, '*Delenda est Carthago.*' The British Opium Trade must be utterly destroyed.

We have asserted, that the Opium Trade has also an important bearing on interests exclusively British. The ruinous expenses of the war, a war carried on at the distance of more than half the circumference of the globe, must be paid out of the British exchequer, or more probably will be added to the national debt. This is but a small part of the cost. Mr. Fry, himself an eminent tea-merchant, says:

'The present suspension of trade, must prove ruinous to many. Its effect upon the price of tea alone (comparing the last three or four months with the corresponding period of last year) has cost this country already at least £40,000 per week above the prices then ruling, for an article, which must be considered as one of the necessaries of life.

'Besides which, there are at present from sixty to seventy ships detained in the China seas, unable to proceed with business; and property and shipping, to the estimated value of at least £2,000,000 sterling, are lying useless, and to a certain extent deteriorating.'

The Opium Trade has flourished at the expense of the British manufacturer. A 'gentleman of great intelligence and mercantile 'ability, the relative and correspondent of an eminent house in 'Liverpool,' in a letter dated 'Hong Kong Bay, off Canton, 'October 26, 1839,' thus describes the effect of the contraband trade on legitimate commerce.

'The mischievous effects of this traffic, in interfering with the importation of British manufactures, as well as of all descriptions of Indian produce, other than the forbidden drug, in absorbing the attention and the capital of both native and foreign merchants, and in subjecting the whole foreign commerce to a system of jealous and vexatious restrictions, can hardly be overrated, and are most palpable to any one on the spot whose powers of observation are not impaired by prejudice or interest.'—Facts and Evidence, pp. 44, 45.

Mr. Fry has illustrated this subject by elaborate calculations, and has shown from official documents, 'that the whole annual 'shipment of British goods, including those on American account, 'since the opening of the trade (in 1833), does not equal the 'annual value of woollen goods alone, exported for China during 'the first few years of this century' (p. 47).

We are now at liberty to turn our attention to the consideration of the remedy for the complicated mass of evil, of which it has been our painful task to present a meagre analysis to our readers; and here it will be necessary to recur to the studied mystification of that part of the question, by the speakers on Sir

James Graham's motion in the House of Commons. Mr. Macauley, in a speech replete with intellect, but destitute of morality—a speech which exalts his reputation as a debater at the expense of his character as a man, replies to the accusation against the government, for not suppressing the Opium Trade, by a twofold argument. The Right Hon. Gentleman observes—

'Now, during the administrations both of Lord Grey and of the Duke of Wellington, there were very strong reasons against sending out any such powers to the superintendent at Canton; and down to the month of May, 1838, those objections still continued in as full, if not in much fuller force, inasmuch as the Foreign Secretary had the strongest reason, up to that date, for believing that it was the intention of the Chinese government to legalize the trade in opium. He might state, to his personal knowledge, that up to 1837 the merchants of Calcutta were universally of opinion that it was the intention of the government to legalize their trade; and it was not until May, 1838, that a dispatch had been received at the Foreign Office, in Downing Street, informing his noble friend that a total stop had been put to the import of that drug into China.'

He next argues that the suppression of the trade is impracticable.

'The Right Hon. Baronet had too intimate a knowledge of human affairs to suppose that such an effort would be made in China, when he knew that England, with a preventive service of six thousand men and fifty cruizers, could not put an end to smuggling, and that every article which this preventive service was intended to exclude could be easily smuggled; so much so, that in the article of French brandy no less that 600,000 gallons were thus brought into the kingdom, whilst it was calculated that one half of the tobacco consumed in England escaped payment of duty by the same means; and in Ireland it was calculated that four millions of pounds were annually smuggled into the country. This being the state of the case, and England, with her fleet and strong corps of preventive men, not being able to keep out a contraband article much in request, how was it to be supposed that a mere piece of paper, issued by a functionary thousands of miles off, could, unsupported either by naval or military force, put an end to a lucrative trade? He was ready to admit, that had such an order been issued at the early period referred to by the Right Hon. Baronet, it would have produced an effect—and what effect? Why, it would have scattered the traffic of the drug all over the eastern coast of China—the smugglers fearing detection at Canton, and no longer willing to meet the eye and the observation of the British superintendent, would repair to the coast at a distance from Canton, and the trade would at once be rendered more lawless and more productive of danger to the relations between the British and Chinese authorities.'

These sentiments of Mr. Macauley were often repeated during

the debate, with variations and improvements, and have furnished the staple of many a leading article in the daily papers.

The following is Sir John Hobhouse's version of the argument.

'He had received a letter from the Governor-General of India, and another letter, both of which showed the little effect to be expected from repressive measures. Lord Auckland, in his letter dated the 13th of February, said: 'In the meantime our Opium Trade is rising in price, and some of our merchants are making fortunes by sales on the eastern coast of China.' He begged to call the particular attention of the House to the next statement in the letter, which was so startling, that without such high authority he could not believe it. Lord Auckland said, 'One small cruizer came in last week with seventy thousand pounds of Sycee silver.' This was brought in by one cruizer as the first of one small adventure, and this showed that the effect of the repressive measures was merely to drive the trade to the eastern coast of China. It was another evidence of the effects of those repressive measures, which gentlemen seemed to think ought to have been adopted so much sooner. The next letter was to the secret committee, and referred to the Chinese expedition. It said, 'As to the armament of light vessels, the best adapted to this service are the fast-sailing brigs or barques, known here under the denomination of opium clippers. At present, however, the trade in opium is so lucrative, that it is quite impossible to obtain any one of them, all of them being actually employed on that coast. As it is probable, however, that the course of operations in China may interfere with the traffic, it is possible that some of them may feel inclined to accept charters from us.' Thus, such was the activity of the trade, that one small cruizer brought home £70,000 in Sycee silver; and such was the demand for opium clippers, that not one of them was to be procured for sending out on the expedition. Nothing could show more clearly the hopelessness of any attempt to put down opium smuggling. He had documents which would show the utter impossibility of succeeding in any such attempt.'

Nothing is more easy than for Mr. Macauley and Sir John Hobhouse first to hypothecate a wild scheme for suppressing the Opium Trade, next to expose its absurdity, and then by a stale trick of sophistry to infer that the object is incapable of attainment. It is no part of our duty to inquire whether the Chinese emperor has adopted the wisest course to attain the laudable object he has had in view. We are not to ask whether the importation of opium into China can possibly be prevented, so long as the depraved appetite of the Chinese creates a demand for it. Still less are we required to employ our naval force on the coasts of China, in giving effect to the edicts of the Emperor,— edicts framed, possibly, in opposition to the soundest principles of government and political economy.

Our duty and our interest with regard to the Opium Trade are determined by considerations totally irrespective of the measures of China; nor could they be affected, either now or aforetime, by any anticipated changes in Chinese policy. As regards China we have nothing to do with the Opium Trade, further than to observe, if we may quote the eloquent expressions of Dr. Lushington, 'a due regard to the most sacred obligations that subsist 'between nation and nation, and between man and man.' It will be perceived, that the argument of the ministerial speakers assumes throughout the gross fallacy we have already exposed, that the British government is not directly implicated in the traffic. But the significant expression of the Governor-General of India, detects the real state of the case, '*our* Opium Trade is 'rising in price,' &c.

Having ascertained what is not the duty of the British government with regard to the opium, let us take the question affirmatively. We shall state our proposition in the broadest and strongest terms. *The existing stock of opium in the possession of the East India Company must be destroyed—the opium monopoly must cease—and the cultivation of the poppy be utterly prohibited, throughout British India.* This course, and nothing less than this, is demanded by sound policy, by justice, humanity, and Christian principle. When the developments of the Opium Trade shall have produced their due effect on the country, nothing less than this will silence the indignant remonstrances of the people. It is a mockery of the common sense and conscientious feeling of the community, for the leading members of the Indian government, both at Calcutta and in London, to argue gravely on the impossibility of suppressing the traffic, when they are actually in league with the smugglers, at the very time when they are extending their cultivation, holding their opium sales, and deliberately watching the departure from their harbours of vessels 'armed to the teeth,' laden with the moral plague, and prepared by means of violence and murder, if need be, to scatter ruin, misery, and death, among the heathen population on the eastern coast of China.

Let us for a moment change places with the Chinese. Suppose opium to be a private monopoly of the emperor, that his market is Calcutta, and that he daily sells his produce on board smugglers, who defy alike the power and the prohibitions of the government of India. What should we think of the emperor's morality and casuistry, were he to argue on the impossibility of suppressing the traffic, and on the absurdity of requiring him to employ his war-junks as a preventive service on the Indian coast. Yet such is the enlightened, the statesman-like reasoning of Mr. Macauley, Sir John Hobhouse, and Lord Palmerston.

It will possibly be asked, is it practicable to extirpate that pest

of India, of Great Britain, of the world,—the opium monopoly? Sir G. B. Robinson, Chief Superintendent at Canton, writes to Lord Palmerston, under date 'Feb. 5, 1836,' to the following effect: 'Whenever His Majesty's government direct us to pre-'vent British vessels engaging in the traffic, we can enforce any 'order to that effect' (meaning, probably, that it would be easy to extinguish the opium traffic at a single point, the port of Canton); 'but,' he continues, 'a more certain method would be 'to prohibit the growth of the poppy and manufacture of opium 'in British India.' This is not only a more certain, but the only certain method. Its feasibility is very easily demonstrated. Mr. Bruce tells us it might be done 'by a stroke of the pen.' Totally to prevent the growth of opium would be, to the government of India, an easy task compared to that of protecting their monopoly. But the practicability is placed beyond cavil, by the well known fact, that the government does at present confine the cultivation of the poppy to certain provinces, and does already enforce a strict prohibition of its growth in other provinces. The question, then, is capable of easy solution as to the immediate territories of the company; but nearly half the opium sent to China is produced in Malwa, a province of Central India, under the protection, but not under the direct government of the company. Now it is well known, that the authority of the Indian government is all but paramount in the native states thus circumstanced. That influence has been exerted in the case of Malwa to secure a transit duty on the opium of not less than 125 dollars per chest on its way to Bombay, the shipping port; when, but for such influence, the opium might be transmitted through the Portuguese territories without payment of any such impost. The same measure of influence, enforced by example, would go far to destroy the export of opium from Malwa. But supposing this object to be unattainable, without the violation of the independent rights of Malwa, then if we clear ourselves of participation, we are clear of responsibility.

Our argument is now finished. Let the Christian reader give due attention to the facts we have detailed, take our arguments at what they are worth, and form his own unbiassed conclusion. We have discharged what we have felt to be a most painful duty. As public journalists, we are responsible for the right exercise of our influence, however small that influence may be. Our readers also, in their yet more limited, or, as it may be, far more extended sphere, have each a duty to perform, in reference to the questions we have discussed,—questions affecting not merely the character and the interests of our country, but the general welfare of mankind, and the reputation and prospects of Christianity. We are of an old-fashioned school, and regard the continuance of our national pros-

perity as dependent on the divine will. We most assuredly believe, that the supremacy of England among the nations, and her far-reaching influence and power, will continue no longer than is consistent with the general welfare of mankind, and the promotion of truth, righteousness, and peace, in the earth. With such views we can bring questions of public policy, whether domestic or foreign, to no other standard than the unbending rule of right. This we do, not on any principle of affected stoicism, but because of our intimate conviction, that the glory and prosperity of Britain are as inseparably connected with the national regard for justice, and the national practice of Christianity, as any effect in nature to its proper cause. If, therefore, we seem to plead against our country, it is from our high estimate of her responsibilities, and an intense desire to promote her true glory, and to render her happiness perpetual. Her worst enemies are they of her own household, who 'cry peace, peace, when there is no peace;'—from whose mischievous counsels may a merciful God afford her speedy and permanent deliverance.

Brief Notices.

Biblical Topography; Lectures on the Position and Character of the Places mentioned in the Holy Scriptures; with Maps. By Samuel Ransom, Classical Tutor at Hackney Theological Seminary; with a Preface by John Harris, D.D., of Cheshunt College. London: Ward and Co.

We have long used an old book on this subject, whereof we are somewhat proud, although we neither know, nor would thank any one to tell us, the name of its author. We eschew, indeed, any information concerning his initials, R. B.; and were not a little afraid to open Mr. Ransom's volume, lest we should find the secret revealed; and our modest and mysterious spy of the Holy Land obtruded upon us with his name and surname at full length. The following extract from our old friend will best introduce this new claimant on our good-will.

'It hath alwaies beene held a matter worth note (gentle reader), even to the best divines, to have the typographicall description of the townes and places, as they are mentioned in the Scriptures; and so much the rather, because, by comparing the actions of men with the beginings and endings of cities, they might the better understand the Prophets, and perceive the wonderful providence of God. Now, that these things might be more apparant, I have, in as good and briefe a method as I can, gathered out of sundry authors the particular discriptions. For if you question with me,—How it is possible that I should come to the knowledge of these things, considering that Babylon, Ninivey, Jerusalem, and most of the cities of the Holy Land, are long since wasted and decayed? To this I answer,—Therein consists the

greatnesse of the travell; because I have been constrayned to use the help of many authors, who, amongst other long and learned discourses, have, heere and there, glanced at the actions which were done in the land of Judea. Besides, to make this a perfect worke, all these things I have with much labour compiled together for your profit; and expect nothing in recompence for my paines, but your love. And so, I commit you to God. Yours, R. B.'

Now, R. B. has long had our love; and he knows this well, if he know any thing of those on earth who love him: for ever since we knew this venerable spy of Palestine, and that is more years ago than we choose to tell any one, we have seldom gone to the Sunday-school, or the sanctuary, without seeking an interview with him. We are, however, in a dilemma now. We do not like to withdraw any of our old love from the mysterious R. B., and yet we can no longer give him so much either of our company or confidence as he has enjoyed hitherto. We have a *head* as well as a heart: at least the capital of our column must stand for the former now; for the column itself could not sustain a weightier one, even if we could exchange heads with safety. Whatever, therefore, be our phrenology, all our intellectuality prefers Mr. Ransom's Topography to 'R. B.'s Typography.' We cannot help this, and dare not try to help it, except we resign all pretensions to a head; and that we cannot afford to do yet. Why should we, seeing we can say with perfect truth, that we have neither wearied nor winked for a moment, whilst going over again all the steps of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and of Him who sent them, by the help of this new *vade-mecum?* We feel, too, that we are wiser, if not also better pilgrims, for having used Mr. Ransom's guide.

Both the author and our readers must forgive and forget this playfulness in the best way they can; for it is so seldom that reviewing puts us in good humour, that we are glad to indulge the glow when it occurs, and whilst it lasts. Besides, Dr. Harris's preface to the work is a perfect review of it; or just such a one as we would have written, if we could! He truly says, 'The author has evidently consulted many of the best authorities, and has spared no research nor labor, in order to render his work acceptable and useful. In noticing the events which have distinguished the places of Scripture, he has rendered the study of sacred topography highly interesting, as well as useful. Parents would do well to place such a publication in the hands of their children, as a companion to the Bible. The historical portion of the sacred volume possesses for the youthful mind an untiring interest, and is well suited, if it was not even prospectively designed, to meet that craving after information concerning ancient times and distant lands, by which the young are distinguished. That love for the narrative part of Scripture should be cherished, as it may lead on the youthful inquirer to an acquaintance with those truths which are able to make him wise unto salvation. But in proportion to his avidity for historic information, it is important that his ideas of places and events should be, so to speak, correctly *mapped*, by the careful study of such works as the present; otherwise he may be increasing his stock of knowledge at the expense of its availableness.'

Dr. Harris has said nothing on the comparative value of pictorial illustrations of scriptural scenery, in forming and fixing realizations of sacred places, and Mr. Ransom has furnished maps only. For our own part, we think very highly of such illustrated works. But we must conclude. To our readers in general we would say, Dr. Harris has proved in his preface, without intending to do so, that his friend's book has given both new vividness and vastness to his own conceptions of the beauties, and sublimities, and antiquities of the Holy Land; and thus he has illustrated to all, the benefit to be derived from sacred topography: and to the teachers of Bible-classes, whether in Sunday-schools or vestries, we say, read this book carefully, if you would interest or influence your youthful charge. It was addressed, as lectures, to the theological students at Hackney College; and has thus more *life* in it than mere geographical manuals can ever possess, besides that it breathes throughout a spirit of intelligent and reverential piety.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Perpetuation or Extinction of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in Temporal Concerns; being an Analysis and Review of the Special and General Reports of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and of the Provisions of the Bill founded thereon. With Remarks and Citations in reference to the High Court of Chancery and the Judicial Committee of Privy Council and Trial by Jury. By Thomas Clark.

Early Days of the Society of Friends, exemplifying the obedience of Faith, in some of its Members. By Mary Ann Ketly.

Ward's Library. Notes on Joshua and Judges. By George Bush, Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature, New York City University. Reprinted from the American edition of 1838.

Sketches and Skeletons of Sermons. With Dialogues on Pulpit Preparation: between a Senior and a Junior Minister. By Rev. George Cubitt.

Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions, considered in their mutual relations. By John Campbell. 8vo. Illustrated with Engravings by G. Baxter.

A Treatise on Malacology; or the Natural Classification of Shells and Shell-fish. By William Swainson, F.R., and F.L.S.

Popular Education: a Prize Essay on 'The Influence of the Education of the People and the Diffusion of Knowledge on the Welfare and Happiness of Nations. By the Rev. E. S. Pryce, A.B.

A New Translation of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments; with copious Notes by Edward William Lane, &c. Part 24.

The Pictorial History of Palestine. By the Editor of 'The Pictorial Bible.' Part 10.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspere. All's Well That Ends Well. Part 19.

La Bruja; The Witch; or a Picture of the Court of Rome.

The Boy and the Birds. By Emily Taylor. With Designs by Thomas Landseer.

The Hope of the World, and other Poems. By Charles Mackay.

Roman Misquotation: or Certain Passages from the Fathers, adduced in a

Work entitled 'The Faith of Catholics,' &c., brought to the Test of the Originals, and their preverted Character demonstrated. By the Rev. Richard T. P. Pope, A.M.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: containing the Text according to the Authorised Version, with Marginal Readings and Parallel Passages: and Notes, explanatory and practical, selected from the Writings of the most esteemed Divines and Biblical Critics of Various Denominations. Interspersed with Original Remarks. By Ingram Cobbin, A.M.

Principles of Interpretation of the Old Testament; translated from the Institutio Interpretis Veteris Testamenti of John Henry Pareau, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Utretcht. By Patrick Forbes, D.D. (Biblical Cabinet.)

Cardinal Bellarmine's Notes of the Church Examined and Confuted. Part V. Reply to Bellarmine's Fourteenth and Fifteenth Notes. By Bishops Stratford and Grove.

A Letter to the Human Race. By a Brother.

Christianity against Coercion; or, Compulsory Churches Unscriptural and Anti-christian: a Lecture delivered in Freemasons' Hall at the request of the Evangelical Voluntary Church Association, and published under their direction. By George Redford, D.D., LL.D.

The Present State of East Indian Slavery; chiefly extracted from the Parliamentary Papers on the Subject printed March, 1828, August, 1832, August, 1838. By James Peggs. Third Edition revised and enlarged.

Standard American Literature. The Life and Times of Martin Luther.

The Ministerial Commission. Two Sermons, the first preached on relinquishing the Ministry of the Parish of St. Pancras, Chicester; the second on entering on that of Gateshead, Durham. By John Davies, B.D.

The Christian Minister's Estimate of Life and Death. A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the Rev. John Campbell. By the Rev. Thomas Aveling.

Tracts for the People, on the Principal Subjects of Controversy between the Roman Catholics and Protestants. By the Rev. Mark Butler. No. 4.

The Established Church and Thorogood; or, *The Real Question at Issue:* being an Examination of the Principles, Conduct, and Character of the State Church in Connexion with Mr. Thorogood's Case: in a Lecture delivered at the Guildhall, Louth, &c. By Richard Paddison.

The Works of Josephus. Translated by W. Whiston, A.M. Part 1.

A History of Slavery and its Abolition. By Esther Copley. Second Edition. With an Appendix.

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Justification as revealed in Scripture, in opposition to the Council of Trent and Mr. Newman's Lectures. By James Bennett, D.D.

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Kensington Gardens. A Poem. By Edward Cook.

The Arcana of Nature Revealed: or Proofs of the Being and Attributes of God, elicited in a brief survey of the Works of Creation. By Thomas Kerns, M.D. 2 vols. 12mo.

The History of Nelly Vanner, who died April 26th, 1839, aged ten years. Written for Children of the same age. By John Curwen.

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